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# LEGISLATIVE HISTORY

Public Law 772--77th Congress

Chapter 63<sup>d</sup>--2d Session

W. R. 752<sup>d</sup>

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DIGEST OF PUBLIC LAW 772

SELECTIVE TRAINING AND SERVICE ACT AMENDMENTS. Amends this Act so as to reduce the minimum selective-service age to 18 years, prohibit induction of men past 45 years of age, and provide for deferment of essential farm workers so long as they remain in farm work and until satisfactory replacements can be made.

INDEX AND SUMMARY OF HISTORY OF H. R. 7528

September 3, 1942	S. 2748 was introduced by Senator Gurney and was referred to the Senate Committee on Military Affairs. Print of the bill as introduced. (Companion bill).
September 7, 1942	H. R. 7528 was introduced by Rep. Hadsworth and was referred to the House Committee on Military Affairs. Print of the bill as introduced.
October 5, 1942	Amendment proposed by Senator Lee to S. 2748.
October 14, 1942	Hearings: Senate, S. 2748.
October 15, 1942	House Committee reported H. R. 7528 with amendments. House Report 2574. Print of the bill as reported.
October 16, 1942	H. R. 7528 was debated in the House.
October 17, 1942	H. R. 7528 was debated and passed House as reported.  Extension of remarks of Reps: Johnson, Celler, Folger, Crant, Andresen, Wolverton, Kilday.
October 19, 1942	H. R. 7528 was referred to the Senate. Print of the bill as referred.  Senate Committee reported S. 2748 with an amendment. Senate Report 1644. Print of the bill as reported.  Amendment to S. 2748 to be proposed by Senator Wiley. Print of the amendment.



October 20, 1942	Senate discussed S. 2748.  Amendment to S. 2748 to be proposed by Senator Thomas. Print of the amendment.
October 22, 1942	Senate debated S. 2748.  Amendments to S. 2748 to be proposed by Senators Burton, Capper, Lee, Nye, Taft, and Tydings.
October 23, 1942	Senate debate on S. 2748 continued.  Amendments to S. 2748 to be proposed by Senators O'Daniel and Norris.
October 24, 1942	Senate debate concluded. S. 2748 was indefinitely postponed. H. R. 7528 was passed with amendments, with the language of S. 2748.  Senate Conferees appointed.  Print of H. R. 7528 with the amendment of the Senate.
October 26, 1942	Senate discussed H. R. 7528.  House Conferees appointed.
October 27, 1942	H. R. 7528 discussed in the House.
November 9, 1942	H. R. 7528 discussed in the House. Due to absence of members, other House Conferees were appointed.  Extension of remarks of Senator Hill and Reps: White, Paddock, Brudick, and Casey.
November 10, 1942	House received and agreed to the Conference Report. House Report 2624.
November 12, 1942	Senate agreed to the Conference Report.
November 13, 1942	Approved. Public Law 772.









77TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

# S. 2748

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

SEPTEMBER 3, 1942

Mr. GURNEY introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs

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## A BILL

To amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2       *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3       That so much of the first sentence of section 3 (a) of the  
4       Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, as  
5       precedes the first proviso is hereby amended to read as  
6       follows:

7       “SEC. 3. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this Act,  
8       every male citizen of the United States, and every other male  
9       person residing in the United States, who is between the  
10      ages of eighteen and forty-five at the time fixed for his regis-

1 tration, shall be liable for training and service in the land or  
2 naval forces of the United States.”

3 SEC. 2. Section 5 (f) of such Act, as amended, is hereby  
4 amended to read as follows:

5 “(f) Any person who, while pursuing a course of in-  
6 struction at a high school or similar institution of learning,  
7 is ordered to report for induction under this Act during the  
8 last half of the academic year at such school or institution,  
9 shall, upon his request, have his induction under this Act  
10 postponed until the end of such academic year.”

11 SEC. 3. Section 15 (a) of such Act, as amended, is  
12 hereby amended to read as follows:

13 “(a) The term ‘between the ages of eighteen and forty-  
14 five’ shall refer to men who have attained the eighteenth  
15 anniversary of the day of their birth and who have not  
16 attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of their birth;  
17 and other terms designating different age groups shall be  
18 construed in a similar manner.”



77TH CONGRESS  
2D Session

**S. 2748**

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# **A BILL**

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To amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

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By Mr. GURNEY

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SEPTEMBER 3, 1942

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs





77TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

# H. R. 7528

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 7, 1942

Mr. WADSWORTH introduced the following bill: which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs

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## A BILL

To amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2       *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
3       That so much of the first sentence of section 3 (a) of the  
4       Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, as  
5       precedes the first proviso is hereby amended to read as  
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9       person residing in the United States, who is between the  
10      ages of eighteen and forty-five at the time fixed for his regis-

1 tration, shall be liable for training and service in the land or  
2 naval forces of the United States.”

3 SEC. 2. Section 5 (f) of such Act, as amended, is hereby  
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14 five’ shall refer to men who have attained the eighteenth  
15 anniversary of the day of their birth and who have not  
16 attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of their birth;  
17 and other terms designating different age groups shall be  
18 construed in a similar manner.”





77<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS  
2<sup>D</sup> SESSION

**H. R. 7528**

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**A BILL**

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To amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

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By Mr. WADSWORTH

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---

SEPTEMBER 7, 1942

Referred to the Committee on Military Affairs





# S. 2748

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 5, 1942

Referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed

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## AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. LEE to the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, viz: At the end of the bill insert the following new sections:

1        SEC. 4. In the interest of the common defense no person,  
2 corporation, partnership, or association shall sell, supply,  
3 give, or have in his or its possession any alcoholic liquors,  
4 including beer, ale, or wine at or within any military camp,  
5 station, fort, post, yard, base, cantonment, training or  
6 mobilization place which is being used at the time for mili-  
7 tary purposes, but the Secretary of War may make regula-  
8 tions permitting the sale and use of alcoholic liquors for  
9 medicinal purposes. Any person, corporation, partnership,

1 or association violating the provisions of this section or any  
2 orders, rules, or regulations made by proper authority there-  
3 under shall unless otherwise punishable under the Articles  
4 of War be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and be punished  
5 by a fine of not less than \$100 nor more than \$1,000 and/or  
6 imprisonment for not less than thirty days nor more than  
7 twelve months.

8       SEC. 5. In the interest of the common defense it shall  
9 be unlawful within such reasonable distance of any military  
10 camp, station, fort, post, yard, base, cantonment, training  
11 or mobilization place as the Secretary of War shall deter-  
12 mine to be needful to the efficiency, health, and welfare of  
13 the Army and/or Navy and shall designate in general orders  
14 or bulletins for any person, corporation, partnership, or asso-  
15 ciation to sell, supply, give, or have in his or its possession  
16 any alcoholic liquors, including beer, ale, or wine. Any  
17 person, corporation, partnership, or association violating the  
18 provisions of this section or any orders, rules, or regulations  
19 made by proper authority thereunder, shall unless otherwise  
20 punishable under the Articles of War, be deemed guilty  
21 of a misdemeanor and be punished by a fine of not less than  
22 \$100 nor more than \$1,000 and/or imprisonment for not less  
23 than thirty days nor more than twelve months.

24       SEC. 6. In construing sections 4 and 5 of this Act  
25 the word "Army" shall extend to and include "Navy", the

1 word "military" shall include "naval", "Articles of War"  
2 shall include "Articles for the government of the Navy",  
3 the words "military camp, station, fort, post, yard, base, can-  
4 tonment, training or mobilization place" shall include such  
5 places under naval jurisdiction as may correspond to the  
6 aforementioned places under military jurisdiction. The powers  
7 conferred under this Act upon the Secretary of War are  
8 hereby conferred upon the Secretary of the Navy with re-  
9 gard to the naval service. The words "Navy" and "naval"  
10 shall include the Marine Corps. The aviation units of both  
11 the military and naval service shall be subject to the provi-  
12 sions of sections 4 to 7, inclusive, of this Act.

13       SEC. 7. In the interest of the common defense it shall  
14 be unlawful within such reasonable distance of any military  
15 or naval camp, station, fort, post, yard, base, cantonment,  
16 training or mobilization places as the Secretaries of War  
17 and/or Navy shall determine to be needful to the efficiency,  
18 health, and welfare of the Army and/or Navy, and shall  
19 designate and publish in general orders or bulletins to engage  
20 in prostitution or to aid or abet prostitution, or to procure or  
21 solicit for purposes of prostitution, or to keep or set up a house  
22 of ill fame, brothel, or bawdy house, or to receive any per-  
23 son for purposes of lewdness, assignation, or prostitution in  
24 any vehicle, conveyance, place, structure, or building; and  
25 any person, corporation, partnership, or association violating

1 the provisions of this section shall, unless otherwise punish-  
2 able under the Articles of War or the Articles for the govern-  
3 ment of the Navy be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor  
4 and be punished by a fine of not less than \$100 nor more  
5 than \$1,000, or by imprisonment for not less than thirty  
6 days nor more than twelve months and any person subject  
7 to military or naval law violating the provisions of this Act  
8 shall be punished as provided by the Articles of War or  
9 the Articles for the government of the Navy and the Secre-  
10 taries of War and of the Navy are hereby authorized and  
11 directed to do everything by them deemed necessary to sup-  
12 press, and prevent the violation of such provisions and to  
13 accept the cooperation of the authorities of States and  
14 counties, districts, and other political subdivisions in carrying  
15 out the purposes of sections 4 to 7, inclusive, of this Act.





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## AMENDMENT

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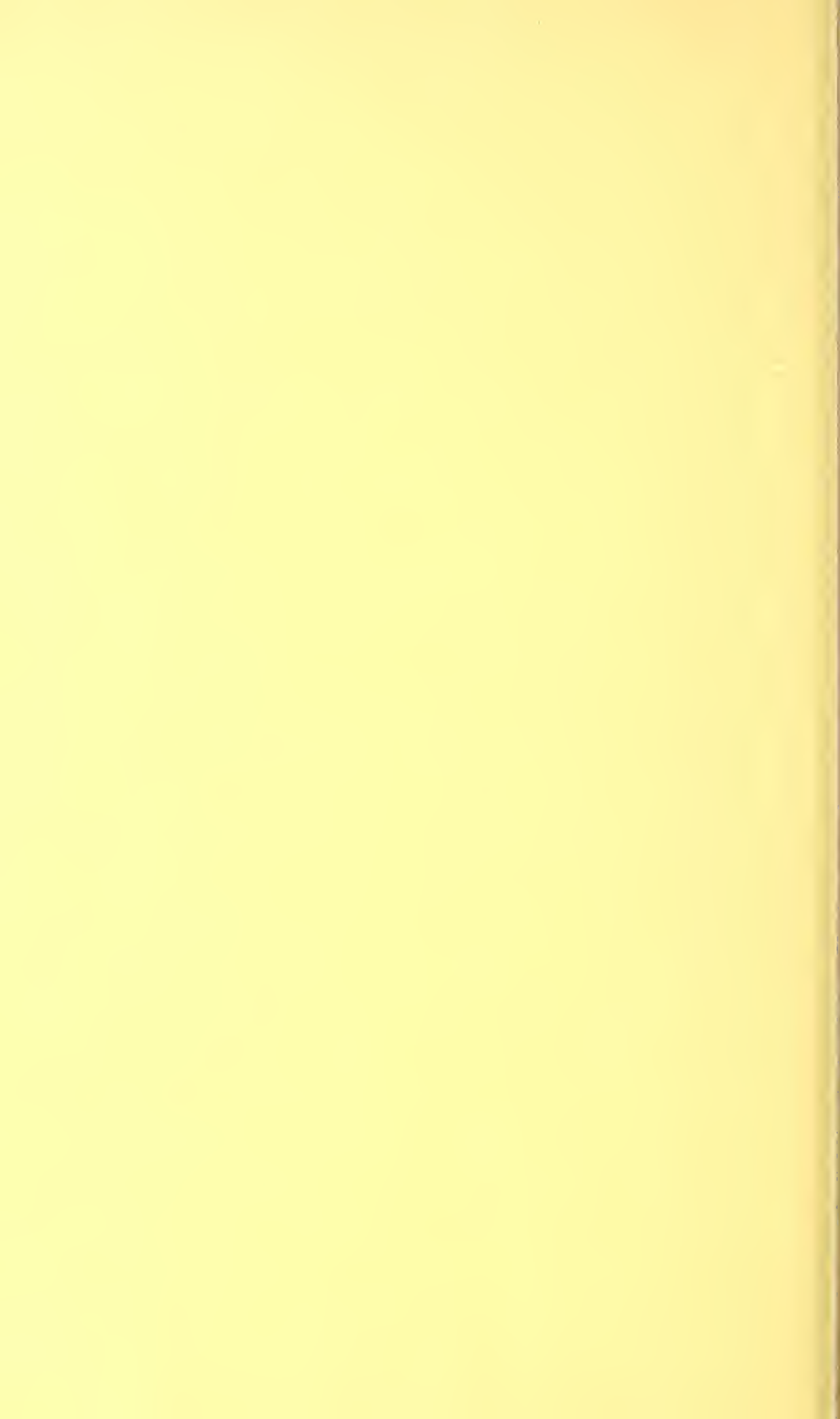
Intended to be proposed by Mr. LEE to the bill  
(S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training  
and Service Act of 1940 by providing for  
the extension of liability.

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OCTOBER 5, 1942

Referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and  
ordered to be printed





# LOWERING THE DRAFT AGE TO 18 YEARS

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## HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

UNITED STATES SENATE

SEVENTY-SEVENTH <sup>U.S.</sup> CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

### S. 2748

A BILL TO AMEND THE SELECTIVE TRAINING AND  
SERVICE ACT OF 1940 BY PROVIDING FOR  
THE EXTENSION OF LIABILITY

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OCTOBER 14 AND 15, 1942

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Printed for the use of the Committee on Military Affairs



UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1942

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OCTOBER 14, 1942

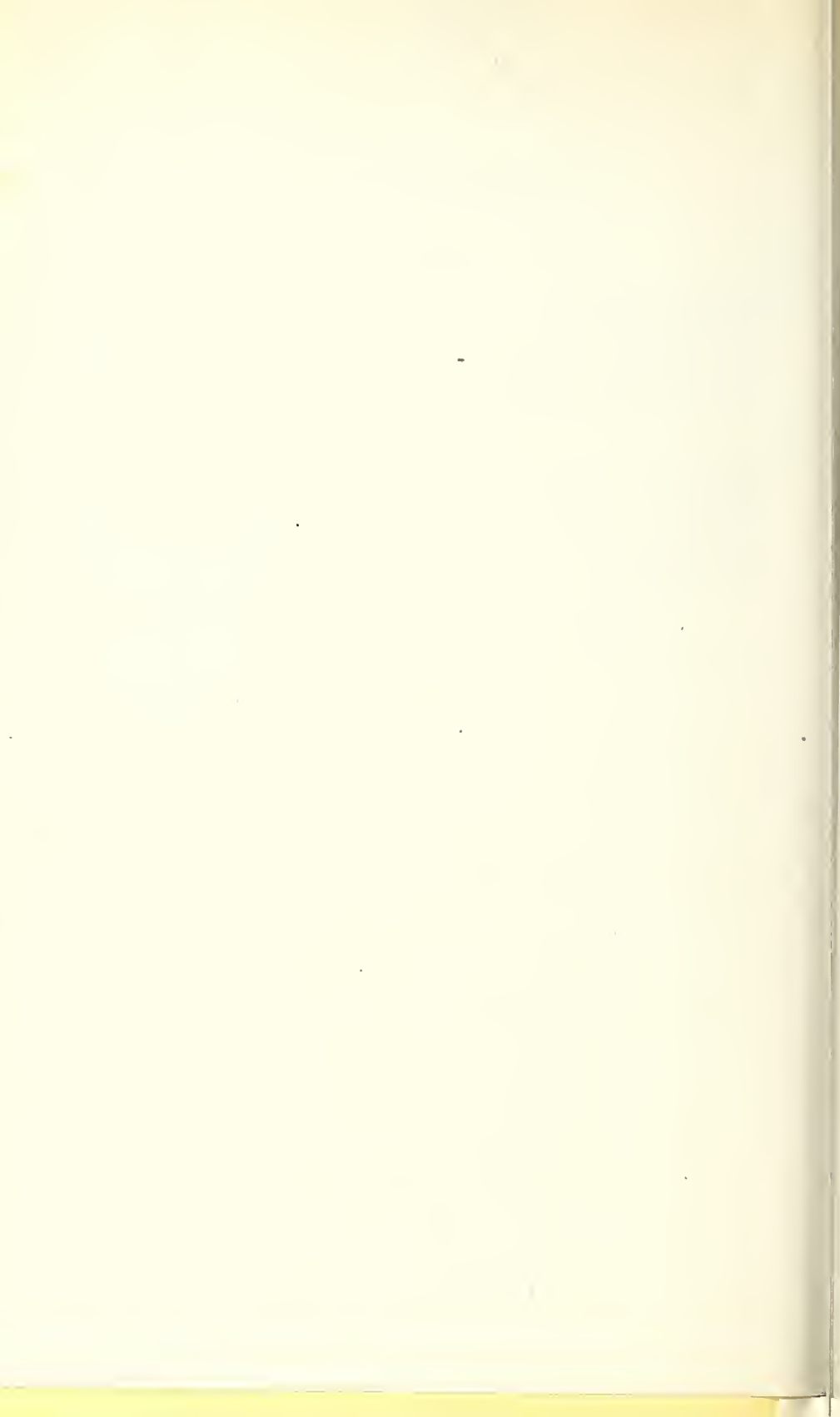
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# LOWERING THE DRAFT AGE TO 18 YEARS

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1942

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 a. m., in room 457, Senate Office Building, Senator Robert R. Reynolds (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Reynolds (chairman), Thomas (Utah), Schwartz, Hill, Downey, Chandler, Truman, Wallgren, Gurney, and Thomas (Idaho).

Also present: Senators Bilbo and Maybank.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will please come to order.

I want to ask the official reporter here to incorporate into the record S. 2748, introduced by Senator Gurney, being a bill to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

(S. 2748 is as follows:)

[S. 2748, 77th Cong., 2d sess.]

A BILL To amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That so much of the first sentence of section 3 (a) of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, as precedes the first proviso is hereby amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 3. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this Act, every male citizen of the United States, and every other male person residing in the United States, who is between the ages of eighteen and forty-five at the time fixed for his registration, shall be liable for training and service in the land or naval forces of the United States."

SEC. 2. Section 5 (f) of such Act, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(f) Any person who, while pursuing a course of instruction at a high school or similar institution of learning, is ordered to report for induction under this Act during the last half of the academic year at such school or institution, shall, upon his request, have his induction under this Act postponed until the end of such academic year."

SEC. 3. Section 15 (a) of such Act, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(a) The term 'between the ages of eighteen and forty-five' shall refer to men who have attained the eighteenth anniversary of the day of their birth and who have not attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of their birth; and other terms designating different age groups shall be construed in a similar manner."

The CHAIRMAN. I wish next, gentlemen, to read a letter, dated October 13, 1942, on the stationery of the War Department, and signed by the Honorable Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War, addressed

to me as chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of the United States Senate, reading as follows:

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
Washington, October 13, 1942.

HON. ROBERT R. REYNOLDS,

*Chairman, Committee on Military Affairs,  
United States Senate.*

DEAR SENATOR REYNOLDS: The War Department favors the enactment of S. 2748, a bill to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

The purpose of S. 2748 is to reduce from 20 to 18 years the age at which male citizens of the United States, and other male persons residing therein, who are not relieved from liability for training and service under other provisions of law, shall be subject to induction into the land or naval forces of the United States under the provisions of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940. Section 1 of the bill effects the proposed extension of liability; section 2 provides deferment from induction until the end of the academic year for a student ordered to report for induction while pursuing a course of instruction during the last half of that year at a high school or similar institution of learning; and section 3 defines the age limits for liability for training and service.

Although the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended by the act of December 20, 1941 (55 Stat. 844, 845; U. S. C., title 50, App. secs. 302, 303), requires the registration of male citizens and residents aged 18 or 19 years, it does not now render such persons liable to induction. Consequently, the War Department has long considered the need for submitting to the Congress legislation similar to S. 2748. Indeed, in my letter of December 13, 1941, responding to the request of the Honorable Andrew J. May, chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, for a statement concerning the then pending H. R. 6215, from which the act of December 20, 1941, was derived, I remarked that "the traditional age for liability for military service in this country is 18 to 45," although I then noted that it had been deemed wise at that time to place the lower limit at a later age (H. Rept. 1503, 77th Cong., p. 6). In that letter I invited attention to the need to make available, if and when necessary, a great pool of men to meet all contingencies then foreseeable. It is my considered opinion, as well as that of my chief military advisers, that contingencies now foreseeable make it imperative that the pool of available military manpower be still further widened.

The War Department supports S. 2748 for reasons which are manifest in this critical period. The harsh fact is that we have a high responsibility to our generation and to those to come—an urgent, immediate responsibility to develop, with the minimum delay, the finest army in the world, not only armed with the best and most plentiful implements of war, but composed of superlative fighting men who, man for man, surpass in ingenuity, in self-reliance, in determination, and in stamina the best soldiers available to our enemies. The urgency of this task cannot be overemphasized; our own survival is in the balance. Its accomplishment demands the substitution of current necessity for our peacetime preferences, and the necessity is this: That our Army be animated by the youthful enthusiasm and resilience of spirit which has surged through all earlier American armies, that in our human desire to protect the youth of our land we remember the terrific pace of modern war, that we realize, above every consideration the imperative necessity of creating an army, as quickly as possible, more efficient, more determined, more ardent than Europe and Asia can produce after 10 years of concentrated training and indoctrination.

Youth zealous for power and the destruction of liberty is the strength of our enemies' armies; American youth is our strength, and despite our wishful thinking or the dictates of our hearts, the virility of our effort must take precedence. We must face this truth; I should be derelict in my responsibility to this country and its heritage should I fail to voice it.

Members of 18- and 19-age groups are peculiarly well adapted to military training. This is military axiom. Their response to leadership, their recovery from fatigue, their enthusiasm or "flair for soldiering" are exceptional as compared with older age groups. The simple fact is, they are better soldiers, and never before in its history has the American Nation more urgently needed exceptional soldiers.

Not only do 18- and 19-year-olds represent a relatively untapped source of manpower for increasing military needs, but medical records also reveal that they have a higher percentage physically fit for service than any other age groups. Furthermore, it is patent that the induction of young men between the ages of 18 and 20 would be less disruptive of industry and agriculture, other essential wartime civil pursuits, and domestic relationships than that of any other age groups. However, even these facts must remain subordinate to the fundamentals charting our course—we are fighting against slavery, our survival or defeat will save or destroy the freedom of our children and that of millions in the world. These stakes are in the balance against our preferences. The War Department is convinced that our goal must be paramount, and that individual and national preferences must be secondary to the exigencies of war.

The War Department does not, however, interpose objection to the proposed deferment, under section 2 of S. 2748, of high-school or other students during the second half of an academic year. The question of deferment is necessarily one of broad, national policy. In that regard, attention is invited to the fact that the Congress, by section 5 (f) of the basic act of September 16, 1940, established the policy that deferments of the nature now proposed should not be operative beyond the end of the academic year in which the statute was enacted.

It is, of course, apparent that the essential data to support the foregoing views may not advisedly be set forth in this letter. However, War Department representatives will be readily available to discuss these matters with your Committee on Military Affairs meeting in executive session.

The Bureau of the Budget advises that there is no objection to the submission of this report.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY L. STIMSON,  
*Secretary of War.*

The CHAIRMAN. And with reference to the paragraph next to the closing one, regarding representatives of the War Department being present to express opinions of their own and of the War Department with regard to the proposed legislation before us, we have the honor of having here with us today Gen. George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, and at this time I am going to call him to the witness stand, for we all recognize the fact that he is one of the busiest men of our Government today, and we don't want to detain him any longer than necessary. However, I might add in that connection that the members of this committee are invited to and are privileged, as they know they are privileged, to address any inquiries pertinent to the issue which they desire to direct to General Marshall.

We will be very glad to have a statement with regard to this matter from you, General.

#### STATEMENT OF GEN. GEORGE C. MARSHALL, CHIEF OF STAFF, UNITED STATES ARMY

General MARSHALL. Mr. Chairman, I have no prepared statement. General McNarney has one, and will go into details; also General Edwards, head of the Training Division of the General Staff, has still more details; and, of course, General Hershey is here to discuss the Selective Service phase of the matter.

I have listened to the Secretary of War testify before the Military Affairs Committee of the House this morning, and I think I might well summarize the approach that he gave to the matter.

In the first place, the plans of the War Department are for the purpose of producing, during the calendar year 1943, the largest air force, with supporting troops, meaning the engineers, signal corps, and so forth, that it is possible to organize with the plan production and

transportation facilities in view. That, we find, involves approximately 2,200,000 men.

We are planning, and our estimates contemplate the development, of a highly trained ground force, including armored divisions, airborne divisions, and some 600,000 antiaircraft troops. This force will absorb a total of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million men actually in organizations, training or overseas.

In addition, approximately 1,000,000 men will be engaged either in training others or in being trained as individuals in training centers for later assignment to combat units in accordance with the expansion of the Army during 1943 or to replace casualties.

Further, about 1,000,000 men will be involved in the Service of Supplies, commonly called the S. O. S. These figures total, in our estimates, for the calendar year 1943, an aggregate of 7,500,000 men by January 1, 1944, including 4,200,000 now in the service.

The Secretary referred this morning, before the House committee, to a confusion in the public mind and apparently in the press and elsewhere, as to just what we were doing and why we were doing it. He mentioned that there had been talk of a 13,000,000-man Army, and of a 10,000,000-man Army, when actually we had arrived at the present figure for 1943 many months ago; in fact, as early as April of this year.

Another source of confusion is the frequent and ill-informed references to a "mass army." I am not certain as to what those who talk of a mass army mean. There is certainly no great mass in what I have referred to as ground forces. It is an integrated army, balanced as nearly as we can calculate our necessities, for offensive action outside of the Western Hemisphere.

Also, it has been implied that the War Department has ignored the transportation difficulties and intends to accumulate a mass of men in this country which could not possibly be transported to the overseas theaters of operations. Nothing is probably further from the fact.

I presume that all of you gentlemen finish your day with the Lord's Prayer as I do, but even then my thoughts involve ship tonnage and transportation and these are among my first waking thoughts. The calculations pertaining to ship tonnage are as involved as integral calculus and relate to all our plans, because it is our purpose to keep the war outside of the Western Hemisphere. Also, it is our determined purpose that our efforts will be directed toward offensive operations—all of which necessarily involve shipping.

Therefore, we must analyze all the factors as to the length of turn-around, as to the production of shipping, and as to the possible losses. If we did not do this we would be clearly incompetent to raise, train, and manage an Army.

In addition, we have had to consider the factor of production with relation to strength and one section of the War Department is devoted exclusively to that consideration, under Judge Patterson, the Undersecretary of War.

We obtain much information relating to our estimates as to manpower through General Hershey's office. This is studied and analyzed at great length.

I could be much more convincing if I could talk with complete frankness, but to do so would probably endanger the lives of American soldiers as well as jeopardize the success of operations.



(There followed some remarks which were off the record at the request of General Marshall.)

General MARSHALL. We have calculated with extreme care what we must have and the greatest speed with which we can get to it by the end of December 1943. But it should be perfectly clear in your minds that what we turn out in January 1943, is not available until January 1944, and the men who it is proposed to induct under this estimate in December 1943, will not be available in newly trained units until January 1945.

This planning must be made far in advance and we must have a long period of training before units can be used in combat. New organizations must be created—they must make their own history, their own traditions, and trained to operate as complete teams.

Our preparation must be based on obtaining the highest degree of skill because these soldiers will have to make their first appearance on the battlefield to meet a highly trained, veteran foe of many campaigns. They will have to compete on the battlefield with men who have encountered and emerged from every phase of modern warfare.

That requires a very high degree of training, and it requires a very elaborate logistical set-up. Every military factor involved is of vast importance to us not only in the successful accomplishment of our purpose, but in order to insure a moderate cost in life, and with as little loss of time as possible.

To come to the immediate purpose of this hearing, the 18-to-19-year-old clause, all of the details of this can be gone into by those that follow me, but the situation in brief is this:

Under the present system, the law and the manner of induction, the age of the combat army has risen to a point which is not acceptable to the War Department. For example, consider the newly organized divisions; these have been activated on a normal wartime basis and were not subjected to the emasculations and transfers that the original divisions had to endure. While the training of these new divisions has been conducted on a uniform basis and has produced amazing results, the age bracket has gone up and has reached the point where it is changing month by month. My staff can give you the exact figures, but I think the average age of men in a new division in February was under 25 years; by July it had increased to just under 28.

I went through a 3,500-bed hospital at Fort Bragg last Sunday a week ago, and I was shocked at what I found in both the surgical and medical wards. They seemed to be filled with old men. I say that with apologies because they were much younger than I am, but the point is I was looking for field soldiers and found men who seemed to be much older than I. Most of them had only been in the service a few weeks, some of them had been at Bragg only 3 or 4 days; and already they were in the hospital.

Inducting these men does not increase the Army; in fact it reduces the Army, because a bed, a nurse, an attendant and a doctor were now necessary where each man was involved. And what made it worse, in questioning a specific individual I would find a man who had just been taken off a machine tool job in a plant at Detroit. Instead of being on that important work he finds himself in the hospital with several different complaints, including an operation

for hernia. Such a man is a burden to the Army, yet he was a very valuable person where he came from. He was 43 years of age.

Alongside of him in the next bed was another man, an expert oil rigger or driller—another case of several complaints and an age beyond 40.

They were scheduled for limited service, but nevertheless even for limited service we have to give them hospitalization. The Medical Corps is checking the matter. We may have to enlarge our hospitals because the rate is going to be higher and all of this occurs before these men have entered an active theater.

In amphibious divisions involving the most strenuous service, we find privates closely approaching their fortieth year. That is not a practical proposition toward a successful war, and is a great injustice to the individual involved.

The effect of this program on production has been discussed. These older men ought to be in defense plants with their machines, and these younger men—who I am reasonably certain, judging from my own reactions as a younger man, and the few I see—all want to go into the Army. They bring the age down to that point where we can have combat units of vigorous, aggressive soldiers, and can endure for long periods the pressure of active field service. They must have the stamina to go on. In this war you don't fight a battle today and rest tomorrow.

Everything we did in the World War was more or less on a stabilized basis, at least up to the last week or 10 days. Then our troops deployed in delimited sectors and in trenches, with a degree of training that was lamentable.

We can't take such risks in this war. Everything must be a highly geared, a highly trained machine, everything about which is exceedingly complicated. Youth is required.

These young men in this war have to be trained. I have previously referred to how long this takes; they have to be trained, they have to be hardened, they must be highly disciplined.

(General Marshall's next remarks, at his request, were off the record.)

I think I have covered the general situation. I will now be happy to try to answer your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Gurney, you are the author of the bill and I think you are entitled to lead off with anything you want to on general questions, after which we will give an opportunity to the members of the committee to ask such questions as they may desire, bearing on the pending bill.

Senator GURNEY. General, I have no specific questions to ask except this: The Army wants this bill passed as quickly as possible, does it not?

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Senator GURNEY. Do you want it passed about as is, without any restrictions?

General MARSHALL. That is right.

Senator GURNEY. There is a definite need for it, by the Army, is there?

General MARSHALL. Very definite. As a matter of fact, to use Mr. Stimson's phrase, it is imperative.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Hill?

Senator HILL. Of course, General, we all know that in all past wars young men have excelled as soldiers. Isn't it true that in this present war, with our air and parachute troops and our many new forms of fighting, young men are needed far more today than they were in the old-style warfare?

General MARSHALL. Much more urgently. You mentioned two or three types of troops. Probably the greatest endurance test is in the armored force owing to the close confinement in tanks with temperatures up to 130°. Others might feel that the heaviest task of endurance is that of the infantry divisions that have to march on foot, because it isn't all truck by any manner of means.

The main complication of the modern problem is not only that soldiers must know so much more in order to coordinate the large number of weapons, but they have to stand the pressure of a rapidly moving battle, for long periods of time. They have to go ahead, go ahead and keep on going ahead, far beyond what the average man thinks he is capable of enduring.

The limited food, the limited water involved, the very sketchy Service of Supplies that is possible, and the rapidity of movement, combine to produce a tremendous strain on the individual soldier.

Senator HILL. General, don't you think that the sooner we take this step the sooner we can hope for the end of the war, which means a saving in lives?

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir: this proposal makes for efficiency—

Senator HILL (interposing). And efficiency makes for saving in lives?

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir. I would amplify that still further. There isn't any question at all about what the sick rate will be with the induction of these older men, and that means an added burden because other military personnel must look after the sick.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all, Senator Hill?

Senator HILL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Wallgren?

Senator WALLGREN. Will the passage of this bill, General, take the strain off of these older men with dependents?

General MARSHALL. General Hershey can answer that better than I can, but I should think it would. Since I visited Fort Bragg I have started an investigation to see how quickly we can send these physically weak older men back home.

Senator WALLGREN. Yesterday we were shown the comparative strength of the Allied nations, and we were shown the strength as far as divisions were concerned. Does a German division compare with ours in number of men?

General MARSHALL. It is approximately the same.

Senator WALLGREN. How about the Japanese divisions?

General MARSHALL. Offhand I think the Japanese are about the same. The British division is about 15,000, about the same size as ours, and I think the German division is around 12,000. Their divisions, however, change in number as they set them up for different operations: they have rather a cellular basis of organization.

Senator WALLGREN. Will you tell us off the record what England is doing as far as building up her Army is concerned?

General MARSHALL (off the record).

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Thomas of Idaho?

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. General, I don't think I have any particular questions except that we have the question of manpower all the time, and isn't that an acute situation that is developing more and more?

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir; and speaking from the outside looking in I would say that national manpower is a problem susceptible of a great deal of organization or rearrangement.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. Of course, you don't want that mixed up with this problem here?

General MARSHALL. No, sir; but we have considered it very carefully because we must have matériel; we must have the food, and above all we must have the civil population strongly behind us—so we certainly would not knowingly destroy either morale or productive efficiency.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. I have been very much concerned about the situation in the agricultural areas on the food situation, and you are going to have a distinct shortage of food next year.

General MARSHALL. I suppose we will have to organize better for those things, and I think that is now in process.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. At the present time we are harvesting our crops, and I get telegram after telegram after telegram from farmers saying that their sugar beets or their potatoes or stuff like that are going to rot. That is now, but next year thousands of cattle are going to slaughter, dairy cattle, and thousands of farmers are leaving their farms, and it is a situation not in connection with this, but yet it must be considered.

General MARSHALL. The question of food is undoubtedly correlated to this problem.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. Food is just as important as material.

General MARSHALL. Food and war matériel are one and the same thing as far as we are concerned.

(Off-the-record remarks by General Marshall.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. I think that is about all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Thomas of Utah.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. General Marshall, just one question and it relates to the man in the hospital that you have discovered who is a burden on the Army, but who can still be a very fine producer out in private life. Is the Army making arrangements so that we can get these men back into industry?

General MARSHALL. As I stated before we have men studying that matter right now to see not only about sending them home, but how quickly we can do it and still meet the administrative problems involved.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. And how well they will be when they get back?

General MARSHALL. I understand. Of course we have an obligation now under a policy of long standing in times of peace that when we take a man in the Army and into a hospital, we must finish the treatment of his case. I don't know just how we can go through with that, but we are looking into it very carefully.

But here is a man who hasn't been in a hospital for 15 years or 20 years, and like all of us an examination reveals many things. Also the time element enters into the picture. I imagine it will be a question of letting the man decide. Some will want to get out quickly,



and other will wish to have the full benefit of the medical or surgical treatment indicated.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. We have before our various committees now such things as health bills, education bills, and manpower bills. The point I want to make is that these things are all very, very closely related.

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. And when you get an army of sick men, for example, you haven't got an army.

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. And when we have the foresight that we have lacked in realizing that the costliest thing is poor health, poor manpower, poor training, and all of those various factors, then probably we can move forward as we should move forward?

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Now, it is the history of some of the men who are now trying to run, for example, the medical part of the Army, that they did not have the foresight for this sort of thing, and they are in charge of the Army's medical training.

General MARSHALL. I don't believe I understand you, sir.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. The men who are now dealing with the Army's medical organization are men who were opposed to public-health bills which actually passed the Senate of the United States. Such men should by this time have realized that if we neglect any phase of our economic or social life we hurt finally the one phase, the Army, on which we are dependent when we find ourselves in the condition we are in.

General MARSHALL. I am not certain that I am quite clear on your point. I think it is a little over my head. But so far as these men that are now in the Army are concerned, I don't think they will work counter to the general interests of the Government and stay in the Army.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. I hope not, but there has been that experience because we do not have the general health bill and the general education bill.

General MARSHALL. That is the first time I have ever heard the Army held responsible for that. We have been held responsible for many things, but not that.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. I don't hold the Army responsible, because the Army had to dip into the civilian doctors of various kinds.

General MARSHALL. In drawing them into the Army, you mean?

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Yes.

Now, then, I don't think you mentioned this fact off the record, and I hope that it need not stay off the record if you did, that an ill-prepared soldier is no soldier at all, a sick soldier is no soldier at all, and that it adds to the burden of the well soldier to have to take care of these sick persons.

General MARSHALL. I agree with you completely.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. And that the only way in which you can have a successful army, in the wide extent that we are trying to fight—and I am sure that we are trying to fight in a wider extent than any General Staff ever dreamed that an army would be called upon to fight—at the present time, that it means that the energy of all the people in our country is necessary, and not just the energy of a certain

number of people, and a neglect of training anywhere has its effect when the time comes. That is what I got from your testimony, General Marshall, and if I have interpreted you incorrectly I would like to know, because I have got these various problems facing me in other committees. I have assumed that a sick soldier is a bad soldier.

General MARSHALL. And I agree with you on that, sir.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. And that an ill-prepared man coming into the Army is bad for the Army as well as for the country?

General MARSHALL. I agree with you.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. And that a misfit in the Army is just as bad as a misfit anywhere else?

General MARSHALL. A little worse in some respects in that he takes up more valuable time. He ruins the machine; he is that weakest link in any team.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. And if we are going to think of ultimate success we must think of our whole industrial and social life and make the Army better because it can draw from the stronger men?

General MARSHALL. Yes.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. I haven't misunderstood you, have I?

General MARSHALL. I see nothing at all in your restatement of the matter that I wouldn't agree with completely.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. We need that because we have those bills in front of us now.

General MARSHALL. I might say that on matters of health and disease I am involved in central Africa, in India, and many curious places, and we keep inspectors continuously busy to see that nothing is neglected, and also that the use of the airplane does not further complicate matters, because it carries disease. Besides guarding ourselves not only against losses and undue sick rates and continuing disabilities in these various theaters, we must also see that here in the United States we do not suffer later on as a result of epidemics which has been the case in past wars.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. One more question, General. You talked about the restrictions that have been placed upon you in the past in the building up of the Army, and that you would like to avoid as many of those restrictions as possible. That was on the record, I hope.

General MARSHALL. I believe I did ask that that be kept off the record.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. But these restrictions have not come from military committees; they have always been offered by others.

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. You see we can't talk off the record in the Senate of the United States.

General MARSHALL. I realize that democratic procedures involve some military difficulties we struggle with.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Well, I like to struggle as long as it remains democratic; that part of it is all right, but if for instance we have to present an act now, and we should get into an amendment which calls for restriction, I would like to answer the argument in the fine broad way in which you have done that.

General MARSHALL. I hope you will, sir, and you may quote me.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Of course, we are talking about restrictions all the time, but I understand now that even a member of the WAACS can't use the frank for mailing because the ladies in our

Army are not in the Army and therefore haven't the privileges which the Government of the United States gives to its soldiers.

General MARSHALL. To mention that alone, sir, the development of the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps is in process of evolution and is one of the most satisfying developments in my experience. I think it will be one of the great achievements in this war, and, before we have finished, it will be above ordinary criticism.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. I think you ought to be thanked for mentioning that we must take something on faith because we have got to take everything on faith in the final analysis.

General MARSHALL. I am very glad you have put it that way, Senator, because I think we have to keep in the forefront of our minds all the time that we are opposed to a desperate and implacable enemy. The recent fighting reports that you have read show that even where prisoners are involved they fight until they are dead in some cases and even destroy themselves and the man that tries to help them. This is a deadly war and we wish to avoid legislative shackles, having to trust our good sense, our good faith, and the traditions of this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Downey?

Senator DOWNEY. General Marshall, let me say first that I regret that I feel compelled to ask any questions at all, and you feel free not to answer any that you don't think should be answered.

Preliminarily to what I am going to say I want to tell you that I am entirely sympathetic and I think I understand the fearful magnitude of trying to carry on a global war in seven or eight different theaters. I don't suppose any military leader has ever had a military problem so complicated and difficult placed before him; and I want to tell you that the only reason I am asking you any questions at all is this:

Right today, as we are talking here, I assume hundreds of California farmers are abandoning their farms, are leaving their chicken ranches, and selling off their dairy herds, they are not going to do the planting, because they are unwilling to make the investment of their time and money, being convinced that they will not be able to get the farm labor for next year.

I am going out to California this Sunday. I regret it but am going to have to fly out there. I want to say everything I possibly can to give faith to our farmers and our farm workers, to keep them producing food.

I want to say first that our governmental leaders last January rather ridiculed me and our farmers for believing that our various governmental agencies wouldn't provide them with plenty of labor. We felt sure we wouldn't have the capacity, but our different agencies here assured us we would. As a matter of fact we have lost 20 to 30 percent of our farm crops in California this year, amounting to several hundred million dollars in value.

Now the problem as I see it, General—and you can help me on it—is this: We just don't see how the United States of America, with 130,000,000 people, can produce more military goods than all the rest of the world combined, which is what the program is: transport those to far distant shores; and maintain one of the greatest armies in the world, if not the greatest. I specifically want to ask certain questions along that line.

I have been talking to soldiers and commissioned officers and I have been shocked at the high age of the combatant troops.

Anybody should realize that a man from 27 to 35 can't make a good soldier. But what I can't see is how with the condition that is prevalent in the Army, a new Army can be successfully be put out merely because of this one law. I am not saying that this one law might not be advantageous, and we all want it, but how, by merely dropping down from 20 to 18 is it going to fix this serious situation, I don't see, and I would like to ask you a few questions.

Do we have the figures now as to how many of the present age group from 18 to 20 are in the Army and Navy?

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir; I think that can be answered.

Senator DOWNEY. This is quite a substantial number?

General MARSHALL. They can answer that.

Senator DOWNEY. Out in California 75 to 80 percent of our boys from 18 to 20 are now engaged in essential war work or in the military service or are training for it——

General MARSHALL (interposing). May I say something now?

Senator DOWNEY. Yes.

General MARSHALL. As a semblance of an answer?

Senator DOWNEY. Yes.

General MARSHALL. In the first place, Senator, I think part of your trouble is the morale problem because of the confusion in the public mind as to what is coming next. I have referred to the fact that there has been mention of a 13,000,000-man Army and a 10,000,000-man Army, whereas all the time our ultimate figure was something over 7,000,000. Such confusion would upset almost anybody as to future prospects. Much smaller misunderstandings have upset the stock market and caused much grief. It is this confusion that we regret. We go through our planning in extreme detail. On every little involvement of which you can conceive we get the most accurate statistics that are available, maybe from hearsay, maybe from this or that agency, maybe from Mr. Donald Nelson or Mr. McNutt—and then we proceed to try to develop a practical proposition. It must not just be a proposal or plan but something that has been thought through down to the last detail. That is the way we try to do our work.

With regard to the people to whom you refer, I think you spoke to me the other day at a meeting down at the War Department?

Senator DOWNEY. I did.

General MARSHALL. The following day General Hershey was good enough to come over—as you know, he heads a separate agency not under the War Department; I talked to General McNair on the training of troops, and to others on the various aspects of what you and Senator La Follette had mentioned. There has been a rather complete misconception as to manpower developments in 1943. With better organization, with a clearer understanding, men can calculate on what they can expect in their business.

That is my own estimate of this situation. There isn't any question but that this drifting to higher paid jobs is a very complicated problem.

Senator DOWNEY. This is very serious.

General MARSHALL. But that is beyond my responsibility.



Senator DOWNEY. I might say beyond that, that in California at least there is right now a very, very serious shortage of manpower. I was out in one orchard where every man engaged in the work there was past 60 years of age, and incidentally very inefficient work was being done. I have been in the airplane offices and other places in California where the staffs are composed entirely of young girls and boys of 17, 18, and 19.

General MARSHALL. I have seen almost exactly this situation in France in 1917 and 1918. I have been out in the fields with them, with the older men and women, farming and gathering wood, and it was not particularly well organized there. But I think there is a great deal that can be done here in the way of organization or rearrangements.

Senator DOWNEY. The only one problem that I would like to have answered now—and you say to get the answer from General Hershey—is how this particular law and its passage is going to provide any major relief for the problem. We only have about 2,500,000 men between 18 and 20 and some of them are physically incapacitated and many are in the Army and Navy already, and many are training for military service, and many are in essential industries. Perhaps it will provide a major relief for the whole problem, but I would like to have that explained.

General MARSHALL. One of the most important reliefs we hope to secure is a check on taking into the Army these older ineffective people that can do useful work at home.

Senator DOWNEY. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Schwartz?

Senator SCHWARTZ. I have just a couple of questions. How long does it take, what period of time elapses, between the date when the raw recruit comes in and the time he is ultimately prepared to meet the veterans of Germany and Japan and finds himself in the organization where the Army wants him?

General MARSHALL. If he is a replacement—meaning replacing a casualty for some reason or another—in a trained unit, we could start him toward an active theater with fair efficiency at the end of 3 or 4 months, plus the time necessary to get him to the theater. If it is a new unit being organized then a minimum of 12 months is necessary; the Germans take 24 months.

Senator SCHWARTZ. Does that apply to these younger men as well as the others?

General MARSHALL. The younger men develop much faster than the older men, but it will still require 12 months for the development of combat divisions.

Senator SCHWARTZ. The other question was, Have you the authority to release these older men from the Army whom you believe will not be efficient or acceptable?

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir; I think we have.

Senator SCHWARTZ. And will that program be followed?

General MARSHALL. That is my intention, so far as it is within my power to do so.

Senator SCHWARTZ. So that while all this may not be related directly to some of our civilian activities, nevertheless in the proportion that you relieve these older men who can't stand the strain, they will become

available for civilian employment and to the extent of their ability will help us in the farm work?

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Senator SCHWARTZ. That is very encouraging.

General MARSHALL. Machine work and things of that sort, strange to say, do not require as much physical vigor as farming. A farmer has to be a very vigorous type.

Senator SCHWARTZ. In my State we are desperately short of farm labor; we are not going to produce the same number of cattle nor the same amount of wool, and we are not going to produce the same amount of food, and especially not the same amount of sugar next year as we are doing this year. It is true over the State of Wyoming in the sugar areas, and they are quite large for our State, that thousands of acres of beets are freezing and will freeze in the ground because we can't get the labor to take them out. We do have some 450 Japanese evacuees who have been distributed around, and to the extent of that help of course we have it, but the situation is desperate from an agricultural standpoint.

General MARSHALL. I think that we are going to reach the point where young boys will do, either publicly or for their own families, a good bit of what they used to do in the old days of the pioneers when every boy had his chore outside of school hours or day. There isn't nearly as much of that as there might be.

Senator SCHWARTZ. We are doing that out there and we have got women 65 years and more of age riding on tractors trying to get in the crops and harvesting them. And in instances such as where the Army has a contract for a great many tons of beans, the schools were closed temporarily and everybody, not only the kids but the bankers and the merchants and the lawyers, went out to help, and to the extent that that is being done we are doing it, but that is all makeshift and won't answer the major problem.

Senator DOWNEY. Could I interpose, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Senator.

Senator DOWNEY. We have found that trying to take young boys out from Los Angeles and San Francisco is more burdensome, and of maintaining them also, and the boys in the small towns are already doing those jobs.

General MARSHALL. With your heavy, concentrated crops such as beets, you have a special problem.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Chandler?

Senator CHANDLER. I have recently visited an important American front and I want to compliment you, General, on the morale of the soldiers and the job those fellows are doing in that important sector. If I have any claim to fame in this period it is because I have followed your leadership in trying to get us prepared, and I am prepared to go on with that.

We had quite a debate yesterday as to whether the soldiers would make political speeches and whether the Senators would run the war. I have no objection. Some of you fellows may be pretty good politicians, but if the Senators go out to war and the generals try to run politics, I think we will be in a hell of a shape. I admit the right of everybody to criticize everybody else, but they ought to give up this right and fight this enemy.

I have seen what he is able to do and I think he is desperate and tough and willing to pay in men and material for what he can get from us, and I would hate to fail because of any job at home. You have had to take the doctors but the Army is pretty healthy and it wouldn't be healthy if you hadn't taken them. You have had to take them because you didn't have enough doctors to keep the Army well, and you haven't got enough now although I expect you are doing a magnificent job. Where I visited they were in fine order and in good health and were working from 4 in the morning until 10 at night, under bad conditions, but they were all right: they were fine.

I don't think there is anybody more anxious to succeed in this than you are, and you are directing my military ideas about how to get this thing done and get it over, and I am going to stick with you, I am going to fight with you every time I have a chance.

We sent men overseas 25 years ago not prepared, and sent them into the front lines after 6 or 7 or 8 months' training. The plan was to give them 6 months' training and send them into a quiet sector. That is not enough. The casualties among those fellows were high. Every father and mother in this country wants to know that their sons are highly trained, and you should have had them long ago. All this work at home the old folks will have to do, and we will have to distribute this population around so that it can do the job that is necessary to be done.

I don't know how important it is for you or your associates to have my unbounded faith and confidence, but you have got it and I am going to help you all I can.

General MARSHALL. Thank you, Senator.

Senator GURNEY. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Gurney.

Senator GURNEY. I have a few other questions which have come to my mind, General.

In Russia they are really up against it; they are fighting a battle for their lives over there, as we all know. Do you have some information as to the number of hours they are working in industry over there?

General MARSHALL. No, sir; I don't know. I think it is without limit; but somebody else can probably give you a more accurate answer.

Senator GURNEY. And presumably they are doing the same thing in Germany and Japan?

General MARSHALL. The report I heard, and that was a long time ago, indicated that theirs was a 12-hour day.

Senator GURNEY. Not to ask you any question on this, but I would like to make the statement that if those people in Russia were not putting in these long hours and growing food and making ordnance, undoubtedly we would be more nearly up against it, like Russia is now, over in this country if those people weren't putting forth their supreme efforts; and it is my considered opinion that while our agricultural people now are putting in long hours, this country will come up against the point, if they don't realize it soon, where they will have to put in 70 or 80 hours a week to supply the Army and keep things going on the home front.

I would like to ask one question now. The Navy is allowed to recruit 17-year-old boys. Is the Army allowed to recruit down below 18?

General MARSHALL. I don't think so, sir. I am informed that they are not. Judge Patterson in a pleasant way was criticizing our procedure the other day because we not only have to get the consent of one parent, but of both, and it is very slow business enlisting the boy. He was involved with the enlistment of his own 18-year-old son. That procedure has been followed through years of peace to meet the desires of Congress.

Senator GURNEY. I expect to ask more detailed questions on that but would it be helpful to the Army if 17-year-olds were allowed to volunteer their services to the Army?

General MARSHALL. I wouldn't care to answer that at this time, sir.

Senator GURNEY. The main thing as you see it at the moment is to get in the 18- and 19-year-olds?

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Senator SCHWARTZ. I see by this bill, General, that it provides for high-school students in a certain status to complete their final year?

General MARSHALL. Yes.

Senator SCHWARTZ. What I have been more concerned about is that our medical schools throughout the country have reduced an ordinary 5-year course and 2 years of internship, to 3 and 4 years, out of the necessity of getting more doctors, and a great many of those students are now in the beginning of the third year of their medical training.

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Senator SCHWARTZ. I think that some provision should be made, that isn't made in this bill, so that they may be deferred until they complete the minimum requirement to permit them to enter the Army as doctors.

General MARSHALL. I would rather have others go into such details, Senator, because I am not sufficiently familiar with the pros and cons.

Senator SCHWARTZ. Well, outside of the method of arriving at the doctors, you do admit we are short of doctors and will be short of doctors, considering the civilian and the Army life combined?

General MARSHALL. I know that I have had some strong reactions when we drew doctors from communities, because anybody that knew me directly or indirectly usually wrote me a letter about it. There is a shortage; such as hospital space here in Washington. All these things are pressing factors in the local community.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all, gentlemen?

Senator WALGREN. I have a question, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Walgren.

Senator WALGREN. General, do you think the need is such that you would like to see this bill passed as speedily as possible?

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir; for two reasons. First, we want to correct our present dilemma as to age in these new divisions. We don't want to wait and wait and train men and then have to release them. Secondly, as I previously said I am rather concerned over the matters that come out in debate, that might be straws in the wind which will enable the enemy to make a pattern harmful to our plans.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, we have the honor of having with us this morning one of our distinguished Members, Senator Bilbo of



Mississippi. He is sufficiently interested to come here and the Chair wants to extend to the Senator the courtesy of letting him ask any questions he might want to ask.

Senator BILBO. I thank you, Mr. Chairman, but not being a member of the committee I will withhold any questions I might have.

The CHAIRMAN. General Marshall, I want to ask you one or two questions, and if the answers involve any military secret I don't want to hear it because as far as I am concerned I don't want to hear any military secrets and I don't think you ought to reveal any that are going to be of aid to the enemy, and if you want to answer me on or off the record it is perfectly all right with me.

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated at the outset that by December 31 of 1943 we hoped to have an Army of 7,500,000 men?

General MARSHALL. That is our estimate, our plan.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated that at the present time we have an Army in uniform and under arms of 4,200,000?

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That means that if we carry out the desires of those who set the number of men to constitute the Army between now and December 31, 1943, a year and 2 months from now, we will have to draw from the population of America 3,300,000 men?

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, I arrive at that by deducting 4,200,000 from the contemplated armed force of 7,500,000.

General MARSHALL. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That 3,300,000 men that will have to be added to the Army to bring its strength up to the anticipated number of 7,500,000, what part and portion thereof, in numbers, do you anticipate getting from the 18- and 19-year-olds, taking into consideration the fact that those who are 17 now will be 18 next June when the first of these men will be drawn?

General MARSHALL. Senator, if I answered that question offhand I would be guessing. I knew it 4 or 5 months ago but I don't recall the numbers right now. But these other gentlemen can answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. I assume General Hershey can answer that?

General MARSHALL. And General McNarney can also.

The CHAIRMAN. There is one question that I wanted to ask you that I have had many letters about, and I have been unable to answer them. The American public is extremely desirous of knowing as to who sets the number of men that will constitute the Army of the United States. I make that inquiry because you mentioned a moment ago that the public itself was confused because some people had said we would have an Army of 13,000,000 men and some people had said we would have an Army of 10,000,000 men, and you tell us this morning that you expect to have 7,500,000 by December 31, 1943.

Who is responsible for setting the figure of the maximum of our armed forces?

General MARSHALL. I am, sir, but we go about it in this way. It is a long, complicated procedure and takes many months. We have, first of all, our theaters to consider, actual as well as prospective. We have, as to a theater, the turn-around involved in cargo, in what we

call troop-lift, and in varieties of cargo. We have the possible attrition rate on those turn-arounds. We have the production of shipping, both existant and anticipated; we have the availability of matériel, of planes, of weapons, tanks, and everything of that sort.

We consider the type of organization that we feel is best suited for each theater, having in mind what the enemies' prospective force will be at this future date, and his character of fighting, and what he is using, and what can best be employed in the particular theater.

We must consider the various portions of the Army, the air, the ground forces, the tank forces, get all of their views, which are often conflicting. All of these factors have to be balanced.

There is the supply phase under General Somervell. To give you an example, I remember when we were working on this particular matter, last April I believe, on this figure of seven and a half million, General Somervell went over with me his difficulties in meeting the supply requirements. He talked about shelter in the United States while we were training units. He discussed matériel and labor requirements to construct the necessary shelter in this country; he talked about the advisability or inadvisability of building more camps—we try to avoid so far as we can, new installations. He discussed the use of resort hotels instead of new construction, which would require more material and more labor and cost more money, and then be torn down when the war is over. He talked of the health rate as to air space, the matter of using double-deck bunks.

He was involved in the question of the military matériel, its rate of delivery, our commitments to Russia, to China, and to the British: when it would be available for our troops and we could give new divisions their portion.

Next I talked with General McNair. He came in with relation to matériel—how many divisions could he train with efficiency; how much must a division have for training; what substitute weapons could be used for training; and would the most modern matériel be available long enough in advance of the prospective sailing date for the men to be experienced in its use. Just the S. O. S. factor is extremely complicated. The tonnage factor I have already discussed.

General Somervell is related to Judge Patterson's office as to what the production is going to be, and through the air forces as to what the air schedule is going to be.

That has to be tied in with the Operations Division as to what the necessities of our various deployments are going to be. We then get into troop organization, which is General Edwards' responsibility, as to how these things form up in units, and what particular type of units come out of this.

Then we get to the individual as to replacements in the great training centers, and I talked to the people responsible for that as to how many more training centers there shall be. For example, when this thing was first being formulated last February we were trying to arrive at a trial figure which has come out now as this seven-million-odd. Another factor was the question of these new divisions. Normally the man would come to the division with that 3 months' training I am talking about, even though the division is newly formed. However, I made a departure from the policy and required the new divisions to be prepared themselves in a period of 3 months to give the basic training to the 14,000 men who would arrive untrained, in

order to avoid the building of these additional centers for the individual training of men before they join a unit. That order saved the construction of some \$350,000,000 worth of camps. That delayed the development of divisions, of course, and there was great opposition. However, it seemed to me that a compromise was necessary and it turned out very well.

Then we were involved in the training centers for all of these supporting troops for the Air Corps, their antiaircraft, their engineers, their signal, quartermaster, their medical—which have to be trained and disciplined. In some respects they have to be disciplined earlier in their career than others because they are sent overseas earlier than divisions and they are so scattered in their employment that they are more apt to get into loose habits. We had to go into the matter of where they would be trained—because the Air Corps can't train them. They need them, have to have them, but somebody else has to organize them so that when a unit sails from the United States it is a dependable, organized, disciplined American outfit.

That meant more training centers, which we established in the S. O. S., under a very able line officer, to coordinate the training of all these people.

Our main problem was the amount of construction that could be avoided. All these various factors were considered.

Finally General Somervell informed me, "We can manage this, from the construction point, from the matériel point, from the medical point, the hospital point—all of those things—we can do it. The figure is practicable from the S. O. S. viewpoint."

The departments were compromised as to who got more of this or less than he wanted. And finally out of all this came this total of 7,500,000.

That then had to be related to the requirements of the Navy and what the country could accommodate.

Our trial figure was then submitted for approval to the Secretary of War, the Bureau of the Budget, and the President.

The CHAIRMAN. Having set your figure of 7,500,000 for December 31, 1943, of course that is as far as you can see, and the future might demand that we have an Army larger than that, even?

General MARSHALL. The future might demand that. We couldn't settle on that. I would say, before the late summer. Meanwhile we must go ahead with plans, we mustn't be caught without them; but I would say that we couldn't approximate a decision until along about August. Of course there is going to be a point where we either feel we don't need any more divisions, or we cannot afford to organize any more divisions. As I said before, when we come to that point then we can reduce our overhead, can contract, because many of the men and installations necessary to the expansion program, which is so difficult, would no longer be required. All we would then have to do is turn out replacements. I imagine that all the Germans are doing now is turning out replacements, or reorganizing existing divisions, and things of that sort—not creating new units.

The British are turning out replacements, and as to the Japanese I don't know, but I presume they are similarly engaged.

But we are developing entirely new units, we are still making an Army and when you look at the number of enemy divisions with which we are confronted, our figures are very modest. We must make

up in quality, in the air, in the Navy, the superiority we hope to develop, and in the selection of the theaters.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to an inquiry directed to you awhile ago by Senator Downey of California, which is one of great importance to the American public, you stated in the forepart of your unprepared statement, that you found many people in the armed forces now who had been inducted in the Army and in uniform, that were physically unfit, and you stated that those who were best trained were the divisions made up of the 26- and 27-year-olds. Of course we all know that these young men make the best soldiers because they are without dependents in many instances—

General MARSHALL (interposing). And they can do more.

The CHAIRMAN. Do I assume from what you stated in regard to the physically unfit, the hundreds or thousands no doubt that you found in the hospitals and find from time to time throughout the country—is it the intention of the Army to discharge those men from the Army in order that they may return to civilian life and carry on the work that they were doing, or such work as might be assigned by the Manpower Division?

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir; the physically weak are a burden to us.

The CHAIRMAN. They require more people to take care of them?

General MARSHALL. They reduce the Army and increase the overhead.

The CHAIRMAN. But it is the intention of the Army to discharge them in order that they may return to their respective vocations and aid in the civilian war program?

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now I assume that that classification begins with men around the age of 35?

General MARSHALL. I should about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any idea that you could give us with reference to that, in conjunction with the induction of these 18- and 19-year olds, as to about how many men you will find physically unfit which you will have to discharge from the Army on account of them being a burden on the Army, and return them to civil life?

General MARSHALL. I can't give you that; we are working on that right now. I think some of these officers following me can probably give you some approximate statistics.

The CHAIRMAN. You are particularly desirous to get in the 18- and 19-year-olds now because, as you stated a moment ago, for a man to be properly prepared to defend himself—and we, of course, all know that the parents of these boys want them to be in perfect condition and have the very best training in order that they may have a better chance to save their lives—that they would require anywhere from a year to 2 years, and that would depend entirely upon what branch of the service they are placed in?

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I care to ask unless some of the members of the committee have any further questions they desire to put to the General.

If not, General, we are very much obliged to you and want to apologize for keeping you as long as we have. The general public is



particularly interested in this subject. We want to assure you of our deep appreciation for the time you have given to us.

The CHAIRMAN. General McNarney, will you come around, please?

The members of this committee had the pleasure of being your guests yesterday, at which time you were very good in having revealed to us on the screen a very interesting portrayal of our war activities.

We would be very glad to have you read a statement, if you have one prepared, or to speak extemporaneously to the committee on this bill.

**STATEMENT OF GEN. J. T. McNARNEY, DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF,  
UNITED STATES ARMY**

General McNARNEY. Mr. Chairman, I have prepared a statement which, if I read, you will probably find contains considerable repetition over what General Marshall has just said. However, for the sake of continuity, if you will bear with me I would like to read the whole thing.

The CHAIRMAN. It has been suggested, General, that if you so desire, you can place your prepared statement in the record and just make an extemporaneous statement, after which the members of the committee, of course, will be privileged to question you.

General McNARNEY. Well, if you don't mind, then, I will not read from the prepared statement in its entirety.

As General Marshall stated, the strength of the Army which we plan for the end of the calendar year 1943 will be about 7,500,000. The Army today is slightly over 4,000,000, and by the end of December of this year we expect to have in the Army approximately 5,000,000. This means a heavy draft during the remaining months of this year, which will run close to 400,000 men a month. That is one of the reasons why we feel that the passage of this bill is quite urgent at this time.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. When you speak of "this year," are you speaking of the fiscal or calendar year?

General McNARNEY. I am speaking of the calendar year 1942.

I would like to speak especially about the air forces.

As everyone in this day and age knows, air superiority is a prerequisite for the success of any and all military operations. In this particular war in which we are engaged at the moment, practically all of the ground operations involve overseas operations. With the exception of Russia, there are no great land armies engaged with each other, and it is not possible for the United States and her Allies to engage at this moment large ground forces without an overseas operation.

However, the air forces are not handicapped by the necessity of crossing places on the surface, bases now exist from which the air forces can actually engage and are engaging the enemy.

For this reason, as well as the fact that it is a prerequisite that we have air superiority, first priority in our Army, and in our war plants has been given to the air forces. We are committed to a policy of building, and continuing to build, an air force which will be second to none.

In the next calendar year, the calendar year of 1943, we will more than double our existing air force, which, together with help from our Allies, should insure air supremacy in every critical area.

Now, although we are going all-out on the development and use of our air forces, it would be wishful thinking if we, as some in the public

prints and otherwise have recommended, place all our reliance on the air force. To operate an air force we require bases. A base has to be adequately protected. As we advance our air bases, particularly in the South Seas, ground forces are required to push on to occupy and protect those bases.

Our newspapers indicate daily that the marines at Guadalcanal are primarily engaged at the moment in protecting the one air base on that island. The same is true for any air base. A large number of ground forces are required, not only to operate the facilities and utilities, but to actually furnish the necessary antiaircraft protection, and security from possible ground attack.

Concurrently with the expansion of our air force, we must have a balanced ground army. Our balanced ground army, as General Marshall explained, is not a "mass" army. It is composed of a large amount of armored forces, parachute units, mountain units, and other specialized units, such as tank destroyer units, tank groups, and a large percentage of antiaircraft. In fact, in the next year the numbers in our antiaircraft units will be over 600,000, which in itself would have been a respectable army in the old days.

A measure of what we might need in the way of a ground army may be obtained from a comparison of the strength of the enemy which we may have to meet. I might just read a few figures.

The most recent estimates indicate that Germany has and can maintain 320 divisions with an additional 160 available to her from Italian, Rumanian, and other Axis satellites. A vast reservoir of conquered people and prisoners of war enable her to maintain an economic system adequate to support such a force. Because Germany has been building this army since the middle 30's, all of the 320 divisions are trained and capable of employment now—

Senator THOMAS of Utah (interposing). General, run those divisions into men, will you, so you will see what an army of 7,500,000 will mean?

General McNARNEY. We are talking about the foreign divisions now. The foreign division runs between 14 and 16 thousand men in each division. Each division has a number of supporting units, which you might say practically go with each division—so much antiaircraft, so much artillery, so many medical personnel.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Give me the total manpower that you described in the German Army?

General McNARNEY. The German ground army now, according to the best estimates we have, is something over 8,000,000.

Senator DOWNEY. That includes the air force?

General McNARNEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You say the German ground army?

General McNARNEY. The German ground army and all the supporting units. I am not certain whether that includes the actual flying units of the German air force.

Of course—

Senator THOMAS of Utah. May I ask a question there?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly, if you don't object to being interrupted, General.

General McNARNEY. Not at all.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. I was wondering whether that 8,000,000 men takes into consideration the losses they have had in Germany?

General McNARNEY. The 8,000,000 figure I gave you is the figure which Germany has maintained. Of course, she is filling that up by continually replacing her losses.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. They are able to replace their losses?

General McNARNEY. They have been up to date, as far as we have been able to determine.

Speaking of Japan, Japan maintains somewhere between 70 and 90 divisions.

So you can see that there is a total of somewhere around 570 divisions which are available to the Axis forces, just as a measure of the strength which is required by the United Nations.

I would hesitate to make any statement as to the actual number of divisions which are available to the United Nations.

Senator WALLGREN. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Wallgren.

Senator WALLGREN. General, right at that point, it is nowhere near as great as those of the Axis Powers?

General McNARNEY. In numbers, no.

Senator DOWNEY. Do you mean, including the American, Russian, and British, that we haven't as many divisions as the Axis?

General McNARNEY. That is correct, in numbers.

General Marshall covered the shipping situation pretty well. He explained how we correlate our strength with the shipping requirements, and about the only thing that I can add is that I am willing to make it a matter of official record that our mobilization rates have been synchronized with the planned rate of shipment overseas, which is based on the amount of shipping which we believe will be available.

I will read from my statement, if I may.

Man for man the American soldier is the equal of any in the world, but a soldier is not different from a boxer or a ballplayer—his speed and stamina wane with age, and the fighter who tires too soon is seldom the fighter who delivers the knockout. The old, slow ship retards the progress and endangers the safety of an entire convoy. Too many old, slow men in a division can mean the difference between victory and defeat. We must have the qualities that belong to youth. We shall temper their dash and their headlong enthusiasm with the judgment and steadiness of more mature men, but we would leave the oldest in the military bracket, particularly those past 40, to less arduous duties.

Actually, the question is not whether the 18- and 19-year-old men will be used in this war, but the question is when are we going to use them, and the War Department feels that the time has now come when we must have them, particularly in view of the rising average age rate of the divisions that we are inducting and organizing today.

As General Marshall mentioned, the average age of new divisions is rising rapidly each month; when we organize two or three new divisions, the average age of that division will be a year or more older than the division that was organized in the preceding month.

Of course, it would be extremely difficult to pluck the older men out of a division and make an old division and a young division, because they come in at a more or less even rate.

In February of 1942 the average age of the men inducted was under 25 years. By July, the average age had increased to just

under 28. It is now getting older. Indications are that under the present law the age of individuals inducted each month will rise very sharply.

The 18- and 19-year-old age groups are superior in many respects to any other age group. They have, to a higher degree, the characteristics which we desire in a soldier—good health, stamina, toughness, initiative, and the desire for adventure.

In Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, we find that this age group provides the principal element of elite forces, the shock troops that they stand in when they want to take a certain objective.

And, of course, the modern weapons, the airplane, the parachute, and tank, demand an ever-lowering age limit to get the stamina necessary to man these weapons.

General Marshall covered quite thoroughly the necessity for training and the fact that we train our organized units for a minimum of 1 year, and that normally no man actually goes to combat, unless he happens to be a replacement going into a well-trained unit, in less than 1 year. A well-trained unit, an organized unit, can absorb a man who has had his basic training, which gives him a familiarity with his weapons. It inculcates discipline and training and morale, but does not teach him all the intricacies of the organized company which he will be in; but a certain percentage of these men can well be fed into the organized unit and take their place.

I think that is about all I have. I will be glad to answer questions.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very grateful to you, General.

Senator Gurney is the author of this bill, and I want to give him the first opportunity to ask any questions he may have in mind.

Senator GURNEY. I believe I do not have any other questions than have been propounded to General Marshall. I would like to have your prepared statement in the record in full.

General McNARNEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There will be no objection, because other members have suggested and requested that you place your full statement in the record.

(The prepared statement of General McNarney is as follows:)

Mr. Chairman and members of the Senate Military Affairs Committee:

General Marshall has asked me to outline to you the manpower problem confronting the Army and to give you some of the reasons why we feel that the lower limit of the military age bracket should now be reduced to 18.

#### PLANNED TROOP BASIS

By the end of this year the enlisted strength of the Army will approximate 5,000,000 men. To complete this year's program, a million more men will be inducted during October, November, and December of this year.

During 1943 we plan to add two and one-half million more men, to reach a total of seven and a half million by the end of 1943. This planned army of seven and one-half million is not a mass army, and any reference to it as a mass army is a misconception. Of the seven and one-half million total—

(a) The air forces with their supporting services account for approximately 2,200,000 men.

(b) Approximately 1,000,000 men are involved in the training establishment; that is, individuals either being trained or employed in training for the expansion of the Army ground forces and the Services of Supply.

(c) In addition to the foregoing, approximately 1,000,000 men are absorbed in the Services of Supply and in service units in the continental United States and overseas bases.



(d) The ground combatant forces (presumably the "mass army") account for approximately 3,300,000 men organized into 110 divisions (including 32 armored and air-borne divisions) and other combat units, such as tank battalions, tank destroyer battalions and an antiaircraft force of approximately 600,000 men.

#### JUSTIFICATION OF TROOP BASIS

While it is impossible to predict exactly what the situation in 1943 and 1944 will be, there are certain conditions and facts that can be determined and which control in a large part our future plans. Highly important are the following considerations:

- (a) Maximum development and employment of our air forces.
- (b) The strength of the enemy, which will give us a measure of the forces we will need to defeat him.
- (c) Our capabilities for overseas transport, which limit the maximum offensive effort which we can make.
- (d) The emphasis which the American Army places on the quality of its soldiers.
- (e) The military need for inducting 18- and 19-year-olds.
- (f) The time needed to train combat units.

#### 4. Maximum development and employment of our air forces.

Air superiority is a prerequisite for the success of all military operations. For this reason and because our air forces can immediately engage the enemy from existing overseas bases, the United States Army air forces have been given first consideration. Our air forces will be expanded to the maximum which airplane and pilot output permit. We are committed to a policy of building and continuing to build and to send overseas our air forces at the maximum possible rate until Allied air supremacy is attained in every critical area.

Our plans for 1943 double our present air strength, which requires similar increases in antiaircraft and other ground units essential for the security of air operating bases. To accomplish this we need young men, for the air is the young man's element. Keen vision, an alert mind, quick reactions, and thirst for adventure are the human essentials for mastery of the air, and these are the attributes of youth.

Although the development of air supremacy is given first priority, we cannot afford to risk the dangerous gamble that the war can be won by air power alone. To do so is to yield to wishful thinking and to invite disaster. Thus, concurrently with the expansion of our air force, we must have tank units, tank destroyers, paratroops, air-borne infantry, antiaircraft, and last, but not least, the well-known foot soldier, prepared to hold and protect the ground establishments of the air forces, to seize and hold new air bases ever nearer the enemy, and ready finally, as the crushing power of our air attack reaches its peak, to close with the enemy on the ground and destroy him. For this task we, with our Allies, must have the superior force—superior in numbers and in quality—in the quality of our planes and tanks and guns, and in the quality of the men that man these complicated weapons of modern war.

This brings us to a consideration of the strength of the enemy ground forces that we must overwhelm.

#### STRENGTH OF ENEMY GROUND FORCES

The best measure of a nation's ground fighting strength is the number of trained and equipped divisions which can be committed to battle.

Recent estimates indicate that Germany has and can maintain 320 divisions with an additional 160 available to her from Italian, Rumanian, and other Axis satellites. A vast reservoir of conquered peoples and prisoners of war enable her to maintain an economic system adequate to support such a force. Because Germany has been building her Army since the middle thirties, all of the 320 divisions are trained and capable of employment now. Japan is capable of maintaining 70 to 90 divisions. Thus, the United Nations are faced with enemies who between them can muster in the neighborhood of from 550 to 570 divisions now.

This total of 570 divisions which the enemy has to oppose ground forces of the United Nations deserves emphasis because it indicates the magnitude of the job which we have on our hands. At the present, Russian resistance is requiring the employment of approximately half of the Axis ground strength.

To provide effective striking forces on other fronts our Army must increase its fighting power, measured in terms of armored, air-borne, and infantry divisions

by at least 50 percent during 1943 if we are to strike the enemy with the maximum force that can be transported overseas—the force essential to translate air supremacy into total victory.

#### CAPABILITIES FOR OVERSEAS TRANSPORT

A basic consideration affecting the strength of the Army in 1943 is our capability for shipping troops overseas in 1943 and 1944. To utilize this capability to the fullest extent, sufficient combat divisions and their complements of supporting troops must be mobilized in 1943 to insure that shipment of troops overseas continues at the maximum rate possible. Our combat divisions must complete their basic training before being shipped overseas for battle action. Shipping being a bottleneck of our offensive ground effort, it is inexcusable to permit the situation to arise wherein our full future capabilities in this respect could not be realized due to the lack of trained units to deploy.

I shall not attempt to give you detailed figures on shipping. The data is complex and the conclusions hinge in large part on where our forces are to be employed, what units are utilized, and the resulting variations in the essential equipment required. Based on detailed and thorough study of shipping facilities likely to be available and considering over-all strategic plans, the War Department states, as a matter of official record, that our mobilization rate has been synchronized with the planned rate of shipment overseas, which is based on an estimate of available shipping. Except for troops required for the defense of the continental United States, the great bulk of our ground strength in divisions will be employed in overseas theaters as soon as minimum training is completed.

#### EMPHASIS WHICH THE UNITED STATES ARMY PLACES ON QUALITY

I have twice referred to the necessity for quality in our military manpower. Man for man the American soldier is the equal of any in the world, but a soldier is not different from a boxer or a ball player—his speed and stamina wane with age, and the fighter who tires too soon is seldom the fighter who delivers the knockout. The old, slow ship retards the progress and endangers the safety of an entire convoy. Too many old, slow men in a division can mean the difference between victory and defeat. We must have the qualities that belong to youth. We shall temper their dash and their head-long enthusiasm with the judgment and steadiness of more mature men, but we would leave the oldest in the military bracket, particularly those past 40, to less arduous duties.

#### THE MILITARY NEED FOR INDUCTING THE 18- AND 19-YEAR-OLD-AGE GROUPS

The question is not whether the 18- and 19-year-old men will be used in this war, for their eventual use is inevitable; the sole question, we believe, is when they must be made available. The War Department is convinced that we can no longer postpone the decision and that these young men must be made available now.

(a) Eighteen and nineteen-year-olds are sorely needed to offset the rising average age of newly activated military units. The War Department views with trepidation the increasing age level of our combat forces. In February 1942, the average age of men inducted was 25 years. By July this average age had increased to just under 28 years. Indications are that under existing law, the average age of individuals inducted each month will rise very sharply. The Army is now receiving a great many men who do not have the physical stamina to stand up under combat conditions. Certain of these men can be usefully employed in service elements. There is a limit, however, to the War Department's ability to assimilate these men. We cannot disrupt units which are in overseas theaters and whose organizational and operational training have been completed, to redistribute men to obtain the best age distribution. The result will be that combat units activated in the near future will be handicapped by having a very heavy percentage of older men.

(b) Our need for the qualities inherent in young men is urgent. These 18- and 19-year-old age groups are superior in many respects to other age groups: they have, to a high degree, the characteristics which are desired in a soldier. This includes good health, stamina, toughness, daring, initiative, and the desire for adventure. In Nazi Germany and in Soviet Russia, youths of these age groups provide the principal element of elite troops. Our military history reveals that our victorious armies in the past consisted principally of young men. The airplane, the parachute, and the tank demand, more than ever, the stamina, flexibility, and courage so characteristic of youth.

Additional emphasis on the desirability of using these 18- and 19-year-old age groups is provided by the situation which will obtain if these age groups are not used.

(c) If 18- and 19-year-olds are not inducted, the Army's manpower needs will bring serious dislocation to the war economy and the social structure of the Nation. Men are now being inducted for the Army at the rate of 400,000 per month. I am informed that Selective Service cannot fill these quotas without drawing very heavily on married men.

Likewise, the 18- and 19-year-old age groups constitute the sole remaining reservoir of individuals who have no dependents and who are, in general, either in school or employed on jobs which can either be dispensed with or performed by women. In addition, failure to induct 18- and 19-year-olds is diverting many such youths into war industries. This is storing up future trouble, for when these youths reach the age of 20, a difficult question will arise. The country will either be forced to grant deferment to a very large number of youths without dependents or in refusing to grant exemptions, it will rob our war industries of a large number of workers, just as they begin to be of great value, and with the resulting waste of their specialized training.

#### TIME NEEDED TO TRAIN COMBAT UNITS

Throughout these remarks, frequent reference has been made to the fact that it takes time to train units. If we are to have the men needed for the drive to carry us to victory, we must have them now in order that they may be trained and ready for combat when needed. This time element is so important that repetition is justified. The mobilization plan for 1943 must provide the force necessary to meet our estimated needs combined with our estimated capabilities for the year 1944. Twelve months is considered the minimum amount of training which our combat divisions must receive to insure reasonable success in battle without prohibitive losses. This time requirement for training is modest in view of the fact that enemy forces have undergone an initial period of training just twice as long. We must obtain now the forces needed for combat a year from now.

The 18- and 19-year-olds must be inducted now to provide the youthful zest, the stamina, and the alertness so essential to the building of an Army, which, with maximum speed and minimum losses, can bring us to total victory.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Hill?

Senator HILL. I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Wallgren?

Senator WALLGREN. Do you have any knowledge of the draft laws of any of the Dominions of the United Kingdom, such as Canada? What do they do?

General McNARNEY. I have no detailed knowledge of the draft laws of either Canada or England. I spent 8 months in England last year, and one thing that was very noticeable was that they at least require every woman in the United Kingdom to register. She must report and state what her qualifications are, and then she gets a directive to do a certain type of work. Actually, up to the time I left, I had read in the newspapers of only two cases where the girls had refused to go where they were told, and in each case they were fined a relatively small amount.

As far as the men are concerned, I don't know the age limit, but I do know that they have what they call their youth battalions, young battalions. Their young battalion starts out as a battalion used for the ground protection of the air bases in England. As you know, there are many hundreds of air bases in England now, and many in the process of construction and they are all protected by a certain proportion of ground troops. A large proportion of the younger men in England, the boys, get their preliminary training—which almost corresponds to our first 3 months of basic training—in these young battalions.



Senator WALLGREN. Do you know anything about the strength of the United Kingdom as far as men are concerned?

General McNARNEY. I have a very good idea, but I don't think that I would care to put it out.

Senator WALLGREN. We know how many we are going to have, and we know how many the Germans have.

General McNARNEY. I think if those figures are presented, they should be presented by the British and not by me.

Senator WALLGREN. Do you know approximately?

Senator HILL. I think that the General finds himself in this position, that it might not be received with the best grace if the British thought that somebody in our Army was telling about their numbers or their disposition or about their troops, and I think he feels they wouldn't appreciate his giving out that information.

General McNARNEY. I don't believe that I should reveal that.

Senator WALLGREN. I would like to learn what the comparative strength is of the Allied Nations and Axis Powers. We are talking about turning out 7½ million men. We say that Germany has 8,000,000 men. We want to know who is furnishing all the men in this war.

(Discussion off the record.)

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Truman?

Senator TRUMAN. I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Thomas?

Senator THOMAS of Utah. General, in your prepared statement there is a break-down of the ages in the make-up of our Army today and what it will be at the end of the year, and so on?

General McNARNEY. No; it does not go into that detail.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Those figures that General Marshall has given us, and the figures that you give us, about the age of our Army moving up constantly, and therefore the necessity of younger replacements to make a younger Army, did we have those formally given to us or were they just informally given to us?

General McNARNEY. The statements that have been given are actual statements. The latest figures available are those that I gave you. The figures that I gave are for July, they were just under 28 years of age. I do not have the figures with me for any later months, and whether or not those figures have actually been determined, I am not sure.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. How do you arrive at that, do you account for all persons in the Army, officers and men, to get those ages?

General McNARNEY. The average age is counted for all the military personnel in the United States Army.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Now you stated also that the age of the inductees is going up?

General McNARNEY. Yes, sir.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Of course, we did extend the law from 35 to 45, so that would be quite natural, but that means that the volunteering of the younger people has not been sufficient to keep the average of the youth equal with the older people that have been called in, because you have been taking the 18-year olds if they volunteered?

General McNARNEY. Yes; and we have a number of them in the Army now. Of course, I believe a larger number of the younger

people have gone to the other services, such as the Navy and the Marine Corps.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. About 900,000 or a million boys turn a year old every year, don't they, in this country?

General McNARNEY. I am not sure of my figures, but I have a figure in my mind of about 1,200,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything further, Senator?

Senator THOMAS of Utah. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Downey?

Senator DOWNEY. General, of this 2,400,000 males now between 18 and 20, do you have any figures as to how many are now either in the armed services or preparing for military training?

General McNARNEY. I would hesitate to vouch for the correctness of the figure, but I will make an estimate—it is about 400,000.

Senator DOWNEY. That is actually in the armed services, isn't it, the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps?

General McNARNEY. Yes, sir.

Senator DOWNEY. And then aren't there a very substantial number in different military schools, R. O. T. C., and others?

General McNARNEY. Of course, there are a large number of young men who are going to colleges—

Senator DOWNEY (interposing). I don't mean the colleges, General, I mean like the military schools of some kind.

General McNARNEY. Well, the schools in which we have the R. O. T. C. training, there are a large number of those. Of course, that extends down into the high schools, also.

Senator DOWNEY. Well, do you have any figures as to how many of the men between 18 and 20 are now working either on farms or in industry?

General McNARNEY. No; I wouldn't have that figure. General Hershey might have.

Senator DOWNEY. I do think that figure is important to us, because one of the problems here is how much will we add to the general manpower of the Nation, as well as to the Army, by drawing upon this group. I think it is part of the problem, and I do think that the record ought to have that figure.

Can you tell me this—out of the 2,400,000, how many of the boys do you think might be incapacitated by reason of physical defects?

General McNARNEY. I think perhaps General Hershey could answer that better than I. I really am not familiar with the induction figures, and the numbers turned back for physical disability.

Senator DOWNEY. General, the figure that I am trying to arrive at is that in the next 14 months, we expect to increase the Army by 3,300,000. It doesn't seem to me that we are going to get, at the maximum, more than a million and a half out of this younger group.

General McNARNEY. That is true, you can't expect to get the whole number out of the younger group, but the younger group is a very large, untapped reservoir which we haven't yet tapped. We have tapped all the other age groups.

Senator DOWNEY. That will mean that we will have to get substantially more than half of the increment to the Army that is planned, out of the older groups. Consequently, it seems to me that the problem of

securing younger and abler men on an average for combat duty for an Army of seven and one-half million, is not going to be appreciably helped.

General McNARNEY. It is just the other way, if you will allow me to say so, because we have already tapped the older age groups, and if we had to take all of the planned increase from the older age groups we would have to take a higher percentage of men already in those age groups, which would be bound to make us dip down very heavily into the married class and possibly also the married men with dependents.

Senator DOWNEY. I am just trying to state a mathematical fact. Maybe I am wrong, and I am not attempting to draw any conclusions. But it would look to me that the average age of your planned Army of 7,500,000 will be higher than your average age of your present army of 4,200,000.

Senator GURNEY. May I interpose, Senator Downey?

Senator DOWNEY. Yes.

Senator GURNEY. We have at the moment approximately 2,000,000 men of 18 and 19 years old. By the middle of next year, when they will be taken, there will be another year age group which will come into it and make possibly 3,200,000 available at that time.

Senator DOWNEY. Let me point out to Senator Gurney that this law doesn't affect time and tide. Of course, we will have men becoming 20 years of age—everybody is getting a year older.

I believe we have made a serious mistake in our Army by using so many of the older men. I think we shouldn't have deferred the men from 20 to 26 who were in essential war industries. We now all concede that we took much too high an average age for efficient combat units. You may get a million or a million and a half boys out of this reservoir. You probably won't get more than a million and a half.

Now we are going to raise the Army from 4,200,000 to 7,500,000. So I don't see how, if the other men have got to come from an age of over 26 years, we are going to appreciably reduce the average age of the 7,500,000.

General McNARNEY. Actually, the average age of the men in the Army may not decrease, but at least we will have gained a large number of young, healthy, vigorous fighting men who can go into the actual combat units which are going to meet the enemy.

Senator DOWNEY. How much you are going to increase that average, you don't know. You already have several hundred thousand of those young men in the armed forces.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. May I ask one more question?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly, Senator.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. I think, General, if we point this fact out—in the last several months your Army has been increasing around 300,000 men a month. If it goes from the figures you have given us, to the end of 1943, up to the figure of 7,500,000, your increase is going to go up at the rate of about 285,000 a month, you are just continuing on the same way.

Now the question, Have you come to that place in the drafting of men where it is hard to get them out of the quota?

General McNARNEY. Under the present laws it is hard to get that quota.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. So that, if the Army is to be increased for the next 14 months in accordance with the number that it is now being

increased, you have got to enlarge your pool from which to take these men; is that true?

General McNARNEY. That is correct.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. And since you can only enlarge it upward, as far as age is concerned, you have discovered that your Army is actually getting too old for efficiency, and therefore you are asking for this younger pool; is that right?

General McNARNEY. Yes, sir; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Bilbo.

Senator BILBO. General, I want to get clear in my mind one fact. It is not that you are short in the reservoir that you have been drawing from that will make the Army, at the end of 1943, 7,500,000, the manpower is there and you can get it under the present draft law; but what you are after is this younger blood, is that it?

General McNARNEY. That is correct.

Senator BILBO. The Army has a regulation that you take no man who is below the fourth grade in literacy. I understand that that is not a ruling of General Hershey, but a demand of the Army. Have you ever thought of the advisability of drawing on that reservoir of men?

General McNARNEY. We have thought of the advisability, we have actually reduced the requirements. We are now faced with this—in a large number of our training centers we have what we call development battalions. In these development battalions we place the illiterates and others of a low educational standard, and give them special training.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Who is doing the training, General, who is teaching these men?

General McNARNEY. The training staff of the training centers.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Generally commissioned officers?

General McNARNEY. They are both commissioned and enlisted personnel.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. You have some enlisted personnel?

General McNARNEY. Oh, yes. A large proportion of the number of instructors who teach the enlisted men are enlisted men themselves.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. That is where you are teaching them how to read and write?

General McNARNEY. How to read and write, how to carry a gun, how to understand simple orders—in fact, a large portion of the training is accomplished by enlisted instructors.

Senator BILBO. Just one other question, please.

The army is now rejecting all draftees who are discovered to have venereal diseases?

General McNARNEY. That is not quite correct, sir. We are now taking in draftees with venereal disease up to and including the capacity which we have in the facilities which we have set aside for the purpose of curing them before they actually join their basic training unit.

Senator BILBO. Then it is your present plan to isolate them and treat them?

General McNARNEY. Until they are cured, and certainly until there is no danger of infecting their fellow soldiers.

Senator BILBO. Pardon a personal reference. In my State, with a population of one-half Negro and one-half whites—there is practically no difference in the population—the system that you are using now has resulted in taking all the whites to meet the quota and leaving the



great majority of Negroes at home, or they are sent back, because first there is the literacy test, and secondly, there is the venereal disease. We have in Mississippi, by a statement from the State board of health, out of 1,000,000 Negroes we have 250,000 cases of venereal diseases, and it has been the custom recently of turning back these Negroes from the camps, and I have had a great deal of complaint from the draft boards because when they send them they are sent back and the whites are kept; and it is resulting in extracting all the white able-bodied men to the Army and leaving the Negroes on our hands. That is the result of the present system, and that was the reason that I was anxious that you develop the reservoir of the illiterate class as well as give treatment to the venereal class, so that there would be an equal distribution.

General McNARNEY. We are actually using the illiterates and the venereals up to the capacity which we feel we can handle without unduly handicapping the progress of the war. You must remember that every time we take a venereal in, and every time we take an illiterate, it requires extra training; and particularly when you have to send a man to the hospital, as General Marshall said, you haven't increased the Army, you have decreased it until you have cured him.

Senator BILBO. Well, you have sent back 12,000 out of the selectees in Mississippi because of venereal disease.

General McNARNEY. That seems to be an unfortunate condition in your State.

Senator BILBO. And I hope that the Army can be equipped to isolate these cases and cure them so they can go into actual armed service.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other members of the committee that desire to direct any questions to the general?

Senator HILL. I imagine that so far as the number of men who have been rejected for illiteracy up to date is concerned, General Hershey would have all those figures?

General McNARNEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. General, I wish to ask a few questions.

As I understand it, you favor the enactment of this proposed legislation by Senator Gurney, for the reason that, in the first place, those in the reservoir classified as 1-A are about to become depleted?

General McNARNEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And, in the second place, you find young men easier to train and better physically, naturally, on account of their youth?

General McNARNEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you want the very best fighting material that you can get in the country?

General McNARNEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In the next place, the older men, that is, the men beyond the age of 35 years, have evidenced the fact that they can't take it, and you want to release them to civilian life to aid in the war program outside of the Army itself?

General McNARNEY. Well, it would be impossible, of course, to release all the age group over 35—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I understand, but those who cannot endure the rigid training?

General McNARNEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And for the further reason that you are desirous now of getting the younger men in order that they may be provided



the opportunity of having the very best training that will fit them to protect themselves and to save their lives in case of a war emergency, that is, in case they go right into actual battle?

General McNARNEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now in view of the statement made by you and the statement made by General Marshall, in regard to the physically unfit, and these men who are unfortunately going to have to go out of the Army, is it not true that we shall have to cease taking volunteers of men up to the age of 50 that we are doing up to the present time? At the present time it is my understanding we are accepting volunteers of all males up to the age of 50 years.

General McNARNEY. All males who can pass the necessary physical examination.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. But in that connection, in view of the experience of the Army, from now on there will probably be a more rigid examination of those beyond the age of, say, 25, who want to volunteer, up to 50, because our experience has been that these men beyond 35 are generally not physically fit, and we have had to send a lot of them home.

General McNARNEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. From now on we won't really encourage enlistments up to 50 any more as much as we have in the past?

General McNARNEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I have had a great many letters from parents in the country who are extremely exercised in regard to the welfare of their boys. Of course, I know, and all the Members of the Senate for that matter know, that the Army is doing everything in the world it possibly can to preserve the health and to develop physically the men in the Army, because our Army men are more interested in that than anybody else, for that matter, if they could be more interested. These parents, from whom I have had a lot of letters, are exercised over the fact that our housing facilities are not sufficient, particularly from a viewpoint of heating facilities. They have learned that the authorities have issued the order to the effect that we can't have our homes heated beyond 65°, and in case of sickness not beyond 70°, which is designated on the thermometer as being a health temperature, and all of this is occasioned by a shortage of fuel. They seem to feel that as a result of that low temperature we are going to have in our homes, resulting from a lack of fuel, that we may have an epidemic of influenza or pneumonia that will sweep this country like it did in 1914, when you observed the hundreds of caskets at the stations of almost all of our big camps.

Now, coming to the real point, are we going to have sufficient heat and heating facilities provided for those camps to avoid any danger of an epidemic of influenza or pneumonia? I have so many letters on that subject that I wanted to hear from you what your opinion is in regard to it.

General McNARNEY. My opinion is that Army camps will be provided with sufficient fuel to maintain the normal temperature needed to keep the barracks healthfully heated.

Senator GURNEY. Isn't it a fact that the shortage of fuel for civilians is occasioned by our effort to see that our armed forces are properly taken care of?

General McNARNEY. Well, it is due to the fact that probably the armed forces will be taken care of ahead of the civilians if the necessity arises.

The CHAIRMAN. In reference to the statement made by General Marshall, with reference to 7,500,000 men, many people in the country are becoming exercised in regard to the size of the Army. I have heard, as a matter of fact, a number of expressions on Capitol Hill here, that we are coming to the point where we have got to decide whether we are going to have the biggest Army in the world, or whether, on the other hand, we are going to continue to provide food and ammunition and arms and all that, for all of our Allies. Now, in arriving at the figure of 7,500,000 men, you don't think that that is going to interfere with our continued production and supply of food and clothing and arms and ammunition for our Allies?

General McNARNEY. As General Marshall explained, in building our proposed troop bases for the calendar year 1943, each and every one of those factors was given long consideration before we actually arrived at the figure which we could raise and support, and not only not reduce but in many instances increase our aid to the other United Nations.

The CHAIRMAN. And all of that is taken into consideration?

General McNARNEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Because there is considerable discussion about whether we are going to be the largest Army in the world or whether we are going to continue to be the producing democracy of the earth.

Are there any other questions?

Senator DOWNEY. I would like to ask two or three more questions.

As I understand, the actual divisions making up of German soldiers is only 320; is that correct?

General McNARNEY. That is according to our best information.

Senator DOWNEY. At 15,000 to a division, that would make 4,800,000?

General McNARNEY. Yes, sir.

Senator DOWNEY. Now Germany has a negligible navy, has it not, in numbers?

General McNARNEY. That is true.

Senator DOWNEY. About how many men have we in our naval or marine forces that are not included in this contemplated 7,500,000, or will we have, say, by the end of next year?

General McNARNEY. I would rather leave that to the Navy and Marine Corps to answer. I am not certain what their general plans are.

Senator DOWNEY. Well, is it a million now, do you know, approximately? The only point I am attempting to make, General, is that we are going to attempt to maintain armed forces, probably, by next year, of over double what Germany is going to maintain, and I might make this further suggestion. The War Production Board is figuring, in the next calendar year, to produce two and one-half to three times as much military goods in terms of volume as Germany is producing.

(In response to Senator Hill's question, General McNarney submitted the following information for inclusion in the record:)

The Army has inducted 135,000 illiterates. The total number of inductees discharged because of illiteracy or inaptitude numbers 5,700. Three hundred illiterates have been discharged because of physical disability.

According to the best information which the Army has, the percentage of persons called by Selective Service who have been rejected for physical disability is 31 percent.

The total number of inductees who have been discharged because of physical disabilities is \$5,000. Of this total, 78,000 were discharged for disabilities which existed prior to induction.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions, gentlemen?

(No response.)

The CHAIRMAN. We are very much obliged to you, gentlemen. Thank you very much.

General Hershey, will you please come around?

You are all acquainted with General Hershey, he has been before our committee several times.

Before you begin, General, I want to read to the members of the committee your brief letter addressed to me under date of October 13, 1942, as a result of an inquiry that I directed to you:

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM,  
Washington, D. C., October 13, 1942.

HON. ROBERT R. REYNOLDS,

*Chairman, Committee on Military Affairs,  
United States Senate.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of September 5, 1942, requesting the views of the Selective Service System regarding S. 2748, a bill to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

The Selective Service System favors the enactment of sections 1 and 3 of S. 2748 believing that such legislation is necessary in the best interest of the war effort.

Inasmuch as the supply of 1-A men is rapidly nearing depletion, it will be necessary, in order to meet the requirements of the armed forces, to provide for the induction of the men between 18 and 20 years of age or begin to induct men with family relationships.

The Selective Service System also is convinced that such legislation would merely be another step in providing for the orderly, democratic and impartial method of procuring manpower for the armed forces. As a great many of these younger men are now being solicited for the armed forces, the Selective Service System recommends that the democratic, impartial and orderly method of procuring and allocating manpower be extended to the lower age group.

The Selective Service System has continually taken the position that deferments should in no way be based upon the economic status of registrants and consequently has repeatedly opposed proposals for granting group deferments to students as a class. For this reason, the Selective Service System does not favor the enactment of section 2 of S. 2748.

We have been advised by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection to our submission of this report to your Committee.

Sincerely yours,

LEWIS B. HERSHEY, *Director.*

You do agree with the passage of the bill, and are asking for the passage of the bill as the Director of the Selective Service Act, but you are opposed to deferring any of these boys for the reason mentioned in this section of the Senator's bill before this committee now?

### STATEMENT OF MAJ. GEN. LEWIS B. HERSHEY, DIRECTOR, SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

General HERSHEY. Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, that is correct.

I don't care to make any issue of that opposition, but I can't, in honesty, do otherwise, because I can't see an economic factor being made.

If the Government should send that man to school, they should take the responsibility of choosing him and sending him to school, but I can't see him being deferred because his parents may have enough money to keep him on in school. But I don't want to make any great point of it.

I came over here to support the bill for four or five reasons.

One is that I can't see anything in the history of our country, where we have had to mobilize largely, that didn't require down to 18.

Secondly, the Army has told me, as they have told you, that they need—regardless of how few they need—they need young men.

Third, in trying to protect the economy of this country, in agriculture and industry, I begin to run into additional difficulties when I must enter into the classes of people who have family relationships, because there is a very close correlation between men who have fairly well paying jobs, or stability and security on the farms, with the family relationship.

I have at the present time about 1,000,000 unmarried men deferred for occupational reasons, but once I am compelled to go into the married groups, as I must during the next 3 months, to make the present calls, I must not only decide in each case whether there is hardship for the person from a family relationship, but I must study very closely his economic relationships. Otherwise, I am no longer getting the secondary or collateral protection that the family relationship did give to the farm and to essential industries.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you are going into the families in the next 3 months?

General HERSHEY. In the next 3 months, and I would like to have the numbers left off the record, if you please, because I am not at liberty to give them. The War Department have given you some, but I must make about                      between October 1 and December 31.

Senator WALLGREN. Right at that point, would the passage of this bill make any change in those plans?

General HERSHEY. I want to make it perfectly clear that you are not settling the manpower problem by the passage of this bill. You are making available to them immediately somewhere around between 1,000,000 and a million and a half for the Army.

The reason I must have such broad differences is this: At the same time that I am operating in the selection field, the voluntary enlistments continue, and I think from what experience I have had that the passage of this bill will accelerate very greatly the enlistments of the 18- and 19-year-olds, particularly in the Navy, so at the present time I am figuring, if I get 2 out of every 3, I will probably do better than I expect.

So for that reason I believe that this will make available approximately 800,000 or 900,000 between 18 and 20, that is, the 18- and 19-year-olds; who we can reasonably expect to induct in the Army, provided that recruitment does not exceed the 1 out of 3 people who are physically fit.

You must also subtract those already in the service, those already in the enlisted reserve, and those who will not be able to pass the physical examination, and I am sorry to say that the rate of rejections for the group I will have to handle will be a little larger than it ought to be, due to the fact that there is a residue in the 18- and 19-year-olds of those already rejected when they have tried to enlist.



The men that have enlisted have all been men who have passed the physical examination. The ones left include not only the ones who have not tried to enlist, but also the ones that have tried to enlist but failed to pass the physical. But that will probably not run more than 5 or 10 percent.

But you will have available in December, because unless we have action very rapidly, I don't expect anything in November; the man must be given 10 days' notice before induction. Before that he has a 10-day appeal period, and if there is any request to speak to the local board or one of a hundred things, you can add 10 or 20 days more. So I must figure on 30 or 40 days to process a man—

Senator WALLGREN (interposing). I asked General Marshall whether or not the passage of this bill would take a little of the pressure off of these men that are about to be called, with dependents and so on. He said you could better answer that question.

General HERSHEY. Yes; I will be glad to do that. It will take the pressure off very materially in December if the passage is rapid. I shall be in a rather unfortunate position in October and November, because although our people shouldn't be blamed, the public figures that when legislation is passed that settles something immediately. I will be under the compulsion of either taking the people that I have already processed, and that will run up to 650,000 people net, that is not gross—gross it is 775,000. I must either take those in October and November or not meet my calls, because I cannot deny to these other men their right of notification.

Senator WALLGREN. The quicker we pass this bill, the quicker we take off the pressure?

General HERSHEY. That is right, exactly, but I am not pressing that; that is my particular problem.

Senator HILL. Would you rather finish your statement?

General HERSHEY. I have no statement, sir.

Senator HILL. You have spoken of the fact that this would relieve the situation some, relieve the pressure, so far as these married people are concerned, in December. I would like for you to follow right through, through to December 1943, having in mind what General Marshall has said, that by that time we propose an army of 7½ million men.

General HERSHEY. As you gentlemen have pointed out, I think you have somewhere around three or four million that you are going to take in between now and next December. Now, of that group you will have, I figure, with the voluntary recruiting program going on, some 800,000 18's and 19's available. There will become available in a year's time approximately 1,200,000, less those who enlisted at 17 and less those who subsequently enlist, especially in the Navy, less those rejected physically, less those we may possibly find we have to defer for educational reasons. It may not be large, but all of those losses must be charged against your 1,200,000 that will develop between now and a year from now. Of course, the 800,000 who are already 18 or 19 years of age, exclusive of those that will enlist, are available now. But you will have the others develop.

Senator DOWNEY. Well, the actual net gain is only about 800,000?

General HERSHEY. Between 800,000 and 1,200,000 or 1,300,000 or 1,400,000. It depends on how many you enlist. The armed forces will get all of them, but they won't all go in the Army. Of course, unfor-

tunately, while I have no business now furnishing men for the Navy, I do have to consider that always, and for the merchant marine, because they are all, as far as I am concerned, in the armed forces.

Senator DOWNEY. May I intervene with another question on that point?

Could you give us any general idea of what proportion of that 800,000 or 900,000 would go into the Army and what proportion into the Navy?

General HERSHEY. The 800,000 or 900,000 is what we feel will go into the Army by induction, and the 400,000 or 500,000 we lose will be both to the Army and Navy by enlistment.

Senator GURNEY. Eight or nine hundred thousand will be available between now and January 1, 1943?

General HERSHEY. Additional, yes; because you would get the one million-something otherwise, but this 800,000 or 900,000, plus 500,000 volunteers, a total of either 1,300,000 or 1,500,000; now this is net, not gross. I have eliminated the physicals, but somewhere around in there is exactly what this bill is about.

Senator GURNEY. If I may pursue, 800,000 or 900,000 are 18 or 19 years old now that would be available for Selective Service boards around the country to relieve the pressure on those with dependents and occupational development; that, between now and the 1st of this coming year, that will be the case?

General HERSHEY. Yes; they will not help in November, but they might possibly, with the rapid passage of the bill, they might carry the load almost wholly in December.

Senator GURNEY. And next year, on June—or whenever you decide to register them—you would have those that are 17 now, or were 17 during the forepart of 1942. So you would have another increment beyond the 800,000 or 900,000 in 1943?

General HERSHEY. Yes; about 100,000 each month you would gain.

Senator HILL. You would get about 1,200,000 next year?

General HERSHEY. That is right; that is gross, of course.

Senator HILL. What would be your net?

General HERSHEY. Well, the net—

Senator HILL (interposing). In other words, what I am trying to arrive at, General, is what effect the passage of this bill is going to have on taking married men over this whole period from now until January 1, 1943?

General HERSHEY. I think you can figure just 1,300,000 to 1,500,000 additional.

Senator HILL. For that whole period?

General HERSHEY. That is right, because the others you would get anyway, but that is the net gain.

Senator HILL. You are going to have to take altogether about 3,200,000 or 3,300,000?

General HERSHEY. Yes; that is for the Army.

Senator HILL. So even when you pass this bill, you still run into the married group?

General HERSHEY. You can't escape that, but you won't go in as deeply.

Senator HILL. I wanted to make that clear.

General HERSHEY. You will help me this way, you will give me a little more time to try to work over the million that I have. I

have, as you all know, some youngsters in different types of factories that could come out if we could only have some time to get them out. And you will get some of that million, and the more time you will have with other people to get your training programs going, and get your employers to analyze their situation and set up an orderly withdrawal the more of the young deferred men you will get from the factories. This replacement program has been delayed more than it should have been by employers; they have had their troubles and they couldn't spend too much time on that particular thing.

Senator GURNEY. General, Senator Hill asked me a question as to how it would affect those with dependents, and married men. Isn't it a fact that each one of the 18- and 19-year-olds that you are allowed to select after the passage of this bill, will actually defer one man with dependents?

General HERSHEY. That is right.

Senator GURNEY. That you otherwise would have to take?

General HERSHEY. Yes. I have gotten in enough trouble on being a prophet, but it probably is the thing that could keep the induction of men with children off to 1943, because it is a manpower supply for 3 or 4 or 5 months. Next year, if I get over January 1 with what the Army has brought you today, I haven't too much of a problem. In fact next year's total calls on the basis of a 7,500,000-man army are only about double the total for the last 3 months of this year. So if I can get over January, then we hope to begin to get a little breathing space. The 18's and 19's would make a difference of somewhere between 900,000 and 1,500,000, and my best guess is that it is enough to insure that we will not have to take multiple dependents unless the Navy recruits too many, but I would like to warn you as to this. Before that time you are going to be looking at what a man is doing, and you are not going to stand, the country is not going to stand for voluntary idleness. It is not going to stand for able-bodied men doing jobs that are not such that able-bodied men ought to do them. Those things will complicate your dependency, because you may have to take some of those people in order to make the rest of them work at necessary work.

But that has nothing particularly to do with this except that I would like to get it on the record that when we take married people sometimes, and we are criticized for it, there are excellent reasons for it.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean to say that the married men are all trying to volunteer?

General HERSHEY. No; I don't mean that at all, but a good many times you can think of a man who has a wife and three or four children, and has been supported by them, and the local board looks at him and thinks of his wife drawing \$100 a month, and they think that she and society and perhaps even the man would be better off to put him to work, and they do. That is going to happen, it doesn't make much difference what we say about it.

I have tried to get the dependency thing under control, because as you know it has been very unfortunate. But inevitably when the pressure comes, men who are idle are going to have to go to work if they are able.

The CHAIRMAN. Before we leave the subject that was broached by Senator Gurney and Senator Hill, I want to ask you a question. How many men of the age of 18 and 19 years are in the United States today that will be subject to call if this bill is passed within the next couple of weeks?

General HERSHEY. The best thing I can say is that there are 2½ million in those age groups, but I can't tell you how many are in the Army or the Navy or the Reserves of each, because that number is changing rather rapidly and I do not have access to the figures easily. But my best estimate is that 500,000 of those will, with the passage of the bill, be in the services by enlistment.

The CHAIRMAN. Be subject to induction?

General HERSHEY. No; I figure we will get 900,000 by induction, but 500,000 either have enlisted or will enlist.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean between now and December 31 of this year?

General HERSHEY. Well, within the next 4 or 5 months.

The CHAIRMAN. Next year there will become 18 years of age 1,200,000 men?

General HERSHEY. That is right, 300 a day.

The CHAIRMAN. That means that with the passage of this bill, you are still going to have to go into the married categories?

General HERSHEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. The married classification, isn't that right?

General HERSHEY. Yes.

Senator GURNEY. But you did make the statement that you probably would be able to relieve the military obligation from those who had families?

General HERSHEY. I think so, except the ones who are inducted for other reasons, such as when you move in to try to make everybody go to work. England still inducts men that they find in order to put them to work, and I think we will do the same.

Senator HILL. Let me ask you a question. Did you ever finish?

He started out with five reasons, and we stopped him on the third one. Did you have two more?

General HERSHEY. I will try to review them.

If we are going to learn anything by our past, I don't care whether you take the Revolutionary War, or the War Between the States, or the World War, and we are sailing already beyond the World War experience—

Senator HILL (interposing). From an article in the New York Times, I think you are a pretty good historian.

General HERSHEY. I wrote that a long time ago.

The historical is the first.

Second, the Army wants them, and that isn't primarily our business, but I do think we have a right to feel, from what little studies we have made, that when you have got to fly a plane, jump out of it, bounce around in a tank, and swim ashore, you don't want to be any age.

The third is that we are getting down low in our manpower pool.

The fourth is that as we get lower, we find it more and more difficult to protect the things we ought to protect, because we have the competition of taking people out of either the married classes or the deferred classes; whereas, if you are dealing with these young-



sters who haven't married, many of them, and even if they are in industry they haven't been in there too long, then these fellows make better material.

I am on the griddle less with the unmarried fellow than when I have to start into the married groups, and the less deeply I go into them the more selective I can be, but if I must go deeply into them——

Senator DOWNEY (interposing). General Hershey, I am directing this question rather to the total manpower needs of the Nation than the strictly military viewpoint. Out of our 2,400,000 males between 18 and 20, how many do you think are now engaged in industrial, farm, or business work of some kind or another? Have you any figures on that?

General HERSHEY. Not here—I think I can get some for you; but there again, we have not classified those fellows for military service, we have only classified them occupationally, and it is much higher than a great many people think, because you have, in many of your factories, some of these youngsters. But a great many of them have only been in there a short time, they have learned jobs that you can teach to a woman in 6 or 8 weeks, and they are the fellows that are running machines that do a repetitive process, do the same thing over and over. Not many of the 19-year-olds, and certainly few of the 18-year-olds, have had skills that have been acquired over 3 or 4 years.

Senator DOWNEY. That isn't the point I am trying to make. What I am trying to develop is this: To what extent, appreciable extent, will we add to the general manpower of the Nation by this draft bill?

General HERSHEY. You won't add anything to the general manpower, but you will make available specifically to the manpower somewhere up to a million and a half people who are now being worked over through voluntary methods, and I feel that they ought to be handled by orderly methods.

Senator DOWNEY. And a substantial number of those young boys are right now working on farms or in industry, are they not?

General HERSHEY. Yes; I think more in industry than on farms, unfortunately, because I would agree with you that I think industry has rather rifled the farms.

Senator DOWNEY. I know many farms in California that are being run by young boys from 16 up to 20, and by old men from 70 to 85 years of age.

General HERSHEY. I think you are going to have to defer. Well, let's take one of these dairy farms; you might not be able to touch an 18- or 19-year-old on that dairy farm during the next 2 or 3 years. I can conceive that that is very possibly going to happen. You can't say that every farmer is that necessary, however.

Senator HILL. General, can you tell us how many men have been rejected up to date on the grounds of illiteracy?

General HERSHEY. Well, I think I can find it in here. Any figures I have, I want to call your attention to the fact that many times a fellow has been rejected two or three times, because we send them back, and I don't know, but I could furnish that to the committee.

Senator HILL. Could you furnish those figures?

General HERSHEY. Yes; I would be glad to. You want the number of illiterates that have been rejected, or the people that have been rejected for illiteracy?

Senator HILL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean from the enactment of the selective-service law to date?

Senator HILL. Yes; and I would like to have those that have been taken into the Army and afterward discharged because of illiteracy.

General McNARNEY. We will furnish those.

Senator HILL. I would like to have, if I could, the picture of all men who have been denied service on the basis of illiteracy.

General HERSHEY. Our numbers, when they come, will be rejections, and we have had three different situations, three situations on illiteracy. You had first the acceptance of any man who could understand a simple order, and then the fourth grade rule, and now back to the 10-percent basis per day to induction stations of people who understand the simple order rule.

Senator HILL. When you put in these figures, also make certain that these three different rules are set out.

Then I would also like to have those same figures with reference to rejections on the basis of physical disability. You have got those, have you not?

General HERSHEY. Yes.

Senator HILL. And also from the Army, too.

General HERSHEY. The physical disabilities run up to about 2,000,000, that is both by selective service and the Army.

Senator HILL. Out of how many men processed?

General HERSHEY. I would guess seven or eight million, not quite that high. The rejections will run probably up around 40 percent. At the present time they are running about 30 percent, but they haven't been running that long enough to bring the average down, perhaps; but on the other hand, they have run that through 2 of the 600,000 months, that is, I mean in 2 months' time that many examinations, rather than back in some of the 100,000 months. I wouldn't want to guess just what the total over-all is.

Senator HILL. You will get that for us?

General HERSHEY. I will be glad to. You get into the question of the 1-B's there. Up to the time we accepted them, your rejection rate included the 1-B's, and many of those, of course, have been reexamined and now are in the service.

Senator HILL. You are taking the 1-B's now?

General HERSHEY. Yes; on the basis of 25 percent per month, which will exhaust them December 31, 1942.

Senator HILL. General, you heard General Marshall tell about two men he had talked with at Fort Bragg, in the hospital there, a machine tool operator and a ship rigger. And that they were in bad physical condition. Do you think you have got many men in that category in the Army now who ought to be sent back either because of physical disability or because they can render more useful or more important service either in industry or in agriculture?

General HERSHEY. I doubt very seriously if anything I would say on whether they ought to leave the Army or not would add to what General Marshall has said. Obviously we have had to take some

men who are machine operators, because some of them are just about what the day laborer is who comes in and works on the farm.

I don't quarrel at all with the fact that the 18- or 19-year-old would make a better soldier than that fellow would, but at the present time we have chosen men between 18 and 45, and to make the calls I hope my boards have done as well as to get machine operators and not people more skilled. I am the last one who would come here and say that my boards haven't made errors, but I would be the first one to say that we found the Army, which is now 15 or 20 times as big as it was when you gentlemen gave us this law. We are making millions of decisions every week, and if we don't miss a few of them it would be surprising, but we are running a pretty broad scoop.

I was thinking the other day that when we, here in 1940, were discussing a little task force, imagine taking in three times that many every week than what we had to strike with in the summer of 1940, and after all, of course, there are going to be a great many errors. No only that, but we haven't ruined industry in the process. I am perfectly in agreement with those who believe that we have to give a great deal of serious thought to our basic things, that is, agriculture and mines and the place where things start, and the machine tool industry. They are basic things, and to those we have got to give more thought, and a little less, probably, to the end product.

I think, however, we still have enough elasticity, if we get at it, that we can solve it. A lot of people this summer haven't worked too hard. The absentee rate is running high enough to build a ship or two a week. I know in one plant it is running high enough to build a destroyer. We have to get these people to work. We haven't got the maximum out of everybody.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. There was another committee here that was told during the week that there are 400,000 unemployed in New York City at the present time. Can your organization become flexible enough so that you can dip into such communities as that, or do you have to adhere absolutely to the quotas?

General HERSHEY. We could do it if it was advisable. The only reason that we are not taking more out of New York City—and I would like this off the record——

(Off the record remarks.)

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Would it be better to, say, get our Army of 7,500,000 six months later than we are planing; would that make the adjustment easier?

General HERSHEY. It would make my problem easier if they would have no Army. What I mean, sir, is this——

Senator THOMAS (interposing). I am trying to help, General, I don't want to get into the ridiculous——

General HERSHEY (interposing). I know that, but the demands of the Army have been high. No one realizes that more than I do. But to live in this world is pretty high too, and I am not sure that our people have come anywhere near their maximum effort yet, and I am not haranguing; I think they have done wonderful things; I think they have done wonderfully well when you consider where they started in 1940. I think that historians will not be able to describe how it happened because it has been such a marvelous transi-

tion. I am not a pessimist at all, but on the other hand that doesn't mean that just because we have done so well that we can't do more, and I am not convinced, and it is not my business because after all General Marshall and the others have testified, they have got the Army and I am the service organization, and when somebody comes up to me with a ticket and says, "Give me 6 gallons of gasoline, red," I have to pump it.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. General, I asked the question because of this: General Marshall made the statement that he would like to be relieved of some of these restrictions. You have made the statement that it would be better if we didn't have section 2 of this bill, from your standpoint. We are now asked to give over to the Selective Service and the Army that thing which the General called faith in them to let them do the job.

Have we gotten to the place where we are trying to overdo to such an extent, to use your own expression, that the pipes are flooded? Are we trying to take 300,000 every month where probably we could do a better job with 285,000? Have you gone into that?

General HERSHEY. Oh, yes. Of course we could make a better selection if we do not work too rapidly. Had we started to mobilize in 1937 we would have been able to mobilize much more intelligently. But I think we have got to start from where we started and be careful that we don't demand perfection. We have to take the situation as it is and use a practical means of solving it. That doesn't mean that we should try to do something that we can't do—and on that I have no knowledge. People have given a study as to what they have to have, they have done that, that is their responsibility, not mine. I haven't questioned it, and I haven't the information if I cared to.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Well, we have got England's experiences in this war; we have France's experiences in the last war, and we have our own experiences in the last war?

General HERSHEY. I don't quite admit some of the things that you imply. France's experience in the last war, yes; after the first Battle of the Marne she sent two or three hundred thousand home, but she won the Battle of the Marne.

Senator WALLGREN. Are we handling these men as fast as we take them in?

General HERSHEY. You will have to ask the Army about that.

Senator WALLGREN. We may be inducting a great number of men and they will be standing around in the way of one another?

General HERSHEY. I have no observation whatsoever to give on that. I have been away from the Army for 2 or more years.

Senator DOWNEY. I hope the members of the committee will not be impatient with me for reiterating somewhat of a comment that I have been making on the floor of the Senate and in committee. The only reason I do it is in justice to the people of my State.

General Hershey says he doesn't think the people realize the seriousness of this affair, and that we haven't properly geared ourselves to it. I challenge General Hershey to go out to California and find any substantial number of unemployed. He will find the men,



women, and children, old and young, on the farms working. He will find the railroad men working 14 and 15 hours a day. He will find almost everybody endeavoring to do his job to the fullest extent.

I just want to say to General Hershey—he may not be interested in the figures and they may be perhaps incorrect—but our plan calls for armed forces twice as many as Germany is maintaining. The War Production Board has said that Germany's maximum military output is \$30,000,000 a year, measured in terms of our money. We are planning the next fiscal year, or this fiscal year, on two and one-half times that, or \$75,000,000. In the next fiscal year we are counting on producing more military goods than all the rest of the world combined.

I must admit that I regret to hear the remarks as to what England and Canada and Russia are doing when we, with 130,000,000 people are actually planning on producing more military goods than all the rest of the world combined and tremendous amounts of farm goods.

And I want to say this further, in defense of myself and the position that I am taking, that I am told by some of the ablest military men here, that it will cost us two or three or four times the manpower to maintain a soldier in fighting equipment from the United States, in Europe, than it will cost Germany. And I believe the same thing must be true of Japan. The mortality rate and the sick-rate is very negligible in the Japanese Army as compared to us.

I know that many members of this committee and the Senate are impatient if anybody questions the fact that any military leader makes a mistake, or that we should intrude our ideas, but the line of questioning by Senator Thomas of Utah opens a very serious subject, and that is, shouldn't we consider having an army of six or six and a half million instead of seven and a half million, that according to everybody, will impose a terrific strain?

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman wants to state that you need not apologize to us at all for your remarks.

We have with us, gentleman, Senator Bilbo of Mississippi and Senator Maybank of South Carolina, who would doubtless like to ask some questions, but it is now 1:30 and we are going to ask General Hershey to return at 2:30, at which time Admiral King will also be here.

Immediately after the dismissal, which is now, and the public is excused, we want to have an executive session to ascertain from the committee by a vote as to whether or not we want to consider in connection with this bill any amendment or amendments, or whether or not we want to go into the question of manpower. Yesterday I was unable to ascertain how long these hearings were going to last because I didn't know what the pleasure of the committee would be in regard to the consideration of amendments or manpower in connection with this, as suggested here this morning, and whether the length of the hearings would be 1 or 2 days, or 3 or 4 weeks, and that will depend entirely upon the action taken by this committee in executive session now.

(Whereupon, at 1:30 p. m., the committee went into executive session, after which it adjourned to reconvene at 2:30 p. m. of the same day.)

## AFTER RECESS

(Pursuant to the adjournment for the noon recess, the committee reconvened at 2:30 p. m.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order, please. Admiral, will you be good enough to come around?

**STATEMENT OF ADMIRAL E. J. KING, COMMANDER IN CHIEF,  
UNITED STATES FLEET, AND CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS**

The CHAIRMAN. Admiral, I want to apologize to you for keeping you waiting since 2 o'clock. The delay was attributed to the fact that we had originally intended to recess at 12:30. The examination of General Hershey was longer than we had expected and we did not take a recess until after 1:30. After that we had to have an executive session and we did not get out really until 2 o'clock. So, I hope you will accept our apology. You are a busy man. We did not want to be rude or impolite to you.

Admiral KING. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Admiral, we have under consideration a matter pertaining to the Selective Service Act to the extent of embodying 18- and 19-year-olds, and it was concerning that subject that we wanted your opinion for the benefit of the members of the committee, and of the Senate. If you have a prepared statement, we will be glad for you to read it, or if you prefer to talk extemporaneously, we will be glad to hear you.

Admiral KING. I have no prepared statement, and in regard to all details, figures, and computations with respect to Navy personnel I refer the committee to Rear Admiral Jacobs, who is the Chief of Naval Personnel and looks out for such matters for the Navy.

I think I might review the situation in a general way from the Navy angle and start off by saying that the Navy, the Maritime Corps, and Coast Guard are now maintained by voluntary enlistment, and the recruiting has been adequate for our needs to date. Therefore, for the time being at any rate, we have no draft problems or problems connected with the draft. Included in the voluntary enlistment are men of the ages of 17 to 21 who can only enlist with the consent of their parents. The Navy manning requirements are premised on the ships and planes in service, plus the ships and planes coming into service, predicated on the ship- and plane-building schedules, not programs but schedules, and so they are definitive and not estimated, they are quite concrete.

As you perhaps have been told, the joint chiefs of staff recently completed a study on the manning requirements for all the armed forces during the calendar year 1943. Those for the Army are premised on the number of men that can be inducted, trained, and then transported overseas and maintained there. That study included necessarily a survey of the prospective shipping available to include lossess and other attritions, and so on. It also included cognizance of the fact that in the Army today, as has been the case in the Navy for many years, it takes about a year to train a man to play his part in the armed forces. That is primarily due to the mechanization of the Army that has taken place of recent years. I have indicated some of the main factors that were taken into account in the joint



chiefs of staff study which resulted in a recommendation to the President as to the strength of the armed forces by the end of the calendar year 1943. Those recommendations were not in excess of the capabilities of the country and were not in excess of the probable military needs.

From the point of view of the joint chiefs of staff, since the men to be inducted in 1943 will not actually be ready for service until the calendar year 1944, we are quite unable to forecast what the military situation will be in 1944. Therefore, I, for one, feel that the number that the Army has asked for and which the joint chiefs of staff have recommended is not in excess of the probable requirements. It is certainly a case where we cannot afford to be caught shorthanded, we better be somewhat on the long side.

I do not profess to be an expert in the matters of where the manpower is to come from, how it is to be distributed, what the needs of industry are or what the needs of agriculture are, but, of course, I am sensible of the fact that there is a balance in those things. I am also sensible of the fact that in the nature of things there is a ceiling in manpower that we can raise and maintain.

The information that comes to me appears to make it clear that we shall not have a sufficiently free hand in the disposition of manpower for all purposes unless we include in the draft those who are 18 and 19 years of age, and do it now—do it all at once and not in bites of, say, 19 now and 18 later on. I would suggest, however—and this is only my own idea—that it might be well for the committee to consider as to whether the President should have discretion to say that only those 19 should be called and then those 18½, and then those 18, so that the needs of the armed forces can be adjusted to the number that become available. I am told, for instance, that the 19-year- and 18-year-old groups at this time comprise a million-plus, not very much plus, in each category.

In connection with this question of manpower for the armed forces, information has come to me on the experience of the Army, which is the only armed service now that is dependent upon the draft, that the autonomous position of the draft boards leads to wide differences in practice as to who is inducted into the Army. I know that they have a general directive; I know they have a certain amount of latitude, but the results as to which I am informed indicate that men are being inducted from certain draft areas that are older than they should be, and that the Army is having a considerable amount of difficulty because of this variation in the interpretation of the directive by the several draft boards. Of course, on that point you no doubt have information from General Marshall and from the other appropriate Army authorities, but it has seemed to me to be a factor, an important factor in the results that we are getting in the manpower of the armed forces, and if and when the time comes that the Navy and Marine Corps and Coast Guard have to participate in the results of the draft, why, then, those will become factors for us. I think I have covered all the points I have in mind, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Admiral.  
Senator Gurney.

Senator GURNEY. Admiral, you have not made any statement so far as to your total manpower requirements for 1943. You have not said

as to how many men you would like to have, or that you must have volunteer to the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard.

Admiral KING. I had left that, Senator, to Admiral Jacobs.

Senator GURNEY. I was wondering what effect putting the 18- and 19-year-old boys under Selective Service would have on the ability of the Navy to get the men that they must have in the prospective program for next year.

Admiral KING. Again, Admiral Jacobs is the better person, Senator, to answer that question for the Navy.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Wallgren?

Senator WALLGREN. Admiral, the personnel of the Navy now is secured through enlistment only, is it not?

Admiral KING. Through voluntary enlistment.

Senator WALLGREN. How do you feel about the possibility of drafting them?

Admiral KING. Well, we have got a job to do. If that is the only way we can get the job done, that is all right.

Senator WALLGREN. I mean, in regard to keeping up with your needs at the present time. Will it be adequate?

Admiral KING. It was so reported to me; yes, sir. There, again, Admiral Jacobs can give you more definite information than I.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Truman?

Senator TRUMAN. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Downey?

Senator DOWNEY. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. We have Senator Maybank with us.

Do you have any questions, Senator?

Senator MAYBANK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. There are no questions from the Chair.

Admiral, we are very much obliged to you for your attendance. Again, I want to apologize to you for the delay.

Admiral KING. I understand perfectly.

The CHAIRMAN. Admiral Jacobs, please come around.

#### STATEMENT OF REAR ADMIRAL RANDALL JACOBS, CHIEF OF NAVY PERSONNEL

The CHAIRMAN. Admiral, if you have a prepared statement, you can read it if you like, or if you prefer to speak extemporaneously it will be perfectly agreeable to the committee, and then if you care to submit a prepared statement we ask that you file a copy of it with the official reporter so it may be embodied in the record.

Admiral JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, I think Admiral King has covered the main points, and my prepared statement is very short. The Navy Department has no objection to the enactment of this bill and has been advised by the Bureau of the Budget that there will be no objection to this recommendation.

I am available for any questions on details.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Gurney being the author of the bill, we will give him the opportunity to be the first to ask questions.

Senator GURNEY. I would like to put the question again to you, the one that Admiral King said you could better answer, and that is what effect will the placing of the 18- or 19-year-old boys who are liable for military service have on the Navy personnel program in 1943?

Admiral JACOBS. So far as I can see, it will have no material effect. Senator TRUMAN. It will very materially increase enlistments, will it not?

Admiral JACOBS. We expect to have increased enlistments.

Senator GURNEY. If it did increase enlistments quickly would the Navy be ready to take care of them?

Admiral JACOBS. We have to regulate that by the means we have available for training and housing.

Senator GURNEY. The Army this morning told us what their total strength was expected to be at the end of next year. Would you care to say anything about that for the Navy?

Admiral JACOBS. Well, so far the Navy Department has not made those figures public, and I prefer to give that in an executive session, or give that to the committee. We have not made any of those figures public. I am perfectly willing to give it to the committee, but I prefer that it not be made public.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Wallgren?

Senator WALLGREN. Do you anticipate any need for the draft, as far as the Navy is concerned?

Admiral JACOBS. Not so far as we know now.

Senator WALLGREN. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Truman?

Senator TRUMAN. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Downey?

Senator DOWNEY. Admiral, at some prior date were there any general figures released as to the number of men in the naval service?

Admiral JACOBS. Up until the declaration of war those figures were released.

Senator DOWNEY. About what were those figures at that time?

Admiral JACOBS. At December 1, 1941, the strength of the Navy was 35,000 officers and 287,000 men.

Senator DOWNEY. Have you any records that you could give us now as to the number of men at present in the Navy under 20 years of age?

Admiral JACOBS. I can give you the percentages. I have it worked out that way.

Senator DOWNEY. I would appreciate that.

Admiral JACOBS. As of June 30, 1942, the men in the Navy by age groups were (reading):

Year:	Percent	Year:	Percent
17.....	2	32.....	2
18.....	8	33.....	2
19.....	9	34.....	1
20.....	8	35.....	1
21.....	11	36.....	1
22.....	10	37.....	1
23.....	8	38.....	1
24.....	6	39.....	1
25.....	5	40.....	1
26.....	5	41.....	½
27.....	4	42.....	.4
28.....	3	43.....	.3
29.....	3	44.....	.2
30.....	2½	45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, and over	
31.....	2	50.....	.1

Senator DOWNEY. Admiral, if I understand your figures correctly, there were 19 percent of your personnel under 20 years of age.

Admiral JACOBS. Nineteen percent, yes, sir; that is correct.

Senator DOWNEY. Do the figures in percentages that you have given us include the Marine Corps?

Admiral JACOBS. No, sir; this is straight Navy.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Thomas of Idaho?

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Maybank?

Senator MAYBANK. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Admiral, I want to ask you a question that has been in my mind. You have 2 percent of your enlisted personnel coming from the age of 17.

Admiral JACOBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you find those men? What is the reaction as to those men in comparison with the 18- or 19-year-old men? I merely make that inquiry should it become necessary for us at some time to draft the 17-year-old boys.

Admiral JACOBS. We noticed no difference.

The CHAIRMAN. No difference at all?

Admiral JACOBS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. I had in mind if the 17-year-old boys were drafted they would be 19 years old before they went to the front, and if it became necessary to draft the 16-year-old boys, they would be 18 years old before they went to the front.

Admiral JACOBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not find any real, material difference in the men physically or mentally?

Admiral JACOBS. Some of the lads are immature, but they are usually culled out at the recruiting station.

The CHAIRMAN. I think when Senator Gurney offered the bill there was a question as to whether or not the passage of this bill that we have under consideration would interfere materially with your obtaining enlistments.

Admiral JACOBS. We do not feel it will interfere. As a matter of fact, as Senator Truman suggested, it will probably increase enlistments in the Navy.

The CHAIRMAN. It will increase it?

Admiral JACOBS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is attributed to the fact that they know they will be drafted and consequently are given an opportunity to select that branch of the service that they are desirous of entering?

Admiral JACOBS. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions, gentlemen, from any members of the committee?

(No response.)

The CHAIRMAN. Admiral, we are very much obliged to you.

Admiral JACOBS. If you care to have the figures that Senator Gurney ask for, I will be glad to get them.

The CHAIRMAN. You want them in the record, do you not, Senator?

Admiral JACOBS. I prefer not to put them in the record.

Senator GURNEY. He will give them to us in executive session.

Admiral JACOBS. I can send them down by confidential letter.

Senator GURNEY. Send them down by confidential letter to the chairman of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Admiral.



Admiral JACOBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. General Hershey.

**STATEMENT OF MAJ. GEN. LEWIS B. HERSHEY—Resumed**

The CHAIRMAN. General, we did not quite finish with you when you were here before. I am sorry I had to call you back. Now, if there are any other questions that any members of the committee want to ask the General, they can proceed. Have you any, Senator Gurney?

Senator GURNEY. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Wallgren?

Senator WALLGREN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Truman?

Senator TRUMAN. I have none. I think Senator Maybank has some.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Thomas of Idaho?

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. As you know, you have had several communications from my office relative to the drafting of these boys who could be used to do farm work. In fact, I think I joined with a group of Senators and sent a letter down asking for 90 days' time to bring in a crop, and so forth. I wondered what you were doing with that? Is that a proper subject, for a question to be asked in regard to at this time?

General HERSHEY. Yes, sir; I think everything is a proper subject. Of course, what I did was: I tried to get a statement of policy out of the War Manpower Commission. In fact, this afternoon I was going to see if we could not put a subcommittee report through. I do not know whether it will go through or not. I will be glad to tell you my views about it. I think the farm situation is probably problem No. 1 in the deferment problem today. I think we have reached a time when we have got to decide what type of agriculture is producing the things we consume. I think we have got to give the ultimate of protection to that. I think the agriculture that is contributing nothing, the light industry that contributes little, we will have to look to those sources for some of our future supply of men. I think it seems to be the idea of the agricultural department that the dairy farm business is problem No. 1 even in the agricultural field. I do not know that I want to say that I am optimistic, but I am hopeful that we might get some action out of the Manpower Commission in the next few days on that.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. I think if we started in last spring anticipating this trouble we would have gotten somewhere. We were trying to get gas rationing, and things of that kind, but the trouble is the dairy cows are all going to be sold before you get results.

When it comes to the food products such as potatoes, sugar beets, and things of that kind, they are harvesting them now, and they have not an adequate supply of labor. It is not only a question of this year's situation, but when these cows are sold, when these cattle are taken off of the range, when these sheep are sold and thousands of ewes are going to market, it is too late to get any food products for next year.

General HERSHEY. I agree with you, Senator Thomas. I have enough farming background to know something about it. I know you can build a pretty large machine in a few days, but you cannot build a cow short of 2 or 3 years.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. You can destroy it pretty quickly.

General HERSHEY. Yes. It is just like a tree: You can fell a tree that is a hundred or a thousand years old very quickly.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. I am calling your attention to this matter at this time, because it is developing into a very serious problem, and we are even now faced with the dire necessity of solving it. I realize the necessity of taking the boys into the Army and all that, but here you are taking a bunch of boys that are needed on the farm. I was just wondering whether you were giving that any consideration.

General HERSHEY. Unfortunately or fortunately the Selective Service is trying to operate first in producing men that the Army wants, and, secondly, in attempting to defer people on the best information we can get from the Manpower Commission. I do not want to even assume to criticize anybody, but it does leave the Selective Service System in a rather middle position.

I used to be a deputy sheriff when I was a youngster, and many times I had men that I went out to arrest complain to me bitterly about the law under which I was arresting them, complaining about the men that swore out the affidavit on which the warrant was issued, but unfortunately I was not in the position of helping them. I tried to be as kind as I could be but I was not able to do much about either one of those things.

I agree with you wholly that it is now time for action. I think we are going to have to change materially in, for instance, in your State. The call, on a national basis, is rather large and it might have to be halved or thirdded. We can probably do something if we can get some determination as to where these focal points are; but just as soon as you cut the call in half in every agricultural State and in every industrial State, before you get through you have touched all 48 States. The difficulty I have been operating under is to get the information from the proper agencies or the War Manpower Commission to say here is the proper place. We are not going to be able to save everything. When the general retreats unfortunately, or when he advances, if he waits for everything in his column to move he is going to be tied to the slowest part of it. I think the time has come when you have got to decide what is essential and cling to that. The Selective Service System, I think, has a flexibility to do something very materially in the assistance of your problem, but I do not think we are at the present time the agency that has that primary responsibility to decide the policy. Once it is decided we are the ones that have got to take a very large share of the unfortunate part of acting, and carrying out the policy, but I am prepared to act and I am not accustomed to having people satisfied with what I do.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. Right on that point, let me say the administration of the Selective Service System has been very fine, and I haven't any complaints whatever to make as to that, except this immediate farm question is facing us, and the people there are disappointed.

General HERSHEY. They cannot do anything about it.

If I require the men I should be blamed.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. You have a good set-up.

General HERSHEY. They are doing their best.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. Would you say it will require amending the law?



General HERSHEY. No; I do not think so. If someone will tell me that the State of Idaho has the product that has got to be protected. I think the law is sufficient, or at least can be interpreted sufficiently so that I can eliminate calls from Idaho for the next 4 months. I believe the law is that broad.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. The farm commodities that we are producing there are very important to the national war effort—the potatoes, sugar beets, and beans.

General HERSHEY. You and I agree wholly on that.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. There is no question about the commodities being necessary to be taken care of, as well as the dairy products.

General HERSHEY. I have to depend on someone else for that policy information.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. I wanted to bring that point out. I feel sure if it is manpower legislation you need, this Congress will give it to you, but they would like to know what it is that is making it difficult for them.

General HERSHEY. I think there are several things we can do with our present law, if we decide what we want done. I know there are several things that can be done. I have many times done things on the basis of the intent of Congress. My whole administration, the way I am trying to administer the Selective Service Act, especially in connection with the dependency situation, is merely based on what was the declared intent of Congress. I am not worried about writing anything in the law. If I know what is best to do for the country, and what is the intent of Congress, Selective Service can do many things, but it is a little hard until we know that we are not harmed more by what we do than we are aided.

Senator WALLGREN. You see the crops have to be harvested in some of the States.

General HERSHEY. That is right. In fact, I have already done it in two States during the wheat harvest this fall.

Senator WALLGREN. That is all right for this season, but how about the next season? Has any thought been given to granting furloughs to men for seasonal agricultural operations?

General HERSHEY. That is a question that should have been asked of General Marshall this morning. Where I get into a great deal of difficulty, I happen to know, sometimes by gossip, some of the things that are going on, but I do not think I want to embarrass the War Department. I am an outsider in the War Department; that is, I do not believe I should state what is under discussion in the War Department on that particular subject, because they haven't made up their minds.

Senator WALLGREN. I think the dangers we face are critical now. The farmers can hardly harvest their crops this season, and next season they will not put in a crop; and gradually we will reach a situation that we do not want to reach, where we will be short of foodstuffs.

General HERSHEY. I know something about that from the other angle.

Senator WALLGREN. Now is the time to take care of it, if we can.

General HERSHEY. On the other hand, I do not think we should give false security. I do not think we should tell people now that we are sure of this, when we are looking 12 months ahead.

Senator WALLGREN. The Senators want assurance that there is a recognition of the farm problem and that the harvesting of the crop that Senator Thomas mentioned will be taken care of.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. Here is a man that has a bunch of dairy cows, he hasn't any labor to take care of them at all. To keep those cows he must have some assurance that they will be taken care of, when his boys are in the Army.

General HERSHEY. Some of them are, and some are in Seattle.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. They are very wild about it. When they see they are up against it they sell them and take care of the situation that way and leave the boys alone.

General HERSHEY. I am not worried about taking care of it.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. That is true particularly in this kind of a situation in Idaho on sugar beets, on beans, and on potatoes.

General HERSHEY. When does the harvest close?

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. It is on right now.

General HERSHEY. When will it close? The 15th of December?

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. Yes.

Senator WALLGREN. You might include the State of Washington in that.

General HERSHEY. Yes; I know. I did cut your quota in 1 month and about 500 more men enlisted in that month than my whole quota was, and it sort of discouraged me a little.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. Those people are doing pretty good work, but it is only a small drop in the bucket. We have thousands of carloads of potatoes, the finest you ever saw, Idaho potatoes.

General HERSHEY. We used to get them from Hawaii.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. What I wanted to say was that in the next 30 days those potatoes must be harvested or else they are gone.

General HERSHEY. I imagine my call from Idaho this month is less than 1,200. If you had the whole 1,200 men you still would not solve your problem.

Senator WALLGREN. In my State there are twice as many men who have enlisted than who have been drafted. There is no way we can get credit for that, is there?

General HERSHEY. Oh, yes; you will get your credit. It is a little delayed. I have to make the call. I am now working on the Washington call. I haven't got the credit for the July people yet, that is, for all of them. A few, I have. I have a light call of the coast people. Some are coming through the mail. September is just coming through. I do not know how many will enlist in October. I do not know how many will fail to show up. The same is true for November or December, and yet I try to figure how many people I shall have available in the month of January in Washington. I have to think 60 days ahead, at least, and work on information that is at least 15 days old, and not entirely accurate then. It is like four children writing checks on their father's bank account, filling out no stubs and asking the tradesmen to hold the checks for 2 or 3 months, at which time the father probably will not have any money in the bank. That is the kind of bookkeeping system that I am tied with, because of the fact that we are only one of the agencies that are procuring men.

Senator TRUMAN. Does not this go back to the same old thing that we are finding all the time? You have got to have somebody to say

"yes" or "no" on this thing and to have a bank account so you can draw a check and make it good.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. I want to call your attention to the fact, in connection with deferments out there, that when the call came for Wake Island we had more than 1,000 boys in Idaho go there, and they were captured and taken prisoners. I do not know what has become of those people, whether they were taken into consideration in the draft or not, but Idaho has certainly done its part in this war because of that extra draft of our manpower. I do not know whether you gave us credit for that or not.

General HERSHEY. Some of them were registered and some were not. Credits are given for them in either case. I happened to be in Boise the night war was declared. It happens I have an officer in my headquarters whose son was one of the boys on Wake Island that neither I nor anyone knows about.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. That causes you to exhaust your first quotas, and now you will have to take in married men.

General HERSHEY. It is only a 3- or 4-week proposition, when we will be taking married people from everywhere.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. That will help that situation. What they are wanting you to do is to take into consideration the fact that they do not have frozen potatoes there or leave the beets in the ground, and things of that kind, when it is absolutely unnecessary. Give them deferment now. I think that will help materially.

Senator WALLGREN. How do you check up on those who do not register?

General HERSHEY. Of course, the Department of Justice has that job. We issue a call for them when they are registered. The checking has been done here. Starting very soon, they are going to do it on the classification card, because that has been issued much later. I think the Department of Justice, in the not very distant future, will move into it more intensely. When the law was passed the punishment under the law was placed entirely under the Department of Justice. It was purposely not given to either the Selective Service or the Army. In the first place, I think it was felt, and I thought at that time, and still do, that it is the proper thing to have the punishment come from the civilian part of the Government. I do not think that the Selective Service System, that has the job of procuring, should be the police agency, because we are not organized in any possible way to be the policing agency. In other words, our local board has to sit somewhat as judges, and they should not be pushed into the place where they are acting also as constables and sheriffs.

Senator WALLGREN. Do you think that type of work is going along satisfactorily?

General HERSHEY. I may be optimistic, but I believe the number of people that did not register this time is not too great. I could not prove that statement, any more than the contrary could be proved, but I do not believe the people who failed to register are our big problem. I think we have a good many that are registered that come up because of dependency or because they have established because of their jobs they could have been deferred when they should not have been. I believe we have several hundred thousand cases that we are going to have to keep close track of, but we have to be careful that we do not stop production, and the very thing that Senator

Thomas has mentioned, that I think is the No. 1 problem, the stopping of production in agriculture.

In building up industry, although there has been emphasis on end products, there has been a tendency to forget about the fellow who gets something out of the soil, who gets something out of the mine. Attention must be turned back to the basic production, because obviously no matter how much machinery or how many skilled people you have, if you stop the source you are not going to produce the end product.

Mind you, I am straying into a great many fields. First of all, I have nothing but the knowledge that the person who reads the newspapers has. I apologize. I probably should not answer questions on this subject, because I really know less about it than you who sit around this board, because you have had a much broader education on most of these things than I have. You have had lots of hearings and you have learned a good deal about these problems.

Senator DOWNEY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question. The CHAIRMAN. Certainly, Senator.

Senator DOWNEY. General Hershey, would you give us whatever opinion you have on this matter that I am about to ask you in reference to? Assuming that this proposal becomes a law, when would you think you would have to begin to draft married men with dependent wives?

General HERSHEY. I think I am going to be drafting married men with dependent wives in November whether you pass the law or whether you do not. But I do think if the law is passed, that outside of those that are going to be taken in November, there will be a little difficulty, when this law is passed, because people will say: "Why don't you take the 18- and 19-year-old boys?" They are entitled to their time for appeal and notice for induction, and so forth, the same as anybody else, which will make December 1 the quickest time that we can begin taking them, after taking perhaps 100,000 or so married people in November. Then, if we pass this law I think you can plan, if what they told you this morning is going to be spread—and I do not know what the January call is—but if you are going to spread next year on a 200,000-a-month basis, then you can figure that 4 months, that is, December, January, February, and March, I think we could be sure that these 18 or 19-year-old boys would meet the calls. Beyond that, you would be about where you are now. Of course, whatever the Army wants in getting young men, I am not going into that; I am merely trying to picture what I see is going to happen in the induction.

Senator DOWNEY. Assuming that you do draft married men with dependent wives in November, how would you determine the particular ones that will be drafted?

General HERSHEY. Starting on the lottery or at the top?

Senator DOWNEY. Yes.

General HERSHEY. We are staying on the category of only men with dependent wives, with no children involved?

Senator DOWNEY. That is right.

General HERSHEY. The first man who was drawn first—it will be 2 years ago, I think tomorrow or the next day—that man, we have got to decide whether he is in necessary agriculture or industry. If the answer is "No," there is one more question, and that is, because of the



illness of his wife, or something, is his situation so unusual that we can waive the general practice of taking him. That is going to involve, of course, some consideration on the question whether his wife can live on the allotment or not, but I do think we have to be quite realistic on that. We try to provide for the hardship cases of the men with dependent wives, the same as the men with the mothers. As we are going through these people now with secondary dependents, I certainly hope that the unusual cases will be taken care of; but who is going to decide what is an unusual case? There is only one official place, and that is the board, and when it is appealed then it is the appeal board. There are many young men that have mothers that they take care of, even though they are in the category before the one for men with the wives that should not be taken.

Senator TRUMAN. General, I can give you an unusual case.

I came from Fort Bragg the other day with a major who said he had five brothers in the Army, one stayed at home with a sick mother and a father, and the draft board took that one fellow, took all seven of them.

General HERSHEY. I do not doubt that at all. As I said this morning, and I believe I did when I was here 2 years ago, we were worrying about a striking force that was all too small, and we are taking in three times that number each week now. When you are digging with a rather large scoop, it is hard to hew to the line, you cut over and cut back. If that case had been appealed to us I do not think there would be any question. Not only that, but if he will come to us now I will go to the War Department and tell them I made a mistake. I have done it many times.

Senator TRUMAN. I do not mean you made a mistake.

General HERSHEY. I know you did not mean that, but the system makes a mistake. It is a little difficult now, because the fellow may be gone somewhere, but our system is not so perfect that it is not perfectly willing to admit its errors.

Senator DOWNEY. General, I would like to get some further information along this line. As I understand you, you anticipate, even though this legislation becomes law, that in November you may take 100,000 married men with dependent wives but no children, but that then you would not be prepared to take married men until May 1?

General HERSHEY. I think I said April 1st. The only way I can figure that is if the War Department should only ask for one-third of what they take next year in January, that will be different, but if they divide next year's numbers by 12, as they gave those numbers to you today, it is about 2,500,000 after January 1, and if you divide that by 12 you get about 200,000. Now, if you take 200,000, and you have taken away 400,000 of these boys in December, that is going to leave you somewhere between 500,000 and 700,000, depending on how many Admiral Jacobs gets. Therefore, you have after January 1, 3 or 4 months, providing that the War Department does not call for an abnormal number of them in January, February, and March.

Senator DOWNEY. One further question, please. When, if at all, under the present program do you think you will have to have recourse to the reservoir of men, married men, with dependent children?

General HERSHEY. Well, I was so bold one time as to make a guess about it. In the last quarter of next year. Now, at that time I was not sure that our calls would be the size they are now and will be

next year. We have got somewhere, probably around 4,000,000 men with wives, but from that you must subtract the ones who are in necessary industry, and if we do not ruin the agricultural situation more than it has been already, we must leave those necessary men on the farm, even though they only have one wife and no dependent children. You have to figure that out of that group will come 30 to 35 percent physical rejections. That will leave you 2,800,000.

I cannot make too accurate a guess on how many of those fellows will be in essential industry, because of the fact that up to the present time we have deferred them because they were married, and the men we deferred thus far in industry have been single fellows. We have a million or so of those now. I haven't any better figures to give you. When I said somewhere around the last quarter of next year, I hoped to stay from those who had children. Now, that does not mean that I am not going to be taking men with children, because as I said this morning, we are going to have to demand, we are going to have to try to get our people to work, and I think public opinion is going to demand that married men do not hide behind wives and children, that is, they are going to have to be practical about it, they are going to have to do something and do something that is essential. Anytime I take a dozen or a hundred or 500 men with families, because of other reasons it is published. They do not publish the other reasons that happen to go along with it. I happen to have a great deal of trouble with men who live apart from their wives, even though the wives go to the boards and turn the husbands in, then when I take them, the wives come back and say they want their husbands back. I have three or four of those a week.

Senator DOWNEY. General, if I may get a few specific figures, please.

General HERSHEY. Yes.

Senator DOWNEY. What magnitude might you expect the induction to be among the married men in the last quarter of 1943? How many a month?

General HERSHEY. Well, at the rate that the Army set up today, we would have to make a call of about 200,000.

Senator DOWNEY. That is not for the total period?

General HERSHEY. No; that is each month. We would not have to get all those from married men, because with the program we are trying to set up in industry now on the matter of replacements, we should be able to recover quite a few from men who are now deferred because they are in industry but who are occupying jobs that you can train someone to take their place in a reasonable period of time. You have two bottlenecks there. One is the period of training, and another is to be sure that there is somebody available. Even though the job may not be important, you cannot take the person out unless you have somebody trained to take his place. I find myself with quite a lot of variables, trying to be very specific.

Senator DOWNEY. General, I understand the difficulty, and I am just asking for your guess, or your estimate, so we may have some general idea.

General HERSHEY. Yes.

Senator DOWNEY. Assuming at the end of next year we have an army of 7,500,000, and we have made these drafts you speak of, would it be your guess, opinion, or estimate that from then on the youth coming of draft age would be sufficient to make your replace-



ment and keep your army up, or would you still have to continue drafting married men with children?

General HERSHEY. I think you could maintain the Army—and that again depends on what casualties you suffer, it depends on how many men you have in transit at any one time, it depends on any dislocation of labor in the United States. You can produce less. But my best guess now, and it is not on too good figures, would be that the intake of our people just about support the figure they gave this morning, or 1,000,000 or so larger, and leave enough people in the population to make the things that have to be made. These figures are not official. I have an officer that made quite a study of it, but remember in all these figures there are many assumptions. Those assumptions are based on how many overcoats are necessary for each man in the country. How many shoes. If he goes wrong on his assumptions then his figures are wrong. You assume how many you have to have in army construction, you assume what is the absolute minimum in certain civilian needs, and the assumption is based on the depression time, on the assumption we lived on it then and we could live on it yet. You see, when you make assumptions like that it makes your figures somewhat doubtful of value.

Senator TRUMAN. Is this assumption of yours, General, also based on the fact that the Navy will have to have 1,000,000 or 2,000,000?

General HERSHEY. I think you are going to have Colonel Sanders over here.

Senator TRUMAN. Yes.

General HERSHEY. What I happen to be talking about now assumes the over-all figure, including the Navy. I am one of these people that have been charged and misquoted on saying something about the Army, but that is neither here nor there. When I am talking about mobilization, I am talking not only about the Army, the Navy, the merchant marine, but, unfortunately to me, a good many civilians beyond the seas that have to be deferred, and I have to charge them off just as if they were members of the armed forces.

Senator TRUMAN. You have to do the same thing for industry and agriculture?

General HERSHEY. Exactly.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. There is another reservoir, General, that we can draw on, and that is the needless employees in these agencies that are not defense agencies. Do not you have a reservoir that you can draw on there?

General HERSHEY. I am a very bold soul when I get into this. I think there are something like 5,500,000 in the United States, in the Federal, the State, county, city, and township that are employed by these different agencies, and I say that is a luxury that we cannot afford in the war. I am not an expert on government, I do not know just how you are going to squeeze them out, but I am afraid you are going to have to.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. Undoubtedly some of these agencies cannot be gotten along without.

General HERSHEY. That I do not know. But it seems to me that is too large a proportion to give to the luxury of government. Somehow or other we have got to figure out a way. I do not know the way, but we are going to have to get along without some of them.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. I think some of those people ought to be replaced with women.

General HERSHEY. Yes; but I want to raise this issue, that when you replace the men with women you have obtained a soldier, or somebody to work in a shop, but you are still using 1,000,000 women out of the 60,000,000, or whatever the number is of the total, using the million for something that may not have to be done, and that is a thing that we cannot go on doing when we get to the ultimate, I am afraid.

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. What is your policy now as far as the employees in the Government are concerned?

General HERSHEY. I cannot decide what is useless or otherwise. That is one thing that makes it difficult, gentlemen. I have tried very hard to protect the man with the wife, but many times the fellow that you would like to get out of the agency has a wife, or a wife and children, and that is why I am merely saying I think the public is going to move sometime to the place where they are not going to let dependency alone be a reason for deferment, or, I will say, an excuse for non-participation in essential work. The man is not always in class 2-A or 2-B. If he were, I would probably take him.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Thomas.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. General, I have just come from the manpower hearing. I do not see how the manpower discussion can be covered through questions asked you, but before I ask you a question, I would like to point this fact out. Near the first part of September, on September 3, Senator Gurney introduced this law. Senator Gurney was extremely anxious to hold hearings right immediately, because the problem to him was just as urgent then as it is today, and the same with the rest of us, but I was one who had the idea that we ought not to hold a hearing until the Army was prepared to answer questions, or the Selective Service was prepared to answer questions, and, in fact, I went so far as to say that we had no right to embarrass these institutions. Now, we come to the ordinary channels. The President delivered a message to the country on Monday night, in which he suggested that it was time for extending the draft down to the 18-year-olds. We got the letters from the War Department and the Selective Service dated October 13. I believe that is yesterday. The Senate Military Affairs Committee is holding a hearing on the 14th.

Now, we do need some information, if we are going to defend this proposition in a way that is backed up by facts.

You mentioned in the beginning of your testimony that you did not bring in a prepared statement. Now, can you do this for us, can you work out a statistical table based on the information you got today as to the Army's aims, as General Marshall placed them? That is the information that I seek, to put a time limit on those aims. Now, in the light of the experience you had with drafting nearly 300,000 a month in the last 2 or 3 months you know just how many you have to get by the first of January 1944. Can you show us, by a break-down, how many you have to take without this law from a certain group, and how much this law would relieve those groups?

Senator Thomas from Idaho, for example, has asked questions about men coming in for the harvest. If you can make a break-down of that kind then we can answer any question about the need, replying to General McNarney about the need rather specifically. You do want to make the Army younger, you do want to dip into this pool, and

you do want to get a new reservoir. Let us see from actual figures what this contribution will be. Can you do that by tomorrow?

General HERSHEY. Yes, sir.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Before the time we have a discussion of it?

General HERSHEY. I think we can provide it. Of course, you see you did not find out until today about one very large group that withdraws from that, and no mention has been made of several others, like the merchant marine and other things, and transportation and communication. There are several other pools that we have just about got to either freeze with the people in it or if you take out anybody you have to put somebody else in, because they are still accelerating. The things I am going to give you may mislead you, but they are the best I have got.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. If you build them up from the sources we have now, that will be satisfactory. It was new information right out of the clear blue sky to me. I have been dealing with facts that were supposed to be facts. Now, we do know how big our Army is, we know our experience of the past, we know we have got cantonments, we have got replacement centers, we have got all those things, so the speeding process is faster. Give us as good a picture as you can so we can show there is a fair need for this bill, so we can show that there is a contribution which the bill will make. That is fair, is it not?

General HERSHEY. Yes. Of course, the one thing that our figures will not show is the effect of having 800,000 or 900,000 of the very best put into the four or five million. As I listened to the Army this morning, that is the No. 1 plea, based on the type of men. Even if they were not going to have more than 4,000,000 in the Army they want this million out of this group. That is the top.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. May I just say one word in self-defense? Of course, Congress is going to be charged with delaying action on this bill, the same as it is on everything else under the sun. May I just repeat the dates. The bill was introduced in September. We delayed the hearing. We got the reply from the War Department and the Selective Service yesterday, and we had no information to go on before that.

General HERSHEY. The excuse I would make would not help any.

Senator DOWNEY. General Hershey, do you have some general figures that you can give us as to the number of men in the merchant marine service?

General HERSHEY. I know I can get them. I think I have them. I can tell you how many we deferred. The ones, of course, that are undeferred, I can get those from the merchant marine. The ones we were particularly interested in were the ones we deferred in order to participate in the merchant marine.

The CHAIRMAN. How many were deferred?

General HERSHEY. I do not know right now. I have it, but I haven't it here.

Senator DOWNEY. Can you give us any idea of the magnitude?

General HERSHEY. Yes. When I speak of the Navy and the merchant marine I am not a free agent. I was not a free agent on the Army until this morning, but it has already been spoken of here, and now I can talk about those figures.



The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions?

Senator MAYBANK. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly, Senator.

Senator MAYBANK. General, this morning Senator Hill asked you how many illiterates there were and you stated there were 100,000 deferred. I wonder if there would be any possible way to find out the number of illiterates through draft boards, that never came before you but were perhaps placed in the same category before they ever reached you?

General HERSHEY. The only thing I can do is to assume some number. I do not think it would be a fair assumption, because there would be more in the older groups than the younger groups, because certainly our educational system has been getting better. Therefore, if we project it on the basis that it came before us, the total in the whole group would be favorable rather than unfavorable. In fact, it would show less illiterates than there are.

Senator MAYBANK. Another thing I would like to ask you, General, is this: You mentioned the fact, in response to Senator Hill, that you were opposed to section 2 in the bill with respect to high-school students, is that correct?

General HERSHEY. Yes. I do not want to make any great point of it, because it is only an opposition in principle. It is a principle that is very small anyway as compared to the whole, but I should oppose any method by which the parents were favored whose boys were able to go to school. I can send my children to high school, but some people cannot. It is no great point, but I cannot, in conscience, support it.

Senator MAYBANK. I want to ask you this question: Have you got any college students deferred now because they are going to college, who are 20 or 21 years old?

General HERSHEY. We have several types in that category. We have of course the people who are deferred for the reason that they are presumably taking something that this Nation wants taken, that is, medicine, chemistry, physics, engineering. Then of course we have some that have enlisted in the several reserves, that are going to school.

Senator MAYBANK. How will they be affected if you draft the 18- and 19-year-old boys?

General HERSHEY. Not at all, except sometime I do hope, when the obligation is put on the rest of them, that the military forces would mobilize at least some of those enlisted reserves. That is merely a hope. I do not mean to say, take them out of school. I have no quarrel with sending a man to school to learn something that will render him useful when he gets into the service, to do something that must be done. I do not believe in training the Army and the Navy when you can find it somewhere else. In war you grab the things where you can find them, you do not build if you can avoid it. I think the Army and the Navy ought to know why they are sent to school, to see that they are taking the things in school that they want them to take, to see that when they assume the responsibility of putting on a uniform, that they have made of them what they wanted them to be. That is my position.

Senator MAYBANK. Last year you requested us to defer those that were studying engineering in the different schools.

General HERSHEY. Now you are speaking of what age group?

Senator MAYBANK. The 20 to 25.

General HERSHEY. Yes; we still do.

Senator MAYBANK. Do you think that is reasonable for somebody to go to a university to study engineering who is 20 or 21 years of age and then to draft some who are 18 or 19? Mind you, I am for the drafting of the 18- and 19-year-old boys.

General HERSHEY. There is only one reason for it. We have some studies in process now on whether we are getting more engineers than we need. If the country needs engineers we should see to it that we have them. My answer is, if the country needs them so badly that you cannot afford to use them up in the Army, we should see to it that we get them, but if not, then my answer is no.

Senator MAYBANK. Possibly we ought to give a chance to the boy who can afford to go to school to be a member of the armed forces and not keep him in school when it isn't necessary as against the poor boy.

General HERSHEY. Yes; I would feel much better if the boys who were in school were members of the armed forces. I do not care whether they have a chance to go to school or not, whether they are rich or poor. If you want the Government to take them over, if it is getting ready for war duty that they are going to school, that is all right. On the other hand, I do not feel that we should want to ruin our chances on some technicians that we must have merely because all of the things he takes up are not ideal.

Senator MAYBANK. Are not there some people who are deferred to go to college and who do not even study engineering? Some may be studying law and some may be studying something else.

General HERSHEY. Perhaps. I think the number of law students and the number of art students in the last several months are the ones that are being taken by the boards, because the board tends to think in terms of what is to them the unknown. The minister, the doctor particularly, the chemist, the physicist, the geophysicist, all of those deal in symbols that the ordinary man does not understand. The art student, the fellow that is taking sociology or economics, or something else, everyone thinks they know all about that, and they think, why should a person go to school just to get that sort of thing? I am not saying there is right or wrong in it. They are taking them out. They tend to leave the engineer student, the medical student; and I think they undoubtedly should.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Your idea is that they ought not to take a man who is a prospective good officer later on?

General HERSHEY. I think the Army has had that theory when they established their reserves. Unfortunately, I did go to college and I did start as a private. I have a boy now who is in West Point, so I have no particular prejudice, but I hope he learns as much as I did in being an enlisted man and an officer in junior rank, trying to get along with people in my own home town. I hope he has as much experience in his 4 years in there as I had in my 5 years in the National Guard. If he does, I shall be very well satisfied indeed. I am not saying anything against schools, but I do think there are some things about men that you learn by being one of them. They could not fool me as much about whether a bunk was made up or not. I had considerable experience on the other end of it. I learned many of the things that we boys did when we tried to fool somebody that was not informed on the tricks of the trade. I grew up in it, and I think it was some advantage.



The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions, Senator?  
Senator MAYBANK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. General, I want to ask you a question. How many draft dodgers have you had to date?

General HERSHEY. I could not tell you the number of convictions we have had, I could not tell you the number of people we tried. I will be glad to get it for you.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you tell us approximately?

General HERSHEY. I do not know. The Department of Justice handles that entirely.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you provide a general figure as to the number of reports of draft dodging that you have had? By that I mean those who have failed to appear on your call.

General HERSHEY. You mean the men that actually registered?

The CHAIRMAN. I mean the ones who have registered but who have failed to report when called.

General HERSHEY. All right. The number is not large.

The CHAIRMAN. About how much?

General HERSHEY. Our biggest numbers each month that failed to report are not draft dodgers at all, they are men who have enlisted in the armed services after they got their notification of selection. We do not know where they are, and we did not know where they were when they failed to come up that morning.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you cannot tell us how many failed to register under the draft?

General HERSHEY. I can tell you, but I do not carry it in my mind. Maybe I am wrong, but I do not think evading this law has been carried on to any great extent.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that. I wanted to get an approximate idea in general figures as to how many persons had failed to register under the law. You do not know that?

General HERSHEY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how many have been apprehended?

General HERSHEY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And have been convicted?

General HERSHEY. No. I can give it to you probably later this afternoon.

Senator WALLGREN. It would take quite a corps of men to check those, would it not?

General HERSHEY. We can check the number of people, of course, that have been reported to the Department of Justice, and you will find about 85 percent of those that are reported have changed their address, or something else. I think around 100,000, if I were guessing, has been our total amount of reports. If I remember it at all correctly, and I probably do not, something like 85,000 or 90,000 of these were people who were technically reported because they enlisted or moved away, changed their house number. The number of convictions, I think will run under 1,000, but I may be wrong.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how many men you have in the C. C. C. camps today?

General HERSHEY. No; I do not know anything about the number of men in the C. C. C. camps.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, anybody under the direction of the C. C. C., in charge of the old camps that were abandoned, they are subject to the draft?

General HERSHEY. They are subject to the draft when they are in the camp.

The CHAIRMAN. And anybody on the W. P. A. is subject to the draft the same as anybody else?

General HERSHEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how many aliens there are in the Army today?

General HERSHEY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. We have over 5,000,000 in the United States, and I wanted to know how many aliens there are in the Army.

General HERSHEY. I think probably we better get that from the Army. We do have some part in that, because we assist in the processing of the men who are in the Army, and we attempt to get them cleared by the Army and attempt to get them to accept the aliens. Many times these aliens want to serve. Of course when you get into the enemy aliens, the Army only accepts them as they clear them.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that. In view of practically more than 5,500,000 aliens in the United States, I naturally assume that most of the aliens have come from countries that they have left of their own accord, and I assume we have a tremendously large number of volunteers among the aliens who are desirous of defeating the enemy countries. You do not know the number?

General HERSHEY. I do not know the number. I do know that we have an agreement with most of our associates, that is, in the United Nations, that when a man comes up for induction he can what they call "opt," that is, he can exercise his option to serve in his own army, in his own country, if he wants to. Of course he can enlist prior to that time. If he does not enlist prior to that time, if he is brought up ready to be inducted he can choose to go to his own country. I think we have got five or six nations that we have got that agreement with.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course you know there is a great dearth of physicians. We have the situation here in Washington where it is almost impossible to get a physician, and the same thing exists throughout the country.

General HERSHEY. I think some of the western States are much worse off than Washington is.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true. In view of the large number of alien doctors in the United States I was wondering if you did not have alien doctors volunteering for service in the United States Army, in view of our lack of physicians.

General HERSHEY. I do not have anything to do with the procurement and assignment of doctors, because they are officers. The Selective Service System is not procuring any of the officers. We have been used at times I think to frighten perhaps somebody into commissions, but that was not with our consent.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe you stated, as the result of 7,000,000 men being given a physical examination, that about 2,000,000 had been turned down on account of physical disabilities.

General HERSHEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I should like to ask as to what is being done to rehabilitate these men and to develop them physically, or mentally, for

that matter, perhaps in a few isolated instances, to the point where they would be able to serve in the military forces of the Nation.

General **HERSHEY**. There of course have been some private means taken, scattered over the country, to rehabilitate people. I think we can omit them. It is being done, but whether it has produced 1,000 or 10,000, I do not know. Last August, almost a year ago now, the Selective Service System attempted to go into the rehabilitation field of those who were short of teeth, perhaps bad eyesight, or some other things that, without an operation, could be corrected. Before we got our regulations completed and the money available the war broke out. The physical standards began to fall rapidly, and soon we were below the place where we were rehabilitating. So it seemed to us that as the Selective Service is not organized to rehabilitate, it ought to be taken up as a national proposition. I think there have been, within the last 2 weeks, hearings on a national rehabilitation program.

Senator **THOMAS** of Utah. There is a bill before our committee now on that.

General **HERSHEY**. With that I will have to stop, because I know nothing about the details of that, except that we are making available all our experience. The national rehabilitation program is under other agencies of the Government.

The **CHAIRMAN**. In connection with that, would you give us an idea of how many men we might expect to be rehabilitated from that 2,000,000 to the extent of being able to enter the Army, to pass the physical examination?

General **HERSHEY**. I could make a guess.

The **CHAIRMAN**. All right, give us your guess.

General **HERSHEY**. I guess three or four hundred thousand.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Three hundred thousand or four hundred thousand?

General **HERSHEY**. Yes. I think I am being reasonably liberal. I think you are going to be able to rehabilitate, if you go into surgery, a considerable number of hernias, probably less than 100,000. You will probably find cases where men have been turned down because of a high pulse, or high blood pressure, when the situation was abnormal at the time. We get those on reexamination anyway. There are certain other things that they might be able to do something on, but since the standard has fallen in the last 2 or 3 months I am afraid that with respect to those you rehabilitate, outside of the hernia cases, and perhaps some of the others, you are going to run some of the chances that General Marshall was talking about this morning if you accept them, when they are a sort of second-grade product.

On the other hand, there is far more to rehabilitation than just to rehabilitate those that go to the Army. You can rehabilitate a number of them and make them much more effective and efficient in society. Necessarily, if you can rehabilitate a man so he can do 15 percent more work, four or five men like that make a whole man, and therefore it would be a help.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Therefore aiding in the war program?

General **HERSHEY**. Yes. Any time you can cut the accident rate, if you can get the men in the factories to reduce the accident rate 2 or 3 or 5 percent, it means two or three hundred men a month.

The **CHAIRMAN**. We entered into the question of manpower a moment ago, particularly with reference to farm help, and so forth. It

has been my observation, through a large section of our country, that we are going on with construction work that seems to be absolutely unnecessary, in view of the limited and strained manpower that we have at the present time. I was recently in the State of Pennsylvania, looking over some of the defense areas, and I saw they were changing the highway for many miles, cutting through mountains, making fills as high almost as some of the tallest buildings we have in this town; or, to bring up a concrete instance, right at home, right here at the Jefferson Memorial there are many men employed on constructing a great concrete bridge there, all of which seemed unnecessary to me in time of war. I do not think it adds anything to the military program.

Don't you think a lot of this lack of manpower could be overcome by eliminating, as you or one of the witnesses mentioned a moment ago, eliminate those things that are not absolutely essential to the war program?

General **HERSHEY**. Yes; that is what we are going to have to do.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Now, General Marshall stated that we will have an army of 7,500,000. We have a population of about 133,000,000. What is your feeling as to what extent we could increase the Army and at the same time keep up our production?

General **HERSHEY**. Well, the thing we referred to a while ago was these figures, the only ones that I have seen, and those figures are not from all of the departments. The Government participated in them, and even my Division has not been convinced that all the assumptions are correct. It depends, of course, on what the nature of your effort is. If it extends further, then you can have less men to keep up our production, and if it comes closer to home, then you can have more men. I do not believe that anything that I would offer would add to the general knowledge already published.

I, as you know, have had some little experience of late in speaking of the maximum thing that might be possible if you are straining your last effort, and I have been reported as saying some things that were probably not correctly interpreted. That is what I figured it to be before the middle of 1943, so I am a little disturbed about talking about complete mobilization, because it is pretty hard to tell what those factors are. A year ago now I do not believe we visualized the situation that we are in now. I do not know what we are going to find a year from now. If you do not mind, I think I will remain a little bit conservative and not prophesy.

Senator **MAYBANK**. I would like to ask the general if that rehabilitation that the chairman was speaking of is compulsory?

General **HERSHEY**. I think Senator Thomas ought to answer, because he knows much more about it than I do.

Senator **THOMAS** of Utah. That rehabilitation bill is before the committee now. The President sent down a special message on it.

Senator **MAYBANK**. I mean the ones that were rejected.

Senator **THOMAS** of Utah. I think before they get through they will try to draw the training part of the Selective service into the rehabilitation so we will not have the rejects that we had in peacetime. We can build them up in peacetime and use them partially. It is like the educational problem, the health problem, they are all related. We discovered that our Army is handicapped because we neglected fundamentals.



Senator MAYBANK. In our opinion then, Senator, the same thing would apply to the illiterates?

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Yes. When we get the general health bill through, and then the rehabilitation bill, the Army can come in and draw 9 out of 10 instead of 3 or 4 out of 10.

Senator MAYBANK. Let me ask this question. General, don't you think, if this bill is passed, there will be no doubt about it being compulsory?

General HERSHEY. Of course I have always felt that any bill that is going to help the Army a little is going to have some compulsion about it. Senator Thomas is not only envisioning the present time, but any future thing that the United States may get into, by having something before you so when this boy comes up he does not have to be rehabilitated.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. The future is in front of us in ghastly proportions. There has been a discovery of new medicines. For example, since Dunkirk, in the Russian Army, the American Army, and the British Army, only 2 percent of the men who had gotten to an operating table were lost. We never had anything like that in any war in history. That means, of course, that we are going to have more men with just one arm, we are going to have more men with just one leg, or with just one eye, men who have got to be rehabilitated in order that they may be even allowed to live decent lives, not only as a matter of pity but as a matter of economic necessity, and all the rest of it. Now, there again you find that science has come along and produced a situation that we did not have before.

The rehabilitation program is just a necessary program growing out of the facts of war, plus the fact that we do not have the deaths that we had before, and thank the Lord we do not, but it does give the State an extra problem, a problem that it has not had heretofore.

Senator MAYBANK. That will have to be compulsory. Many people just will not take things of that kind, you know, just from the educational standpoint.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. I think even in the last war we were submitted to great experimentation. Wonderful things were discovered by the plastic surgeons, and wonderful things were done for the injured in the last war. This is the first time we have been able to handle men in such a manner as to keep them from infection. It means rehabilitation.

Senator MAYBANK. Senator, I anticipate also the ones that have been rejected on selection will have to be rehabilitated by compulsion.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Those are the ones that, in the training period, the Selective Service will take them and send them to rehabilitation points and build them up as men, you see, and then build them up as soldiers afterward. That is the program as it is projecting itself. The war is giving us other problems besides licking the enemy.

The CHAIRMAN. General, do you believe that under the present registration, the present plan for 7,500,000 men, that with the passage of this bill we could secure an army of 10,000,000 or 15,000,000?

General HERSHEY. I doubt very seriously that anything I might think about it would be of any help to this committee, because I think it is in the realm of conjecture. Of course, it would be very simple to say yes, but whether it would be a sound conjecture or not would



be another plan. The first figure is, of course, much nearer than the last one. I would have to ask you how many people you are going to put in the Navy, how many people you are going to put in the merchant marine, and how many people you are going to put everywhere else, because the whole thing is a part of a pattern.

The CHAIRMAN. It would depend very largely on whether we have those outside of the armed forces reduced, or those who are in uniform?

General HERSHEY. That is true. It makes quite a bit of difference on what your commitments are in a material way, whether you go up or down, whether you lose an ally or gain an ally that has things or that wants things.

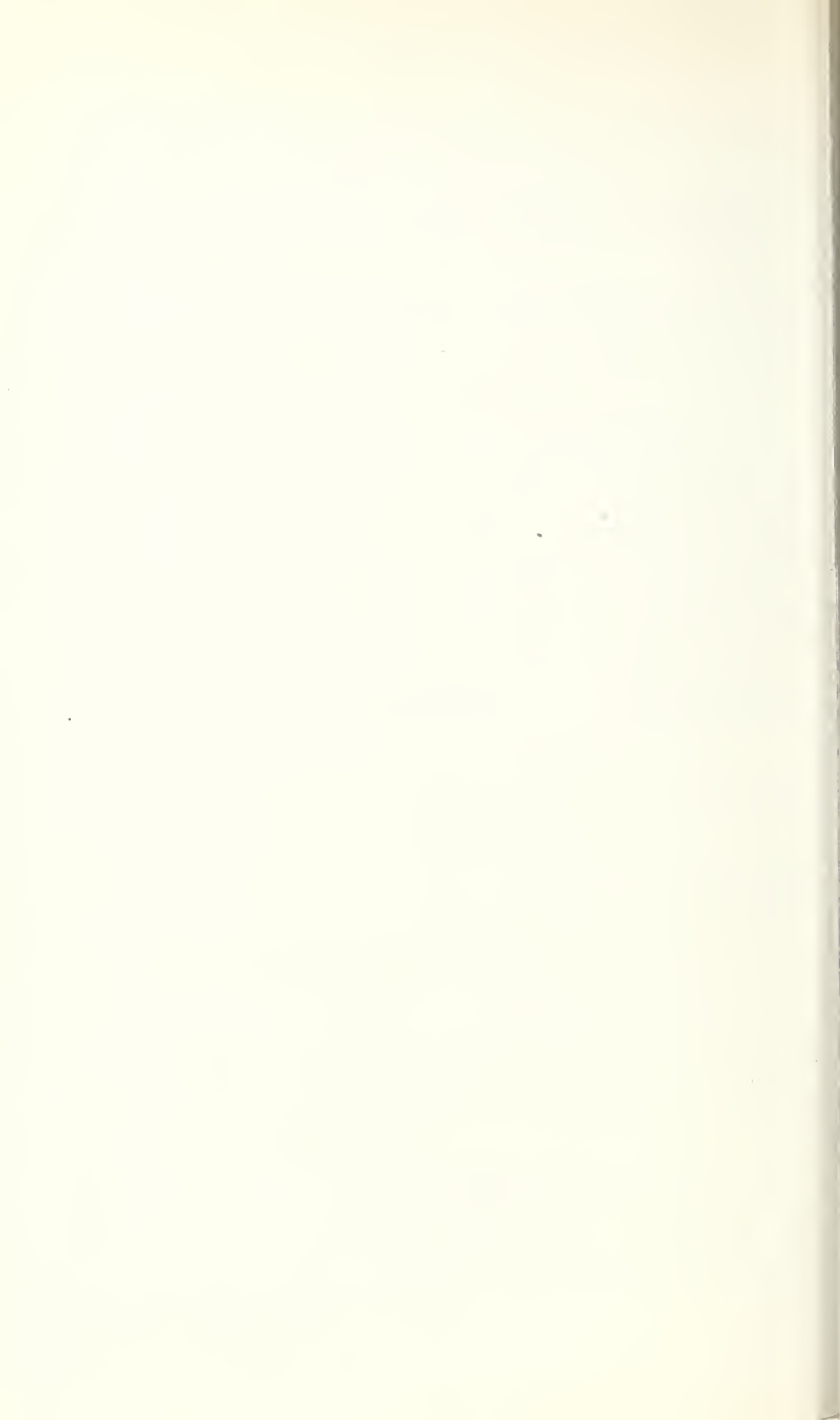
The CHAIRMAN. Of course, we have had many statements made in regard to the number of our armed forces. One was 18,000,000, and you said at one time 13,000,000.

General HERSHEY. I never deny anything because it does not help, but when I was discussing the 13,000,000 we were talking about all-out mobilization, which included the maximum effort that we might put forth, and the 10 to 13 million, as I think I used the words, had to do with not only the Army but the Navy and every other facility that would be in uniform, or at least near enough to the uniform. So you would have to take it out of the same pool. That is, it would have to be men who were about the same physical standard as the other fellows.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, General. We are very much obliged to you for coming.

We will take a recess until tomorrow morning at 10:30.

(Whereupon, at the hour of 4:10 p. m., the committee recessed to 10:30 a. m. of the following day, Thursday, October 15, 1942.)



# LOWERING THE DRAFT AGE TO 18 YEARS

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UNREVISED

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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1942

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS,

*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met, pursuant to adjournment at 10:30 a. m., in room 457, Senate Office Building, Senator Elbert D. Thomas, presiding.

Present: Senators Thomas of Utah, Hill, Downey, Chandler, Truman, Gurney, Thomas of Idaho, and Austin.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. The committee will be in order.

Mayor LaGuardia, please.

## STATEMENT OF HON. FIORELLO H. LaGUARDIA, MAYOR OF NEW YORK

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Mr. Mayor, for the record, will you state your name as you want it to appear in the record?

Mayor LaGUARDIA. My name is Fiorello H. LaGuardia, mayor of the city of New York. May I proceed?

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Yes, please, just as you see fit.

Mayor LaGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, in appearing today, I speak rather feelingly on the subject, because all that was testified to yesterday could have been avoided. The age of 18 is nothing new. The requirements of a modern army were known 2 years ago. The very situation that is now so graphically and bitterly described was known 2 years ago when the first Selective Service Act was passed by the Congress.

My main reason in asking to testify is to seek to avoid further mistakes, and I fear greatly that there will be very serious mistakes made unless Congress provides against them.

Now, at the outset, we all concede that the fighting of the Army is entirely in the hands of the military experts, no one contradicts that, that the training of the Army is entirely in the hands of the military experts, but the social implications, the economical results, the relationship with the civilian population, that, gentlemen, I submit it entirely under the control of Congress.

I followed the testimony yesterday as far as I could from the press items, and I want to repeat that that same testimony could have been given in 1940. I appeared before the House committee

on July 26, 1940, and I stand by every word I stated at that time. I watched the administration of the Selective Service, and less than a year after testifying, on March 31, 1941, I wrote to the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, Hon. Andrew J. May, as follows:

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: I am sure that you and the members of the committee must feel, by this time that the Selective Service law simply is not clicking. The administration of the law has not come up to expectations. It has been most unimaginative. The law can be made not only nationally useful but very popular. It requires several changes. I understand that General Hershey is to testify. If that is so, and the committee would like to hear suggestions based on actual experience, I would like an opportunity to appear before the committee.

I am sending copy of this letter to Representative Wadsworth and General Hershey.

That was just before the hearing to lower the age to 21. That was a short hearing; only officers of the War Department appeared and therefore I could not appear.

That the rigor of training is most severe now was known at that time. I criticized the taking of men who were above 35 and who happened to be members of the National Guard. It was obvious then, gentlemen, that by the time these men were trained, or the time that we would become involved in war, their usefulness would have been ended, and yet men of over 35 have been and are being drafted up to this very moment.

When I appeared before the Military Affairs Committee on July 26, 1940, I then pleaded with the committee to take men of 18 up and to train them. Mark you, we were not involved in war, but it did not require a prophet to know that we would become involved in war, and that would have been the time to take these youngsters, and today we would not be in the predicament that we are in.

Now along comes the War Department—and I want to say I believe our general staff is the ablest staff we have ever had, I do not think anyone questions that. The American people have confidence in General Marshall and in that staff, and his job is to train and fight that Army. Now, they come along and say, "Give us boys of 18" and they stop there. I want to plead with all the earnestness of my soul to have this committee consider some very necessary provisions that must accompany any such mandate of law. We will repeat the same mistakes in reverse unless we put certain safeguards in this bill and unless we do put certain safeguards in this bill, gentlemen, it is going to be very, very difficult for the American people to understand it, and I want to say now, as I said 2 years ago that we require the full and complete moral support of the American people, the Army does.

In the first place, gentlemen, the Army cannot complain of the number of men who are disabled, because of the severe training. That is known and was known, and it is simply a waste of manpower, time, effort and supplies to continue to take the older man and go through the motions of training them, only to have them in the hospitals and then send them home.

The very first change that I believe is necessary is a better classification of the men after they are selected. The classification is far better than it was during the last war, but it is not good enough. This war, gentlemen, is so fast, is of such great magnitude that in a modern army there is a place for every man, but if you take a good,

healthy, 6-foot youngster, and you put him on a typewriter, and you take a 36- or 37-year-old office man and try to make a doughboy under modern conditions, out of him, it just does not make sense.

Now, with an intelligent classification of the manpower in the Army, we can pick up 300,000 men easily, and increase the efficiency of the Army. Only yesterday I heard of a boy who is a dentist, a practicing dentist, who wants to get into the Dental Corps where we need him, but he is out some place with tanks. Men who should be in the Signal Corps are in the Infantry, and we try to take boys without experience, and try to teach them the work in the Signal Corps. It is a big job, but it is not a new science, gentlemen. We do it every day in our penitentiaries, we do it in our civil service; it is nothing new. The science is here, and the talent is available. There is some of it being done.

In connection with that, we can release several hundred thousand men for constant training and service by utilizing women where women can serve best. Now, I have no criticism to make of the WAACS, I think the training they are getting is excellent, but I think perhaps there has been a little too much publicity on what they wear outside and what they wear inside. I do not think that is very important at all. I think these women should be trained to become officers, but we have here several large camps, concentration camps, where the boys are being trained. Now we can enlist 100,000 or 200,000 women to take charge of the kitchens, of the dining rooms, of the laundry, of the mending rooms, and of the permanent paper work. That is where a women's auxiliary would be helpful, and they are available.

Now, every soldier must learn how to peel potatoes and kitchen sanitation, and that is the most irksome and unpleasant duty that a soldier has to go through. He should be relieved of that by the employment and permanent assignment of women to these duties that women want to perform. That is true, as I said before, in all of the paper work, and that will release a number of men.

Then we come to the third point, and that is the present system. It is a little better now, it is a little more sensible, but it is not being fully covered. The rejection of men with remedial defects is one of our problems. Take, for instance, teeth. It is the easiest thing in the world to correct that defect. A slight hernia, many small remedial defects. The boy should be inducted and provision made where you have large hospital centers, to correct the defect and assign him to duty, and that will give you a large number.

Now, we come to the main purpose of the bill, and it provides for the induction of men from 18 to 45, and I support that. It is exactly what I testified to 2 years ago.

But now, gentlemen, please don't let it go at that. You must put some provisos in here which concern the country just as much as we are concerned at this moment in winning the war, and it will not reduce the Army by one single man.

Another thing, we cannot leave anything with the hope that there will be a common-sense or sensible application. Your law is going to be followed to the letter.

Now I want to ask anyone if this bill is enacted as it is, without any provisions, and this war lasts 5 years—and this war is bound to last—well, I won't say it is bound, no one is going to say how long it is going



to last. Where are we going to get the material for the young officers 5 years from now? Think that over.

Now, here is my suggestion. You provide for a high-school boy to finish his academic year, and that is all right. Now then, I ask most serious consideration to a provision that a high-school boy who matriculates in a recognized college be inducted, if you please, in accordance with the bill before you, but that he serves at the college and remains there as long as he keeps up the required academic standing.

If necessary, we could barracks him at the college, and he lives under military discipline. He takes his courses, he does his drills just as much as if he went in a camp, and he gets 4 months of the vacation period in intensive military training.

You can make the college course 2 years, if you want, or make it 3 years.

Of course, when we come to the medicos, you must provide for them. You dare not take them in. You cannot deplete your medical schools, gentlemen. I will touch upon that later if the time permits.

You must permit your engineering students to go on, your physicists, your chemists, we must have them. No matter what bill you write, you dare not take those away, because there is such a shortage now of doctors that we are going to have a crisis in this country.

Now then, you may provide in the bill your 2-year course, your 3-year course, your 4-year course. At the end of that course, that boy, who has the educational background, is then officer material. I do not mean to set them aside as a favored class at all. He goes with the troops the same as any other soldier after a given time. He applies for the officers' training camp. Thereby you will have, along with the increased supply of manpower by lowering the age, a proportionate increase of officer material. And, gentlemen, you cannot fight an army without officers and without noncoms. You have to have them.

Now, we have in this country—and these are rough figures, I hope you do not hold me to them—say, roughly, 1,500,000 college students, and, roughly, 900,000 are boys. The casualty is about 20 percent each year that drop out, that cannot make the grade. You can figure on about 300,000 entrants, new entrants, each year. So you see it would not be a drain at all, particularly when they are receiving just as good training as they would receive otherwise.

Now, then, suppose you do not do that, and suppose they are taken, as they will be taken, and this war continues for 4 years, there will be a period in our country when only the physically unfit will have had a higher education. You cannot ignore that. That will happen. That is why I want to urge, as earnestly as I can, a provision to protect the country and not to destroy for any given period the necessity of higher education, higher learning, because the social implications, gentlemen, are simply great.

Now, I am sure that General Marshall would concede the need of continuing engineers, chemists, doctors.

Now let me ask you this: Suppose the war continues longer and no provision is made, 5 years from now we have nothing but high-school boys, no college boys at all, and it is going to be pretty tough to find artillery officers, it is going to be hard to find officers for aviation,

some knowledge of trigonometry is necessary. It is not just a hit-and-miss proposition in this war, it requires brains to operate some of the weapons of war and that cannot be avoided.

Now, there is another side of this, gentlemen—and I speak from actual experience. Being at the head of government of a city of 7½ million people, I get a pretty good cross-section. There isn't anything that Congress has done or will do to win this war that will not have the backing of the American people.

I don't care what anyone says, the American people have not lost confidence in Congress. I do not take the criticism as seriously as some do, because I had 14 years of it myself.

Now, gentlemen, an 18-year-old boy is still a boy, and it is going to be tough on the mothers. The American mother will stand up and you will not hear her whine if she knows, gentlemen, that the whole thing is on the level; if she knows that the 22-, 25-, or 28-year-old boy is not improperly deferred. That is all she wants. She wants to contribute the same as every other American mother. There is only one way to do it, and that is to make the records of your draft boards public.

Now, we have had cases, gentlemen, where we appoint policemen and firemen, and we do not take A-1 cases under the State law. We must appoint from eligible lists, and we scan those lists and we find "deferred," "employed in essential"—is that the word?—"essential war production," and we find that he was not employed in essential war production at all.

Now we take that boy, we do not appoint him, we send him right back to the draft board. We have had cases of dependency when the bum was not supporting his family at all.

Now that is a very simple matter. Let the mother know why John Jones, living across the street, is not off to war while her little 18-year-old boy from high school is gone.

I don't see anything so sacred about it that it should be kept a secret. I think it is for the public good. The boy who goes has no secret. That is a public record. Why should not the boy, who is deferred, why should not his neighbors know why he is deferred? When we do that, then I can assure you that a great deal of the border-line cases will just evaporate. The people will check on it. That is the best draft board that you can get. They will check on it.

Oh, some have criticized the idea, and said, "Well, you can't make a medical defect known." I think the public record could indicate that it is simply for a medical defect, and need not go on giving the details. But, if he is good enough to work, if he is good enough to walk around and go to movies and have a good time, someone should know about it. If we provide for the correction of remedial medical defect, that number will greatly decrease.

Now, in our city government—and I can talk of the city government. We have about 165,000 employees, plus about 20,000 in the transportation service, which is city owned and operated. The city makes claim only for police, fire, health, and hospitals. We make no claim for clerks, accountants, statisticians, or so-called experts, and it works very well. I strongly urge such a policy for the department of the Federal Government. You will pick up quite a few men there.

Gentlemen, also I believe here we have an opportunity of protecting the so-called law-enforcement agencies of State and local government.

Up to date, we have lost 275 men from our fire department, that is a department in itself, and 320 from our police department.

Now, we cannot fill these ranks, because as quickly as they are taken into our service, they are drafted. Now police, fire, health, and the hospitals, are part of your national defense under conditions of modern warfare. You cannot get away from that. I have finally succeeded in having recognized that police officers of 3 years experience are deferable, but that is simply by the grace of the Selective Service. I would recommend that Congress take any given date that you undertake and freeze our police and fire department to that strength. I am so short of police officers in New York, gentlemen, that I have had to recruit a volunteer force of men past middle age. That helps some, but in order to get the additional volunteer protective services that are needed in the city, and that is air wardens, auxiliary police, auxiliary firemen, and watchers, may I make this suggestion: I think it will help every city and every State in the country. I suggest that you provide in this bill that where any person, who is deferred because of dependents, his name shall be certified to the mayor and that he is liable for voluntary services in these protective services in off hours, when he is not working.

Now that is not too much to ask, is it? After all, this man is deferred because he has a family, and it is not asking too much that he take a 4- or 5-hour watch during the night to protect his own family, for which he is deferred.

We have, in New York City, 210,000 air wardens; 167,000 have been trained and take watches; we have 7,000 city police, that is for city patrolling, and we have 56,000 volunteer auxiliary firemen. Now, you cannot expect these volunteers to work every night, because they are working during the daytime, and we need more, every city needs more, because there should be, gentlemen, a constant watch every night. The city that is caught unprepared, is going to lose enormously, not because of the bombs, but because of the panic that will follow, and we need these men on duty. I think that it would not be a difficult matter to provide this home service for men who are deferred. If we do not do it now, I am pretty sure we will have to do it later on, after we have a terrible example.

Just as the matter of the age, we could have done it years ago, and now we have it facing us.

I ask very serious consideration be given to that, and I believe we should have the provision not to destroy higher education, which will provide officer material 4 years from now and which will give the boys just as good training and make them more efficient than if they were deprived of that and immediately put in the ranks indiscriminately.

I believe we should make public the records of the draft boards as to the men who are deferred, and we should require services to be rendered by those who are deferred for dependents. Mind you, I am not asking for those who are in the factory. I am asking for those who are deferred on dependency solely. With all those things, gentlemen, then I think it would be possible to not only get all the men we need—of course, not forgetting the necessary improved classification—but that we will have whole-hearted support, enthusiastic support of this measure, which is going to be very hard to take otherwise.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Are there any questions, Senator Hill?

Senator HILL. Mr. Mayor, I agree with you. The mothers would be willing and would gladly consent to their 18-year-old boys going



into the Army provided they felt that the whole thing was on the square, that every fellow has been made to take his part in this war.

I am very much interested also in what you say about having in mind officers for the future, and not, as you might express it, grinding the seed corn too rapidly. What is your exact thought as to how you would take care of the thing, permitting these boys to continue their education and yet not be in the position that, because a boy's parents had enough money to send him to college, he would be deferred 2 years, 3 years, or whatever period of time was necessary, whereas, the other boy, whose people did not have the money to send him to college, had to go right into the ranks now and, in a short time, to go out and face the gunfire? How would you meet that?

MAYOR LA GUARDIA. I am very glad you brought that up. I had forgotten about that. It will have just exactly the reverse effect. The boy is taken into the Army when he graduates from high school and he goes to barracks in a college where the boy who has the ability is sure to go to college, and where now he would not be able to go to college.

SENATOR HILL. In other words, you would not leave it to the parents' financial condition to determine this thing at all?

MAYOR LA GUARDIA. No.

SENATOR HILL. You would take them all in, and when you took them all in, then you would find out which boys were the most deserving, which one promised the most for the country, and have the Government make the decision, irrespective of what the financial condition of the boys' parents might be?

MAYOR LA GUARDIA. Exactly. For instance, at West Point, if the boy makes the football team, he cannot remain on the football team unless he keeps up his scholastic standing. Here we would have a perfect check, and that would be if he drops from that required scholastic standing, he is just transferred from a student right back into the ranks.

SENATOR HILL. Of course, West Point is a perfect illustration of what you have in mind. We are not drafting the boys out of West Point today, we are letting them go ahead and finish the course.

MAYOR LA GUARDIA. I would strongly urge that these boys be barracked under military discipline. You would have splendid material in the same time that they would be doing just the other thing.

SENATOR HILL. In other words, when they were called up, they would be members of the armed forces, detailed for this special assignment?

MAYOR LA GUARDIA. And classified where their ability would best prove them to fit. It is ideal and does not do any harm.

SENATOR CHANDLER. Mr. Mayor, how would you make the selections of the schools for those boys? What would you do about the coeds?

MAYOR LA GUARDIA. They are not in the same part of the college. They are not sleeping in the same dormitories, I hope.

SENATOR CHANDLER. I understand that, but you would have other problems that this would bring about.

MAYOR LA GUARDIA. I think it would improve the discipline, because when they finish their classes, they go to drill, and then they mess as a soldier would mess, they would go to barracks. We would just put barracks in there. It is not a big problem at all.

Senator CHANDLER. No; but it could be done better. I think, if they were all just soldiers in the school, and if those colleges would be selected by the War Department.

Mayor LA GUARDIA. Another thing, gentlemen, don't forget this, we just cannot put all our colleges out of business, either.

Senator HILL. That is what I was going to suggest.

Mayor LA GUARDIA. Don't forget that. I have four city colleges. I have the College of the City of New York, the Brooklyn College, the Queens College and the Hunter College. We will eliminate Hunter College because that is a girls' college, so we would have three.

In the three colleges we have about 20,000 students. The C. C. N. Y. is mostly boys. Brooklyn and Queens are coed. We will just build the barracks near the college somewhere. They march to their classrooms, they take their courses and instead of playing around in the athletic field, instead of going to the movies, they go back to their drills. That is not a difficult job at all. It requires a little effort on the part of the Army, but the Army cannot take the easiest way always.

Senator CHANDLER. It is more difficult to train soldiers where there are girls around.

Mayor LA GUARDIA. We are breaking our necks to entertain them in camp now.

Senator CHANDLER. I know, but that is after they are out; that is, in off-time.

Mayor LA GUARDIA. In their off-time, they will be drilling.

Mayor CHANDLER. It is just as well to have the Army select the colleges. You cannot drill the boys very well when there are girls around.

Mayor LA GUARDIA. We have a great many State universities and private colleges and city colleges and it is no problem at all.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. I would like to say here, Mr. Mayor, with the experience we had in the last war with such institutions as the S. A. T. C., we have already disciplined our educational institutions. The adjustment would be very easy and it is going on probably more than we realize at the present time. The idea of training is changing, both in the Army and among our people.

That which I get from your testimony is this, that we must, some way or another, arouse in the minds of the American people, that there is a place for everybody, and that that place must be respected. That is the hardest task we have to do.

I have a letter from an Army officer who is stationed on a military reservation just next to a great university, and the thing that makes him sore is that there are boys in that university doing the very thing that you recommend, but he does not notice that fact, and he thinks that it is an outrage that all of the men in that university should not be put over the fence with him on his reservation.

Now the long-time view which we get from you, not only as the mayor of the greatest city in the country but from long-time experience in the West and everywhere else in our country, we see what this committee has tried to do in the Selective Service Act, practically from the very beginning, the long-time view emphasizes selection.

Now, we must break down these various criticisms that have taken place in our communities as to persons who are training and persons



who are not training, that the civilians must do, because the boy who is called to do a task that is not quite as picturesque as another person's task, deserves to be protected.

Now, as to the modifications in respect to ages, Mr. Mayor, you must, of course, remember that each one of our modifications in our Selective Service came about as a result of a compromise and conference. In the first bill, there was an effort made to register from 18 up to 65. We reached a compromise following the Army rule generally, as far as the top limit is concerned.

But respecting that which you have argued for so eloquently, the educational need for the officers corps, with the testimony that we have about conditions I suppose that this amendment will become a matter of compromise, like every other amendment.

But, if we can put into the Selective Service Act that which is the spirit of the act, that implies the classification you have been speaking about. For the Army to ever cease classifying its men, means of course, that the Army will become dead on its feet. You can no more take a doctor and make a bad private of him, than you can take an engineer and make a bad private of him. That we know has been done, but it has never been done by a sensible officer. So, if we can get the spirit of your testimony over to the Army, the rank and file of the Army, the classification will be a simple proposition. If I were a company commander, and I had a fine college-educated man for a top sergeant, if he could be more useful somewhere else I would rather give him up.

Mayor LaGUARDIA. That is all right, if he gets in a place of command, but during the time they are in the colleges, they could have their setting-up exercises and close formation drill, and when they get in the Army, they could start to drill in technical work.

The boy could express his preference in the kind of service, and then, if he has the qualifications, it is always better to have a man doing the things he likes. There seems to be a stubbornness on that, but it is much better today than it was during the last war.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. That is true. Any questions, Senator Gurney?

Senator GURNEY. No questions.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Senator Thomas?

Senator THOMAS of Idaho. No.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Senator Truman?

Senator TRUMAN. No.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Senator Chandler?

Senator CHANDLER. Let us, for a moment, pursue the question that I asked a few moments ago. I agree it would be a fatal mistake if we were to fail to train for the future, the young fellows in the medical schools and in the services where mathematics are required, physics and chemistry, but I think it should be done under the Army. I think the Army ought to have the say, they ought to make the selections. I do not think any other considerations outweigh that, no other considerations outweigh the Army making the selections of the fellows qualified to go to the school and then give them intensive training, assuming that that training is better than they will get in some Army school.

Mayor LaGUARDIA. Of course they will have to qualify for college entrance.

Senator CHANDLER. Certainly.

Mayor LA GUARDIA. I do not care who makes the selection.

Senator CHANDLER. I hope they will not train them where the girls are.

Mayor LA GUARDIA. I do not see any trouble there, but I will agree to anything, as long as we just do not stop higher education, when that will contribute immensely to the Army.

Senator CHANDLER. I agree with you, Mr. Mayor. I think we have an obligation to keep the universities of this country going if possible. These professors are trained men and we need them to train these young men. It would be an unfortunate thing if we were faced, after a 10- or 12-year period, with no men who knew the doctors' business, for example.

Mayor LA GUARDIA. We would have misfits, the physically unfit and the "sissies."

Senator CHANDLER. We would have a dark period. When casualties come, as they will, and when each mother looks across the street at every other fellow to see whether his sacrifice is equal, or whether everybody is doing his share, it would be a bad thing, in my opinion, if we failed to select them for any reason except that they are qualified and able to take the training.

Mayor LA GUARDIA. And maintain the standard.

Senator CHANDLER. Yes, sir. Don't you agree that the Army should have that discretion? After all, they are training for the Army.

Mayor LA GUARDIA. I do not care who does it as long as the boy who is able to absorb more education and qualified for college entrance, is taken into the Army and given that college training.

Senator CHANDLER. Who is best qualified and has the experience to do that, under the circumstances, having in mind what we want to do is train them so well that they will make the greatest contribution toward winning the war?

Mayor LA GUARDIA. I will leave that to the discretion of the Congress. And don't forget the public records.

Senator HILL. You think that most important, don't you?

Mayor LA GUARDIA. Yes. When you take the boys of 18, I think you ought to make public the records of those who are deferred.

Senator HILL. There is nothing like the daylight, is there?

Mayor LA GUARDIA. Nothing like it.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Senator Downey?

Senator DOWNEY. Mr. Mayor, I am very much impressed with your statesmanlike discussion of the problem we are facing. I wanted to ask you if you can give us just some idea of the magnitude of college attendance. You stated to us that you estimated that there were about 900,000 boys in the colleges of America at the present time. I take it that the Army is probably already committed, in its own mind, to leaving in the college the boy who is training for engineering, medicine, chemistry, physics, dentistry, and some other allied subjects.

Do you happen to know about what the proportion of the schools falling into those categories is, to the total number in the country?

Mayor LA GUARDIA. Yes; this is only a rough estimate, but I would say 50 percent.

Senator DOWNEX. Now, would it also be your opinion that it would probably be cheaper and easier to house these 900,000 boys in the present university facilities, with the necessary barracks erected, than to remove them from the universities and build new cantonments?

Mayor LaGUARDIA. Very much so, and it will spread the opportunity of an education that otherwise some talented boys would be deprived of.

Senator DOWNEX. I might make this comment in support of what Mayor LaGuardia has said: One of our very serious problems in California at the present time is housing, both for the training of soldiers and the war workers. As a matter of fact, we have thousands of war workers sleeping out in the park and in their automobiles.

One of the problems I have been working on is the possibility of bringing in Mexican workers to assist in our farm work, and I had hoped we might be able to utilize some of the camps that we erected to concentrate the Japanese in, but those camps have already been taken over by the Army for additional training services. I do think, in the consideration of our problem, it is an important thing to consider, that is, to the extent that we might find additional barracks at a cheaper price if the program suggested by you were worked out.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Thank you, Mr. Mayor. We appreciate your coming.

Judge Patterson.

# STATEMENT OF ROBERT P. PATTERSON, UNDER SECRETARY OF WAR

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Judge Patterson, we are glad to have you come. Will you stated your name as you want it to appear in the record?

Mr. PATTERSON. Robert P. Patterson, Under Secretary of War.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. You may proceed as you wish.

Mr. PATTERSON. I came to talk only upon a minor point. There is an act of February 12, 1925, still in effect which provides, in substance, that upon presentation of satisfactory evidence as to age—

Senator GURNEY (interposing). Let me interrupt you there, Mr. Secretary. I have a copy of the law here. It would be well to have it in the record at this point, if the chairman will approve.

(The act referred to is as follows:)

Upon the presentation of satisfactory evidence as to his age and upon application for discharge by his parent or guardian presented to the Secretary of War within six months after the date of his enlistment any man enlisted after July 1, 1925, in the Army under twenty-one years of age who has enlisted without the written consent of his parent or guardian, if any, shall be discharged with the form of discharge certificate and the travel and other allowances to which his service after enlistment shall entitle him. (February 12, 1925, ch. 225, 43 Stat. 896, U. S. C. title 10, sec. 653.)

Mr. PATTERSON. It provides, in effect, that upon satisfactory presentation as to age any soldier under 21 shall be discharged upon application of the parents.

It has seemed to the War Department that if the age on selective service is lowered to 18, there is no place in the lawbooks for that act of 1925 to stand, because it presents a rather incongruous situation.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. May I ask you there, a person under 21, when he goes into the Army, he goes in with his parents' consent; does he not?

Mr. PATTERSON. On voluntary enlistment; yes, sir. That is on account of that 1925 act.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. But if they get him out, that means that the parents have changed their minds, does it not?

Mr. PATTERSON. No; it means that if a man under 21 goes in by voluntary enlistment without any written consent of the parents, the parents may get his discharge.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. The Army is not supposed to take them, is it?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. It can take them without the parents' consent?

Mr. PATTERSON. Not without the parents' consent, but the law in 1925, in effect, requires the written consent of the parents for a valid enlistment under 21. That is true right today.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. My point is that law requires the parents' consent. Now you are asking that that law be waived, because there is another provision that you suggest, that they can be taken out of the Army at the request of the parents. Does not that mean that the parents have changed their minds?

Mr. PATTERSON. No, Senator. The way the 1925 act reads, I believe is this, that any man under 21 who enlists without the written consent of his parents, that is, on a voluntary enlistment, will be discharged upon the parents' pressing the objection.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Then you do take them under 21 without the parents' consent?

Mr. PATTERSON. We do not, as a matter of practice. On account of the law, and on account of the difficulties which would be raised by discharging a man on the parents' pressing the point, we do not take a soldier on voluntary enlistment under 21 except on the written consent of the parents.

That is the practice today.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. That is as I understand it. Now, if you do not take them without the parents' consent, and the parents ask to have them released later, are not the parents changing their minds about the boy?

Mr. PATTERSON. No; if they did consent to the enlistment of a soldier under 21, he cannot get discharged merely because the parents say, "We would like to have him back."

Senator THOMAS of Utah. In other words, this provision, if it is repealed, will take care of those persons under 21 years of age who have gotten into the Army without their parents' consent and without living up to the War Department's requirements?

Mr. PATTERSON. Well, under existing law for a valid enlistment, one that is not voidable, of a man under 21, there must be the parents' consent for a voluntary enlistment.



If the age on selective service is to be lowered to 18, it seems to me incongruous and quite inconsistent. You can take them under 21 on selective service, parents' consent willy-nilly, but for a voluntary enlistment you cannot do that, you still must have the written consent of the parents to get a man under 21 into the Army validly.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. We are talking about two different things. You are talking about the situation in the future and I am talking about the situation now. If you do not take a man under 21 without his parents' consent, but you do release him at the request of the parents, does not that mean that the parents have changed their minds?

Mr. PATTERSON. No, sir; it means that a man who comes up and says, on voluntary enlistment, "I am 22 years old" and they take him; then the parents come along within 6 months and say, "This man was only 19," and we have to discharge him.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Then he has lied?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. In other words, that is an invalid, if we use that term, enlistment.

Mr. PATTERSON. A voidable enlistment.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. And the boy is subject to discipline for doing that, is he not?

Mr. PATTERSON. I do not know. I think he is just discharged.

Senator CHANDLER. It is not void, but it is voidable.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Yes; and the Army has looked upon it with generosity.

Mr. PATTERSON. The practical effect of that law is that for taking men under 21 on voluntary enlistment, the written consent of the parent is required.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Yes.

Mr. PATTERSON. That is the practical effect of that law. I submit that that law may well be repealed as part of this act where, on selective service, you take them without the parents' consent. I think, if you do that on selective service, you should be able to take them on voluntary enlistment on the same basis.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. I agree with you.

Mr. PATTERSON. That is the only point I have to make.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. I am trying to straighten out the condition as it is and the condition as it will be. That is the reason for my questions.

Mr. PATTERSON. We submit to the final sections of the bill now under consideration might be added a provision repealing that act of February 12, 1925.

Senator GURNEY. My question, Mr. Secretary, would be this: If we repeal that part of the permanent law, the 1925 law, then when we get into peacetime we would not have the law there to prohibit voluntary enlistment under 21, without the parents' consent. It seems to me we ought to retain that for the period after the war is over.

Mr. PATTERSON. Could it be suspended during the duration of the war?

Senator GURNEY. We could just say "notwithstanding any other provision of the law during the period of this war voluntary enlistment should not require the parents' consent for men under 21."

Mr. PATTERSON. That is just as good. I suppose after the war, you will give us a general overhauling in many, many ways.



Senator GURNEY. For the record then, if I may insert a suggestion made by the legislative counsel, I would be glad to do so. It is as follows:

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one shall be discharged from service in the land or naval forces of the United States while this Act is in effect because such person entered such service without the consent of his parent or guardian.

Would that cover the point, Mr. Secretary?

Mr. PATTERSON. I believe it would. You might say, "enlisted or entered the service," because I think the word in the 1925 act is "enlist," and I suppose there is a distinction between the word "enlist" and "induct."

Senator GURNEY. There is a distinction.

Mr. PATTERSON. Induction referring to the process under Selective Service, I presume, and enlistment referring to the old style voluntary enlistment.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Well, it refers to the Regular Army, but there is another provision, Judge, I think we ought to be thoughtful about. The Selective Service Act is a peacetime act, as well as a wartime act. It provides for the training, and I believe it would be well to examine all phases in making the adjustment so it will not interfere with the regular enlistment in the Regular Army, irrespective of the war, and then not interfere with the peacetime application of the Selective Service Act.

Mr. PATTERSON. I haven't cast my mind far enough ahead for the peacetime business because, as I said, I think we are due for a general legislative overhauling. Afterward, the lessons of war, among other things, I suppose, will require that.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Not out of that.

Mr. PATTERSON. I think this draft of Senator Gurney's is adequate and covers the point I made.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Are there any questions, gentlemen?

Senator CHANDLER. I wish Judge Patterson to comment on the mayor's suggestion with respect to the training of college students by the Army.

Mr. PATTERSON. I do not believe that should be a matter of legislation, Senator Chandler. I think that that should be left to the policy of the War Department, because the situation will be a flexible one, and we will have to respond to it, I think, by flexible measures.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. There are plenty of persons training in the universities now under both the Army and Navy direction, are there not?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir; of course, the policy of the Army, I am sure, will be a policy in general on questions of deferments. As a general rule, I think the whole point of the Selective Service law is that the act shall apply to all alike.

Senator GURNEY. Mr. Secretary, in addition to having soldiers actually attending existing universities and colleges, the Army is also conducting its own officer-training school, is it not?

Mr. PATTERSON. And many service schools.

Senator GURNEY. Many service schools for enlistments?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator GURNEY. And many officers' training camps where you are training them in mathematics, navigation, and what not, training

them so that they can do the exact things that the Army needs to have them fitted for. It has been my impression for a long time that the place to train a fighting man is in the Army.

Mr. PATTERSON. There is no kind of training that equals the intensive training they get in the Army to fit them for military duty; there is no doubt about that.

Senator GURNEY. The quicker we get this war over with, the quicker will they go back to the regular universities and colleges.

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Are there any other questions?

(No response.)

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Thank you, Judge Patterson. It has been good to see you again.

General White, please.

# STATEMENT OF BRIG. GEN. M. G. WHITE, ASSISTANT CHIEF OF STAFF, G-1

Senator THOMAS of Utah. We will have to adjourn to go over for a meeting of the Senate at 10 minutes to 12, and then we will come back this afternoon at 2:30 if we can. We would like to use this 10 minutes. For the record, General, will you state your name and title?

General WHITE. Brig. Gen. M. G. White, Assistant Chief of Staff, G-1.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Proceed as you wish, General.

General WHITE. I do not know just what you want. I got in at the end of Mayor LaGuardia's testimony on the college business and Colonel Watt asked me if I would say something, or wanted to say something on that particular point. It is a thing that is concerning the War Department very greatly.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Mayor LaGuardia made some statement about building up our reserves properly by keeping men in the universities who should be trained for the Army or who should be training for the Army 5 years from now. I think it would be interesting to the committee if you would tell us what the Army is doing in that regard right now.

General WHITE. Perhaps, Senator, if I tell you the plan we are now working on, it would help. It has not been perfected, it has not been approved.

The Army realizes that we shall always need men in the Army with training at the college level; that is, a more advanced training than we can give them in our military schools. There is an obvious need for engineers, and doctors, of course, people in those categories.

We do not think it is proper to defer men in order that they may continue in college. To do that you get a class preferment. We think we should determine how many men should be trained, given college training, in each type of engineering and in each type of specialty, that we shall make the selections of the men to be trained; we shall specify the courses, and in cooperation with the educators, plan these courses, accelerate them as much as possible, so as to give us an annual flow of college-trained men back to the Army.

In general, our idea is that we should take into the Army all men alike, give them their basic military training, from the whole Army,

not simply from the college boys who were brought in by induction, and make our selections of men whose previous education, whose aptitude, and whose personal preferences indicated a reasonable assurance that they would be successful in the college training and then send them to college simply as an extension of our Army school system, utilizing college facilities, college faculties, keep them there, give them whatever military training we can while they were there. A continual screening provision would be necessary. If the man fell down in his studies for various reasons, we would have to pull him back into the Army, but we ought to plan that so as to give us a continuing flow of college-trained men to meet our requirements.

We also recognize, if we took all of the men out of the colleges, except the physically disqualified, that the time would come when civilian needs would not be met by college-trained men. Therefore, while we do not feel that the Army can carry the whole burden of that, if our plan is worked out and approved—and it is making good progress now—we intend to determine our own requirements. How many men we shall have to send up for college training; just some arbitrary figure, with the view that undoubtedly the Army is going to have release to industry and to civilian communities a number of these men that they send to college. We cannot take a chance on not being able to do that. So we would, as a matter of our own protection, feel we must send more men for college training than we estimated our own requirements to be. So we would have some margin to take care of that, and the Army would certainly do its share. Those plans are now being developed.

There is an interim period. For instance, to get graduates next June, we have but one field of selection, and those are the men who are now the seniors in college. To get college graduates in 1944, the present juniors in college are practically the only field, except those who have already been inducted and are in the Army. We would make our selection, though, from the whole Army and not from these particular men.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. General, does that imply that the classification continues on in the Army in a very lively way, so that your classification is kept alive from time to time?

General WHITE. It does; yes.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Would the instructions go right down to the company commanders and unit commanders to look out for these people so that the boys will not be lost track of?

General WHITE. That is right. We have, we believe, a very excellent classification system that starts with the men when they arrive at the reception center. It is continuous thereafter, always with the view to fit the square peg into the square hole. We have trained classification officers in divisions whose function it is to continually reclassify, reassign when necessary. It is not perfect, of course. Every now and then you find an engineer carrying a stretcher some place. When we find those cases, we immediately correct them, but, on the whole, it has been quite effective.

We use the same selection process for our officer candidate school, and it has proved quite effective. We can graduate from our officer candidate schools close to 90 percent of the men we handle, which is a very high percentage.

We have had many conferences with the educators, with Dr. Elliott of Purdue, and others of his caliber, discussing the whole program, trying to solve the many problems that come up. We are working very closely with them. We hope, in the next 6 weeks we will have a concrete plan for this program, but we do think it should be left to us to run our part of it.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. How many institutions are you using now? Can you estimate that?

General WHITE. No, sir; I cannot.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. It is pretty general, is it?

General WHITE. There are close to 200 institutions, with the R. O. T. C. units.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Yes, I understand that.

General WHITE. We have relatively few in, except for short courses. That is one thing we are planning, but it has not yet been completed.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. In other words, the Army has probably gone very much further than the general public understands.

General WHITE. Yes, sir; I am quite sure of that. We projected our requirements now as far as 1947 and 1948. We are more concerned about not having college-trained men than anything else, because we know we must have them.

Senator CHANDLER. General would it be possible for the Army to use existing facilities better than it is using them, so you could train the officers quickly? Would you use the existing facilities in the colleges of the country if you needed them?

General WHITE. Yes. The whole plan, Senator Chandler, is to use the college facilities and college faculties to extend the training of our Army schools. In other words, to carry the men to a higher level than we can do it in our Army schools.

Senator CHANDLER. Yes, sir.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. We will stand in recess until 2:30.

(Whereupon, at the hour of 11:47 a. m., the committee recessed until 2:30 p. m. of the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

(Pursuant to the adjournment for the noon recess, the committee reconvened at 2:30 p. m.)

Senator THOMAS of Utah. The committee will come to order.

There will be an executive session of the Military Affairs Committee tomorrow morning at 10:30 in the committee room.

Dr. Stevenson, please?

Dr. Stevenson, for the record will you state your name, your address, and any other material you want to appear in the record yourself?

#### STATEMENT OF DR. GEORGE S. STEVENSON, MEDICAL DIRECTOR, NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE, NEW YORK CITY

Dr. STEVENSON. My name is George S. Stevenson, M. D., 1790 Broadway, New York City. I am the medical director of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene.



Senator THOMAS of Utah. You may proceed, Doctor.

Dr. STEVENSON. I am quite in agreement with the general principle that military necessity must determine the action that is taken at this time.

I think the considerations involved in drafting the 18-19 year-old group are not as one-sided as has been made to appear, and that there are certain things that ought to be taken into account if trouble is to be averted on the military side.

The experience of the Army—from which their judgment is drawn—is from a limited and more mature element in this group; that is, the volunteer, the one who has found it possible to break his ties with the home and to enlist in the Army.

I feel that the Army is not aware of the type of person that they will get in a cross-section draft of this group, and that they will find themselves saddled with a large number of immature persons that will not only be of no use in the Army but from my knowledge of the processes of discharging a man from the Army through section 8, section 6, or a certificate of disability discharge, it will add a serious burden to the Army.

We have, in this group, men who are much more like 20, men who have proved their ability and who have set this pattern upon which the Army is making its decision. But we have also a considerable number who are more like 16 years old, who are not at all prepared to step out on their own, and we find that it is in this 18- to 20-year period, when the man is trying his wings, that he begins to show his stabilities or instabilities. It is there that the beginnings appear of mental disease, at that age period.

At the age of 20 we are able to make a fair selection of the men that come up for consideration, because we have that period which reflects their ability to conduct themselves with stability or instability, and we go back over that. I have worked very closely with the draft boards in that connection.

I have also had the opportunity to do an almost identical job with students entering college who, on the whole, are around 18 years of age, and I know that no such adequate selection can be effected, as to the probabilities of stability or instability at the age of 18.

There are one or two considerations that I think have to be taken into account. I think we have to be aware that taking these men in the Army will translate them from a situation of dependence in the family to a situation of dependence in the Army, and that they will have no experience of free citizenship, on their own feet, to act as a pattern to which to return when the war is over.

Now I am very much concerned as to the effect of this gap in their lives and I don't feel that they can go back and retrieve that which they have lost, at the age of 23 or whenever the time is, and that in that loss we will have had them so accustomed to an authoritarian set of conditions, without any modifying previous experience such as our present men have, that it may be seriously disturbing to them if it doesn't become serious otherwise.

Now this question of mixture in this group. There are some that are mature and there are some that are immature, and that is very well founded physiologically as well as psychologically; the two go together.



I refer to a study that was made at the University of Pennsylvania by a man who was on fellowship under my supervision, who took men at annual age groups—there were about 10 or 12 in each group—and he arranged them in order, from the anatomical standpoint, of their degree of development or maturity.

We find, we will say, that at the age of 17 this man is in the middle, and an identical man will be found at the age of 18, and an identical man at the age of 16, at different stages in this developmental process.

It is that difference that I think is being lost sight of in the effort of the Army to arrive at a conclusion that these men can all be treated just as we have treated the older men. I am not opposing the draft of the 18- to 19-year-olds so much as feeling that whatever legislation is carried through should be accompanied by some controls that will prevent them from being dealt with in exactly the same way as the older groups.

I know that we cannot select them as well as we can the older groups.

That is all I have.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Doctor, the rule of stability cannot be bounded by years, can it?

Dr. STEVENSON. No; not at all.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. In other words, no matter at what year you set the draft, there are some persons who are going to be affected and made unstable because of the call and the worry and the stress?

Dr. STEVENSON. That is right. Could I speak to that point for just 1 second?

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Yes; I would like to have you, please.

Dr. STEVENSON. The instabilities of the older group are what are known as neurotic instabilities. The instabilities in this group are largely slowness of development, and you get this instability in this group, the immaturity of this group, overcome within a few years. You will have this neurotic instability carried all the way through this group and the older ones, too. There is that difference.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Thank you, Doctor.

Dr. Frank J. O'Brien, please.

For the record will you state your name, address, title, and any other information you want to appear in the record about yourself?

**STATEMENT OF DR. FRANK J. O'BRIEN, ASSOCIATE SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, BROOKLYN, N. Y.**

Dr. O'BRIEN. My name is Frank J. O'Brien, M. D., 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. I am associate superintendent of schools of New York City.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Will you proceed as you wish, Dr. O'Brien?

Dr. O'BRIEN. I want to say that I speak from about 20 years of experience both as a physician and in education and my sole concern is from the angle of what this means to these boys, as I see it.

I feel along the same lines as Dr. Stevenson, and I will be very brief because of what he has said.

I think there is a fallacy, perhaps, in the reasoning of assuming that when you go below the age of 20 you are still dealing with an adult group as you are above 20. I think those of us who have dealt with youths and young manhood know that perhaps the most difficult years during the adolescent span are those last 3 or 4 years before they come into real adulthood.

It is serious because at that period there have come in all the adult urges of independence, of breaking away from supervision and authority, and yet there is the drawback of many of the more childish needs of dependencies and support from which they have not as yet developed.

Now, during that period they are very agitated. As we know, there is a fairly high percentage of suicides in that particular group. They need two things; they need the capacity to grow and mature, to learn how to control these urges on the one hand; and they need a certain amount of support and encouragement on the other.

I agree with what Dr. Stevenson says, and I will go a step further in regard to the draft of these boys. In fact, I think we should be brought in, in some way. But as he also said, I think what is done after that is very important. I think that if with this some plan could be set up whereby these boys will be allowed to go through these next 2 years, 1 or 2 years, with some sort of support that they need, while at the same time they are given the necessary military training so that when they do reach the age of 20 they will be much more ready for combat service, that that would be very helpful.

This is not wishful thinking at all, because there are data to support it. For example, there is a report from the Medical Division of the Army in 1929 which shows that an analysis of the sick men from the last war resulted in a greater incidence in the group under 20 of neuroses, than in the group above 20.

No basis to many neuroses—I don't want to go too far into this—in infantilism, is immaturity, and when they are thrust into an adult type of life for which they are not equipped, a neurotic attitude toward life is one of the things that results.

Senator DOWNEY. Do you happen to have the particular percentages or figures at hand as to the comparative amount of neurosis below 20 and above?

Dr. O'BRIEN. No; but there is a statement in that report; it is volume 10, 1929, of a series of reports, the neuro-psychiatric reports of the medical service in the Army, which states it. I can give you the exact reference if you wish.

Senator DOWNEY. Well, was there a marked difference?

Dr. O'BRIEN. There was a great difference. The statement says that it was a difference out of proportion to what you would expect in that chronological age group. It is rather poorly worded but it implies that the proportion in that age group is much higher than in the age groups above 20.

Here it is here. A series of studies of the Medical Department of the United States Army in the World War points out in chapter 8, volume 10, "that there was a marked tendency for neuroses to develop in men under 21 in greater number than might have been accounted for on the basis of age distribution."

Now that has very practical implications, of course:

1. These men as a group will not, per se, make the type of soldier that the Army wants them to be.

2. Because of that, they are going to create tremendous problems for the Army in terms of handling them and getting rid of them, and you know what that implies in terms of procedures and cost.

3. It is going to add to that great army of disabled after the war that the Government and the people will be asked to take care of, which can be prevented if there is some care, not 100 percent, but at least the percentage can be reduced to a much greater minimum if this sort of care is given, to this group particularly.

If we carry that reasoning to its logical conclusion, we would then say that the 15- to 17-year-old group would make still better soldiers, and perhaps the 13- to 15-year-old group better than them, if we kept that going down the line.

It comes back to what I said originally, that if we recognize clearly that when you get below 20 and 21 you are not dealing with adults, you are dealing with children who are emerging into adulthood, and more care and caution and protections have got to be thrown around that group to prevent disabilities, than is the case with the older group.

And if this care is not given, it seems to me, not only will the Army not get what they think they are going to get, but they will get people who are a real handicap to them and society will have left over for the post-war period an unnecessarily increased number of maladjusted citizens.

That is all I have.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Are there any questions?

Senator AUSTIN. I am interested to know whether the evidence of this neurotic condition cannot be detected at the time of selection by the local board?

Dr. O'BRIEN. May I clear that up. I don't mean that they necessarily at that time have a neurosis, but if they are put into a situation which takes away from them the type of support that home and so forth means, that that insecurity may develop into a neurotic pattern.

Now if we had adequate medical services, those who would potentially develop neuroses could be determined, but we have not that in the Army today. If all the psychiatrists available in the Army were brought together, they couldn't handle what the draft will bring in.

Senator AUSTIN. I suppose you assume, in making that statement, that the medical member of the Selective Service Board is not generally qualified to diagnose this condition?

Dr. O'BRIEN. Well, I don't want to generalize because I naturally don't know them, but even if they did, they wouldn't have the time that is necessary to give to the great numbers who are coming through, to give them the necessary time for examination. Secondly, it is much more difficult, as I think Dr. Stevenson pointed out, to predicate what these people are going to do, because there is no history to indicate how they have been able to get along in a social situation, of themselves, as the older adult has.

In other words, you and I as human beings leave our history behind us in terms of what we have done or have not done. These youngsters

up to this time have not had that opportunity, they have been in a protected environment with the support and encouragement and the solace of parents and others. So we do not have the type of history that helps us come to a conclusion to prognosticate upon, that we do with the older group who have been, for a longer period of time, living as individuals.

Senator AUSTIN. Well, assume that one of these boys is selected for deferment instead of being selected for service in the land or naval forces, do you predict for him the same sort of neurotic development?

Dr. O'BRIEN. No, I think a high proportion of these, if allowed to finish out that maturing period—there is no one point, of course, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21—will result in a much smaller percentage of those who will react unfavorably to the Army experience than would be the case if they were not allowed to do it.

Senator AUSTIN. Now I gather from your remarks that you desire not to prevent the adoption of the bill to expand this liability for service in the land and naval forces to the group of 18 to 20, but rather to deal with them with special reference to this danger?

Dr. O'BRIEN. Exactly.

Senator AUSTIN. After they have been inducted?

Dr. O'BRIEN. Exactly.

Senator AUSTIN. Is that right?

Dr. O'BRIEN. Yes, sir. In other words, I could conceive of a situation where this group, for example, might be assigned—it depends upon what basis they would be taken in, whether on reserve or furlough, or what—to schools, some to farms, and some to certain industries, at the same time being given a certain amount of intensive military training, so that when they did reach the age of 20, during which time they have had an opportunity to develop, they will also be better prepared for military life than they otherwise would be.

Senator AUSTIN. I gather from that that it is your opinion that what they would have to adapt themselves to would help to develop their resistance against these neurotic tendencies; is that right?

Dr. O'BRIEN. Yes and no—that is a good Irish answer.

Yes; in the sense that I think every youth needs the experience of self-discipline. No; in the sense that they are denied the opportunity of learning to stand on their own two feet because they are in a regimented situation which they would not get in a more normal situation, and I think particularly again of that short span of years from 16 up to 20 or 21, because that is the danger zone with youth in the process from childhood or youth into adult life.

Senator AUSTIN. That is all I have.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Are there any other questions?

Thank you, Doctor, we appreciate you coming.

Mr. Norman Thomas, please?

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Thomas wanted to be here today but he is out in Wisconsin, and I spoke to him last night and he asked if I would present to this committee for him some remarks. He wrote, I believe, to Senator Reynolds on about September 15, asking certain questions and presenting certain remarks.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Will you identify yourself for the record, please?



STATEMENT OF ALBERT W. HAMILTON, WASHINGTON, D. C.,  
APPEARING ON BEHALF OF NORMAN THOMAS

Mr. HAMILTON. My name is Albert W. Hamilton, 1734 F Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. Thomas writes:

I am exceedingly sorry that I cannot appear in person before your committee to discuss this issue of the drafting of the 18- and 19-year-old group. However, there are certain important problems which I feel it is, at this time, the duty of Congress to consider in connection with this issue: Without suggesting that I and other laymen are expert enough in military affairs to consider strategy, I do want to suggest that it is exceedingly unfortunate that there should be consideration of the drafting of this age group without some solution of the chaos and confusion in the whole manpower situation.

New figures have not changed the basic questions I raised in a letter of September 15 to your chairman, Senator Reynolds. After a delay of more than a month on the part of the Army and the administration, during which time many people pleaded that the 18- and 19-year-old draft be considered in the light of the total manpower situation, the Congress now, under pressure of the President's speech and Army testimony, is asked to immediately legislate on a small portion of the total manpower problem involving not more than 800,000 men as a net figure, as has been stated by General Hershey yesterday.

May I, without desiring in the least to repeat obvious facts and dates, remind the committee of the situation during the last month. Bills on the 18- to 19-year old draft have been before this committee and the House Military Affairs Committee since early in September. Since that time, I understand that efforts have been made to secure from the Army accurate public figures on the size of the Army they want by 1943, and their views on the teen-age draft. However, during this period many people were given to understand that the Army was aiming for a size of from 10 to 13 million men. General Hershey, who originally had been widely quoted on the 13,000,000 figure, has since said he has been misunderstood and misquoted. It is strange that I, like hundreds of thousands of other Americans, had to wait to hear this fact from the Town Meeting of the Air on October 2 at which the draft of boys of 18 and 19 was discussed.

I cite this bit of recent history not to be a carping critic, but because these past contradictions have made difficult adequate consideration of this problem. When I first heard the 13,000,000 figure, I commented over the radio that the people of America who have to pay the cost have the right—no, the duty—to ask what will be done with these men, and how will they be supported.

Part of the picture is the confusion which has been created during the last month by these figures varying from ten to thirteen million, figures which even Donald Nelson considered sufficiently authoritative to discuss with press representatives. The American people have not, in my opinion, been given enough of the truth, and indeed been given contradictory information, a situation which may have tragic results to agriculture, to industry, to democracy itself.

Now we have been told flatly that the Army wants 7½ million men by the end of 1943. Even this more recent figure of 7½ million, on the basis of which the 18- to 19-year-old draft is now being discussed, is not new. I have been told that the Army itself has been using this figure in its own planning since April or May. Yet when this figure was finally given publicly by the Army, it looked small and feasible, almost desirable, after the discussion of 13,000,000.

Many of the questions involved in this whole manpower situation cannot be answered merely by pledges to follow the Commander in Chief or to go all-out for the war. Neither the immediate drafting of 18- to 19-year-olds, nor patriotic pledges of faith and honest purpose, can substitute adequately for arithmetic and over-all strategy.

Let me for a moment take up arithmetic.

On September 9, Brig. Gen. Robert Littlejohn, Assistant United States Quartermaster General in London, declared:

"It takes 10½ shipping tons to bring one American soldier to Britain and 1½ tons a month to maintain him here."

Distances in the Pacific are many times greater and the shipping costs will be proportionately higher. Even if the submarine menace should finally be overcome, how can the United States transport and maintain five to seven million men in



Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australia? It seems to me that some answer must be given to this question.

Seeking light on these questions, I inquired of the Army's publicity bureau in New York what was the ratio of civilian workers necessary to maintain one soldier in modern mechanized war. Courteously, I was told that for a war fought mostly overseas, 21 civilian workers would be required for 1 soldier; and that for every soldier at the front, 5 to 6 soldiers are essential behind the lines. To lower the ratio to 15 to 1, the Army would consider a notable performance, according to the Army's publicity bureau.

The committee will see what these figures mean. The Administration is raising an Army so great that to maintain most of it effectively on foreign battlefields would require, according to the Army's own lowest estimate, for the production and shipment of food and supplies of all sorts, 15 times  $7\frac{1}{2}$  million, or  $112\frac{1}{2}$  million workers, exclusive of hundreds of thousands for the Navy and Marine Corps. The total population of the United States, from the youngest baby to the oldest man, is approximately 132,000,000. Take these figures and for "workers" read "civilians" and still see how preposterous is the notion of an army of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  millions, most of them destined for foreign service. Or if you think the Army's own ratio of 15 to 1 is too high, take the figure of 7 to 1—the lowest ratio which I have heard on the part of any military man—and multiply  $7\frac{1}{2}$  million by 7, and you get a figure of  $52\frac{1}{2}$  million workers, which is equally high and almost equally preposterous, for remember the Army's  $7\frac{1}{2}$  million figure is not active plus reserves, but active men.

I have compared these figures with some of the estimates of manpower requirements now being worked out by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the Bureau of Employment Security. With a total armed force of 9,000,000 projected for December 1943, they have figured a total of 53.5 million as the total labor force; they figure only 20,000,000 of this in what they call war employment. It would seem to me that the committee has the duty to get one set of figures from the Administration before acting any further on the question of manpower.

The problem presented by trying to rationalize the Army figures with those of agencies figuring total manpower is a confusing one. How many men does the Army believe will be needed to keep an active force of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  million men? Is this feasible?

The Army is not a separate entity whose needs, and ability to function, can be separated from problems of industrial production, shipping, raw materials, agricultural production. Manpower is basic to all of these and not peculiarly the problem of the Army. At this point Congress has the opportunity to take the leadership so badly needed in this field. It is my earnest opinion that indiscriminate drafting of the 18- and 19-year-olds at this point will not constitute this badly needed leadership in dealing with the whole manpower situation.

Unless arithmetic and common sense have lost all meaning, the economic effects of proceeding any further with piecemeal legislation will be disastrous, and the effect on morale will be worse.

Labor shortages on the farm and in some industries even now raise a demand for freeing more men on their jobs. There is no guaranty but only a promise to explore releasing older skilled men if the teen-age group is now drafted. Paul McNutt, the ambitious Manpower Commissioner, who once governed two Indiana counties for months—when everything was at peace—by what he called military law, is preaching and cautiously beginning to practice the conscription of workers. If we drift, adopting first one item, then another, we are certain to end with a totalitarian conscription of all labor.

Let me present a further problem of arithmetic plus strategy. The war production scheduled is almost twice the size of Germany's war production. My arithmetic leads me to the conclusion that most of this production will be needed then to supply the  $7\frac{1}{2}$ -million-man army, which is likewise twice the size of Germany's. This, I insist, involves a problem of strategy which should be decided now, before any further steps are taken to draft any other group. Especially is this true if America is to supply her Allies, as well as her own forces, with vast stores of all kinds of material. No intelligent decisions can be made on how agriculture is to be kept producing, how industry can be kept going, unless and until the Congress and the administration make a rational decision on the number of men who can effectively be used overseas at a time when the air power grows by leaps and bounds. These questions the Army cannot satisfactorily answer by simply saying, "We need younger men. Our Army is aging rapidly."

Is it not high time that some determination be made on these questions of strategy? The public is not asking for military secrets; it asks for some end to

the confusion which now besets it. Is it not high time that somebody did some arithmetic and arrived at correct answers? When farmers ask how they are going to get farm labor with such an army as now is being proposed, do they not deserve an answer before the 18- and 19-year-olds are taken from them?

When I first heard it suggested that there were 200 ways to beat Hitler and we were trying all of them at the same time, I thought it was a joke; I now begin to think it is a serious description of our strategy or lack of strategy. I attack no man's motives when I say we drift through confusion and hysteria toward inefficient totalitarian dictatorship, which will guarantee the loss of our own liberties more surely than anything else. My plea is that at this date nothing will be lost, everything will be gained by not drafting now the teen-age group until the broad lines of strategy have been settled, and the question of where this group will best fit into a manpower plan is answered.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Are there any questions?

Senator DOWNEY. Mr. Chairman, I have no questions, but I would like to make this comment, that it does seem to me that Mr. Thomas poses certain questions there that are in the minds of the majority of the American people, and that this committee might very appropriately consider learning from the Army whether there is a possibility of utilizing this Army which we are here authorizing. I must admit that my mind has been worried and confused about this same problem. I read in the Readers Digest last month an article by Mr. McNutt, in which he stated very peremptorily that we would need 20 workers back of each soldier that we used in foreign lands, and he said that seemed to be an impossible task, but nothing was impossible to American ingenuity. There must be some answer to this.

Now it may be that the figures which have been given out are contradictory, confusing, and erroneous, and the Army may have some answer to what seems to be an impossible dilemma. I do think that this committee might very seriously consider further information from the Army to answer the questions asked by Mr. Thomas.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. The answers will be partly made if General Hershey gives us the information which we asked him for yesterday.

Colonel Watt, has General Hershey reported?

Colonel WATT. Not as yet.

Mr. HAMILTON. If I might add just a comment. I listened with a great deal of interest to your questioning of General Hershey yesterday, in regard to those figures. I have been very close to the work which Mr. Thomas has done in his radio speeches, and what-not, on this problem, and there is one thing which I, on the basis of personal observation around Washington, find. There is no place, and there is no agency of Government—the Manpower Commission, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Bureau of Employment Security—I could go on and list another half-dozen agencies—or the Army publicity or information section—where you can get into one sheet of paper or two, or no matter how many you want to put it on, a correlation between the Army figures as to the size of the Army they want, and the problem of manpower needed for production. And I know that it has been Mr. Thomas' plea over and over again that before this legislation and that legislation and another piece of legislation, which comes from the Army or administration sources is adopted, there be some calling of a halt and saying what are the facts, and here, then, is the total program to deal with.

I would like to add one other comment, which was given to me verbally following the President's speech. The President, in his

speech, commented on manpower, on two phases of it; the 18- and 19-year-old question, where he said without doubt we would have to draft them; and the question of the labor force, where he said we want to stick to the volunteer method of handling this, but it hasn't worked to date.

My fear, and I am sure it is the fear of a good many other people, is that when the 18- and 19-year-old draft is out of the way, then there will be a national-service act brought by Mr. McNutt or someone else, and then there will be something else, but there will be no resolution, no synchronization of plans in dealing with the manpower problem, and I think, personally, that the committee has an excellent opportunity to call such a halt at this time until the total picture can be solved.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Any questions?

Senator DOWNEY. Mr. Chairman, before we dismiss this subject—if I am in error I would like at some stage of the proceeding to have it pointed out to me—as I understand the testimony of our own military experts, it is to the effect that by the end of next year we expect to have in active service twice as many men in our armed forces, including the Navy and Marines, as Germany has, twice as many men; and I have been informed by the ablest economists in the War Production Board that it is our expectation that we will produce two to three times as much of military goods and services as Germany; and also I have been told recently that the transportation of our men and military equipment and our lend-lease supplies, will even be more costly than the original production in this country.

Now, again, I ask the patience and forbearance of the committee for pressing on these points, but I can't understand those matters. I must assume the Army knows what is doing, and the trouble must be in my own mind, but I cannot see how those magnitudes can rationally work out, and I wonder, like Mr. Thomas, whether it isn't the obligation of this committee to intrude more upon our military experts for a clearer understanding, at least in executive session.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. An executive session has been called for tomorrow morning at 10:30 and you can bring that up at that time.

Dr. Strecker? [No response.]

Dr. Zachry? [No response.]

Dr. Lewis? [No response.]

Dr. Beck? [No response.]

Dr. Moore? [No response.]

Dr. Counts? [No response.]

I have here statements from these men who asked to be heard and those will be put in the record so that the committee will have the benefit of their ideas.

(The statements referred to are as follows:)

#### OPINIONS OF EMINENT MEDICAL MEN AND EDUCATORS RELATIVE TO THE DRAFTING OF YOUTHS UNDER 20 YEARS OF AGE

*From Dr. Edward A. Strecker, President Elect, American Psychiatric Association, Philadelphia.*

I believe that the 18- and 19-year-old boys should be the last group to be drafted. No other age group would be so seriously damaged as this one by its disarrangement and disorganization and would become so maladjusted not only immediately but throughout its future. If these boys are given 2 more years in which to



grow up with perhaps part-time work on farms, where labor is evidently needed, they will be of more value, both in the war and in the post-war world.

*From Dr. Caroline B. Zuehlke, Director, Child Guidance Bureau, Board of Education, New York City.*

TO DR. GEORGE S. STEVENSON: Many of us who are close to the problems of youth are deeply concerned over the possibility of drafting 18- and 19-year-old boys. We realize how grave are the psychological dangers of war to boys of this age. I am writing to urge you to use your influence to the end that every other source of manpower be used before these boys are called.

*From Nolan D. C. Lewis, M. D., New York State Psychiatric Institute and Hospital, New York City.*

TO DR. STEVENSON: With the hope that my opinion may help a little in preventing the making of a serious mistake, I should like to say that any proposal to induct boys of the 18- and 19-year level into our armed services at the present time is an unfortunate one. During this period of years the young boy is either in the midst of that formal education so necessary for the promotion of the best interests of society and civilization, or if not in school, is, along with the others, just learning to adjust in the complexities of our social and economic system. Any measure taken to interrupt this course of events should be very seriously scrutinized. The majority of interruptions in these life factors will result in a permanent end or an irreparable deviation of the life plan that is so much needed to constitute a sound basis for reconstruction here at home, after the war. These persons should constitute the trained minds of the future. Those hardly out of adolescence are comparatively immature emotionally and intellectually, and many of them are as yet unstable constitutionally, and are thus unfit for the regimented camp life or for active field service. Certainly, the older groups including the married men and those married men with children, should be utilized first, until the supply is exhausted, before considering the adolescents for service.

*From Dr. David Beck, Mt. Sinai Hospital, New York City.*

As a physician who has been medical director of one of the city's largest private schools for many years, and who has had other close contacts with young people in various institutions and in general practice, I wish to register my protest against the proposed drafting of boys aged 18 and 19. It is my earnest conviction that these boys are not fitted physically, and particularly mentally and emotionally, to be drawn into the war directly. I believe further that letting these boys first develop to the age of 20 will make far less likely the mental breakdown under stress such as would surely be common in the younger age groups. We must consider the blasting of individuals' lives and the resulting compounded cost to the country in money and more particularly in the most valuable unit of its manpower. We must learn from the experiences of others.

If it is true that to use these boys has become absolutely and literally vital to the war effort, then there is this sane alternative: These boys may continue at college taking special preparatory courses, or they may be drafted for farms or defense industries for 2 years while they mature and grow less incapable of taking the impacts of war.

*From Dr. Thomas V. Moore, Department of Psychology and Psychiatry, the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.*

TO DR. GEORGE S. STEVENSON: I shall be pleased to act upon the committee and would like to make the following remarks concerning the draft of boys of 18 and 19.

The age at which the character of young men matures is a variable quantity. A number of boys of 18 have not the maturity of the normal boy of 16. A somewhat lesser percentage of 19-year-olds will belong to the group of immature characters.

If all boys of 18 and 19 are drafted, there will be a large number of youths mentally inadequate to meet the problems with which they will be confronted. Theoretically, it seems that there will be great danger in such a program being carried out indiscriminately. If the Government does decide to draft boys of 18 and 19, some effort should be made to test their emotional maturity and all those who are emotionally immature should be rejected. This would be a matter of some difficulty.

It would seem to be a more rational procedure to provide for the further education of all boys of 18 to 19 of average normal intelligence. If they are drafted into the ordinary military services, their education will cease and we shall not have a body of men from whom to draw the officers of the future.

Trusting that the National Committee for Mental Hygiene may be able to present this problem to Congress in its true light, I remain, \* \* \*

*For Prof. George S. Counts, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York.*

It seems to me that we should proceed very cautiously in any move to draft into the armed forces 18 and 19 year-old boys. I am not saying that this should not be done under any circumstances. However, I have seen no sound argument for taking this step at the present time.

I agree with you regarding the psychological and educational objections to drafting these boys. In addition, I am of the opinion that they are not required at this time in our armed forces. There are many other ways in which their energies and talents might be employed. What we need is a thoroughly accurate survey of our manpower and a thoroughly defensible policy for the use of that manpower in the total war effort. Quite possibly, from the standpoint of that effort, if the war is to be a long one, a large proportion of these boys should go to school rather than enter the armed forces.

There is much loose talk now about an army of 13,000,000 men. Such an army may be possible and desirable, but I doubt it. I do not believe that we have a sufficient industrial and labor base to maintain a mechanized army of that size. It is obvious that the question of the drafting of the 18- and 19-year-olds should be regarded as one aspect of the total problem and should be so treated.

*From Prof. John Dewey.*

The morale and mental health of this country would be undermined by drafting the young boys of 18 to 19. These boys are inexperienced, impressionable, and have never yet had an opportunity to live independently; they have not the stability and preparation of the older soldier. When they reach the age of 20 they will still be available for military service and they will be better equipped physically, mentally, and emotionally to withstand the shock of war. They will be better either as soldiers or as civilians.

We have in this vast land great reserves of manpower without sacrificing our boypower. All of us know many men in their twenties and thirties who have not gone into military service. They should be called first; the young boys should be the last to go. Those boys who are entering college should be permitted to continue their education. Unless we have boys with a basic college education, the country will be depleted of trained men in the future, when they will be so vitally needed. Being forced into the war machine will prevent their growth and development. Other boys who are not headed for college could replace unskilled labor on farms, in factories, etc., thus having a chance to grow up before going, fresh from school, to war.

*From Carlton Washburne, Superintendent of Schools, Winnetka, Ill.*

May I, as an educator, strongly protest against the drafting of the youths of 18 and 19 until all able-bodied men, married or not, are fully and effectively participating in the war effort?

Temporary disruption of family life is, of course, undesirable—so is war. The question is the choice of the lesser of two evils. Mature men can readjust to the war situation and back again to civilian life, if they come back, with less loss to the Nation than can boys of 18 and 19 stop their education, stop their preparation to carry on after the war and be thrown while still immature into the terrible maelstrom.

There are plenty of us over 45 who, while we may not be fit for the rigors of infantry attack, could replace men of the present draft age behind the lines in the infinitude of services necessitated by the Army. Every such expedient should be used to the limit before we pull boys out of school and jeopardize the Nation's future.

*From Dr. Frank J. O'Brien, Associate Superintendent of Schools, former head of the Child Guidance Bureau, New York City Schools.*

TO DR. GEORGE S. STEVENSON: I am very much concerned as to the wisdom of conscripting boys of 18 and 19 years of age in terms of the boys themselves, their value to the armed forces at this age, and their subsequent adjustment after the war.

We are aware that many boys of 18 and 19 years of age are very immature emotionally, although there are exceptions. To take these boys away from the stabilizing influences of home and school and put them into our armed forces may only have the effect of producing emotionally unstable and, therefore, not particularly useful individuals.



A 20-year-old boy is still plastic but certainly more mature and is, therefore, better material for military training than boys of 18 and 19. I feel certain that the Army can accomplish a great deal more with 20-year-olds in a much less period of time than could be accomplished with the younger group.

From the standpoint of subsequent adjustment, conscripting the younger group endangers their future service to the Nation. Already the proposal to draft the 18- and 19-year-olds, so my experience indicates, is having its effect upon those still younger. For example, a boy who is not yet 17 stated that he thought he would give up school and join the Navy. After some discussion with him about this, it was very evident that he had no desire to go into the Navy, but he thought he would not be able to finish much of the school work he had planned and, therefore, that he might as well quit school now as 2 years from now. This adds to the maladjustment of youth, therefore, even more than is indicated by the proposed conscription of 18- and 19-year-old boys.

I recognize that conscripting these boys is a much easier procedure and, therefore, less complicated than conscripting those of 20 or over. If this should enter into the picture, certainly the ease with which conscription can be accomplished should not be the determining factor in selecting our manpower for the armed forces.

If the war continues and the manpower needed is so great that it will be necessary to conscript boys of 18 and 19 years of age or even younger, then I think we should do it, but I do not believe it is the wisest thing to do at this time, not only from the point of view of the individual but also from the point of view of the armed forces.

*From Dr. Felix Morley, president, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.*

I am fully in accord with the viewpoint about the undesirability of drafting boys of 18 and 19 for combat service. I am sufficiently well acquainted with the psychology of youths of that age to realize that the experience, wholly aside from the matter of risk, is unlikely to be helpful during these formative years.

*From Dorothy Canfield Fisher.*

It would be the greatest calamity if boys of 18 and 19 were sent into active service. That goes without saying.

*From George S. Stevenson, M. D., medical director, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York City.*

The question of drafting the 18- and 19-year-old group is one of concern to a number of psychiatrists of my acquaintance, as well as to me. It is our feeling that the original selective-service provision represented a decision untrammelled by pressures of emergency. It is important, now that these pressures appear, that we should not blind ourselves to some of the things involved in drafting the younger group. Selection of good soldiers from this younger group is bound to be much less successful for the simple reason that these men have had fewer years in which to show clues to their instabilities and disqualifications. These particular years have proved especially important in the evaluation of the older group. Thus there will be an undue proportion of unfit men taken into the service.

It must be remembered also that these 2 or 3 years, when young men are emancipating themselves, are the years in which they can gain great personal strength by being on their own. In the Army they will miss this opportunity since the Army, without question, continues a dependence and regimentation. These men may fight for a glorious victory and at the end find themselves confused by the absence of a background of civilian experience and so regimented that the freedom that we are fighting for means nothing to them.

In concluding that it would be far better to take men with dependents, we have considered fully that it is not a good thing for a child to be deprived of a father or a wife or a husband, but even this is not as serious as subjecting the 18- and 19-year-old group to combat experience. As an alternative, would it not be possible to provide for this group the same sort of military training that has been provided for college students in order that they may acquire much of the technical elements needed in the Army and, at the same time, have 2 years or so of experience as civilians standing on their own feet?

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Are there any further witnesses who wish to be heard?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. For the record state your name, please?

**STATEMENT OF EDGAR G. BROWN, DIRECTOR, NATIONAL NEGRO COUNCIL**

Mr. BROWN. My name is Edgar G. Brown, director of the National Negro Council and president of the United Federal Government Employees.

Mr. Chairman, I didn't think I would be able to return today and didn't know whether your committee would be still holding hearings, but I am very happy that you are because it does seem to me that some of the propositions propounded here yesterday by Senator Bilbo of Mississippi particularly, indicated that the colored people were not supplying their share in this demand of the War Department and the Navy Department especially in Mississippi.

I was very much interested in his comment that the population is 50 percent colored and 50 percent white, and that they were taking all of the best white boys and leaving all the more or less unfit Negroes on their hands. We do not believe that that is true because the War Department figures indicate that there are 400,000 Negroes now under arms in the respective armed forces, and that is one-tenth of the total number, and we are supposed to be about one-tenth of the total population.

It may be that in Mississippi where they have such poor school facilities and no health facilities, and the Negroes are disfranchised and other restrictions put on their lives in such a manner that they can't hardly exist, that they do not have any ability to read or write, or that they have these diseases that Senator Bilbo indicated.

But I have a picture here of a young man who came from down in that same section of the country. His name is Joe Louis, and he is now Sgt. Joe Louis, of the United States Army. The Government has felt so interested in his patriotism and his contribution, as reflecting more or less the traditional patriotism of Negroes, that they have had a poster put out all over the country, and I will pass it around for the information of the committee.

As you probably know he made a statement just the other day, according to the New York Times here, and also the New York Daily News, that he wasn't interested in boxing, but that he was interested in only fighting right now in the United States Army.

I think that reflects pretty well the true sentiments of the Negro people and we feel it is very necessary to get into this record at this time these facts, because another gentleman from Mississippi, Congressman Rankin, over on the floor yesterday indicated that every Negro who contended that American citizens who were fighting and dying for democracy feel that they should share in it at home as well as advancing it abroad, are Communists—or something to that effect.

The organization that I happen to represent is made up of the National Baptist Convention with some 4,000,000 Negro church members in this country, and the National Negro Insurance Association, with 40 companies and 1,800,000 Negro policyholders; and the United Government Employees, with some 20,000 Federal employees that I happen to be the president of. And the Dies committee or no one else has ever intimated that there is any connection with any front or anything except the American front that we are trying to get identified with in such a way that our contribution will be utilized.

And in this discussion of manpower, and the other things that I was so happy to hear you, Senator Thomas, mention yesterday, in this whole picture of what the Army wants in the way of these 18- to 20-year-old boys, and just as you have also discussed housing, all these things are interrelated. There are about three or four thousand Negroes now out in Las Vegas, Nev., with no housing facilities out there for them, and nothing has been provided or programmed, as you may remember Mr. Blandford testified. Now, they are looking to having a large number of the Negroes from the South move to these Northern communities, but I have just visited a large number of cities in the North and there are no places for them to live up here.

It does seem that the Senate or some of the Government officials, as the last witness just testified, would have some over-all knowledge of what this is all about so that everyone would be taken care of properly, and we do not feel that the Negro people are sharing properly in many of these things.

I have the Afro-American here, another Negro newspaper. I would like to put in the record a story entitled "Man Who Prefers Jail to Army No Coward." It is a very interesting article of a young Negro who objects to the segregation in the United States Army. I spoke to General Marshall about this yesterday, and they are carrying that on over in Europe. We think that destroys the morale not only of the Negroes but of the white people who are fair-minded and certainly among the civilians whom when men are fighting and dying for democracy, still when the British people want to be friendly and hospitable to them on their own soil, they have objections from Americans, and nothing is done very much about it by the Government.

Speaking about all these Negroes being diseased, as Senator Bilbo said, there is nothing at all in the physique of Joe Louis—it is interesting, it is on the back page of a picture of Lincoln—that shows that the Negroes are physically unfit or that they have any higher percentage of unfitness physically than any other group, except in a few benighted places like Mississippi.

Now here Mr. Rankin says that he is in favor of segregation. Well, the Negro people don't feel that there ought to be any segregation in the Army, in the Navy, or anywhere else. Why should my sons be denied an opportunity to go to Annapolis if they want to? And I think when we are passing these laws that there ought to be some way—and Senator Schwartz knows we have taken this up for a good many years, and he knows how he has helped us to get in the Air Corps, but I asked General McNarney yesterday if there were any plans for additional Negroes in the Air Corps and he said "No, we are developing about 100 Negro flyers a year"—with all this discussion of the 100,000 flyers.

We feel that that is depressing, it doesn't add to the morale of the all-out war effort and the full spirit of the Negro. I have said many times that over here at the Capitol there is a picture of a Negro with his club out in front of the white men, with guns, striking at the Red Coats, with their bayonets fixed on his breast, and he died there, and that was 1770, the first to die for liberty and independence. And we want to maintain that tradition.



When I spoke to General Marshall yesterday he said, "We are out to whip the Japanese and the Germans." Well, that is what we are out to do and how can we do that if they whip us every day and lynch Negro boys 14 and 15 years of age, not satisfied to give them a legal trial, but tie them to a trestle.

I don't believe that helps the winning of the war. I want to incorporate the statement of the PM magazine on the "Kid-Lynchers," if I may, in my testimony along that line.

I think some of these angles, which may not seem to have any immediate bearing on the question of the 18- to 20-years-of-age draft, have a great deal to do with it.

I agree with the witness who just left, that before we draft any more people we ought to take care more fully and properly of those we have got drafted, especially in the Negro group.

I want to thank Senator Thomas and Senator Schwartz and some others who have helped us very much, also Senator Austin and our new friend here from California, Senator Downey. It is always interesting to find that the people from California are broad-minded on these matters. I haven't had a chance to talk to Senator Gurney—this is his bill—but I hope that he, too, in considering the bill itself will consider some of these other phases of this program.

The Negroes are one-tenth of the total population; they are patriotic and loyal and they are fighting to get into industry and into the Army, and fighting to get the rights that we are supposed to be fighting for all over the world, and we would like to get some of that right in the Army and Navy and here at home, and have the Commander in Chief issue orders—if they can do everything else and make it work out, why can't they issue orders that Negro soldiers in the southern camps and elsewhere shall be recognized as American soldiers in uniform, and not put in the busses in the back, or made to wait, or to be kicked off, or put in jail or subjected to innumerable things.

If I had time to show you the letters that we get from these soldiers in uniform and their mothers and wives and all, you would think it unbelievable, and I think the War Department ought to give some time to it even with the stress and strain of the present pressure that we are under in this whole war emergency, and I do hope that this committee can find some way to impress the War Department. We have been trying to impress them for several years and have had little or no effect upon them, and I hope the committee will have an effect before they give them any more legislation to take some more of the American citizens.

Senator AUSTIN. The Selective Service System has in process some 27,000,000 men, out of which they have picked approximately 4,500,000 men to serve in the land and naval forces. They have done that all by means of local boards made up of inhabitants of the very neighborhoods where all these 27,000,000 men have been processed.

What I would like to ask you is whether you know whether the Selective Service plan has operated impartially and fairly with the colored people?

Mr. BROWN. Well, it has in those areas particularly where Negroes have been given representation on the selective service boards.

A young man by the name of Lieutenant Colonel Johnson, formerly a major but promoted for his good services, who is Y. M. C. A. secre-

tary here, is in General Hershey's office, and in most of the States except Mississippi and South Carolina and Georgia we have got a great many Negroes who are on these selective service boards, and there has been the finest kind of relationship. In Louisville, Ky., a Negro happens to be the chairman of one of the boards, and there are two white members of the board.

Nothing happens where men and women are willing to be Americans and to follow the Constitution.

I might state here that General Hershey raised the point about making certain that people either worked or went into the Army. Well, I have asked him what is going to happen to the poor Negro who is trying to get a job and is turned down. The American Federation of Labor yesterday voted that they would do nothing about admitting Negroes to 17 of their unions, and they have closed-shop contracts on a lot of this war work. And many employers, I happen to know, have written back even to the Government and have said, "Well, we have never hired a Negro, and we don't know what would happen if we did hire one."

So the Negro fights to get into a job and still doesn't get in, then he tries to get into the Army, and he is like this young college man here, he wants to get in and fight, but not with the discrimination—I wonder where the Negro is going to be in this thing if you pass a law that he must fight or work, when they won't let him do either, in some places.

Senator DOWNEY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a comment or two.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Senator Downey.

Senator DOWNEY. I would like to say that I have heard reports from men in California who have been training the American Negro pilots, who say that they are wonderfully fine material for that kind of service. Well, that isn't to be wondered at, because I suppose among the American Negroes we have the finest athletes in the whole world. I also want to say that generally the reports from California are that the inductees and enlistees out there, from among the Negro Americans are making very fine soldiers, and I do hope and pray that in this hour of desperation we may be able to fully utilize the service and the bravery of all of our Americans to win this battle of democracy all over the world.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. Thank you, Senator Downey.

The material referred to by the witness may be incorporated in the record.

(The newspaper articles referred to are as follows:)

[From PM magazine]

#### KID-LYNCHERS—FEDERAL ACTION NEEDED TO HALT LYNCHING ATROCITIES

The unspeakable act perpetrated on a Mississippi bridge Monday should bring the sting of shame to every decent American. When a race-mad mob of morous lynchers a couple of 14-year-old kids, one begins to wonder if even a colored infant in its crib is immune from the perverted wrath of such sorry specimens of homo sapiens.

The news dispatch follows the well-grooved pattern of lynching stories we have come to expect from the benighted area which boasts a John E. Rankin as one of its Representatives in Congress.

The two boys, charged with the attempted rape of a 13-year-old white girl, were taken from jail by a mob of "unidentified men," who "overpowered" the "surprised" city marshal after he answered a knock on the door.



The dispatch tells us that City Marshal Dabbs was guarding the jail alone when it was stormed by the mob. It adds, significantly, that six lynchings had previously occurred at the same bridge where the two boys were hanged.

It is hard to believe that the marshal was greatly surprised by the visit of his lynch-bent visitors. It is hard to believe that adequate protection couldn't have been given the two boys if the police authorities had wished sincerely to see justice done.

The whole affair is a stench to the nostrils of every law-abiding citizen with a sense of fair play. Lynching is execrable under any circumstance. But when a mob deliberately drags a pair of 14-year-olds from jail for a lynching bee, it hits an abysmal low in human conduct.

Lynch-rule can't be localized. A civilized nation cannot tolerate it anywhere within its border. In this great war crisis it becomes not only a humanitarian, but a political and military problem.

Every lyncher in that party deserves a personal presentation of the Iron Cross from Herr Hitler himself. He deserves honorary membership in Der Fuehrer's Black Corps, for he has done more for the Nazi cause than a battalion of stormtroopers.

We may be sure that the Goebbels propaganda mill is already broadcasting the incident to every corner of the world. The Nazis have always exploited lynching in America as a major propaganda weapon against us. When our scholars tear apart the Nazi race myth, the Hitlerites point to our own lynching record. When we express horror at Nazi atrocities, they throw back the taunt. "Look who's talking."

Every detail of every lynching is broadcast by the Nazi radio stations to the colored peoples of the world, who represent the majority of the human population and include some of our most valuable allies. We'd only be kidding ourselves if we brushed off this type of propaganda as ineffective.

The Mississippi child-lynching shows once more that Federal action is needed to blot out this curse. It is high time to revive and pass the antilynching bill introduced by Representative Joseph A. Gavagan, of New York.

The Gavagan bill makes it a felony for any State or local peace officer to fail to use "all diligent effort" to protect any person in his custody from mob violence. It also holds localities liable to civil suits in Federal courts for lynchings within their borders.

### THE HEAVYWEIGHT CHAMPION ON A FURLOUGH

[From New York Times, October 14, 1942]

LOS ANGELES, October 13 (AP)—Sgt. Joe Louis flew into town today from Fort Riley, Kans., on a 2 weeks' furlough and emphasized that "the only fightin' I'm thinkin' about right now is in the Army.

"If and when I'm mustered out, then maybe I'll think about boxin'. There'll be plenty of time then."

He assured he'd continue boxing because "I'm only 28. I'm not gonna quit."

Louis told the Associated Press in Omaha Sunday his fighting days were over.

Early today, before boarding the Los Angeles-bound plane at Kansas City, he explained he meant that he probably never would have another chance.

"You can't tell what kind of shape I'll be in when this war is over," he added. "Lay-offs (from training) sure don't help none."

[From Afro-American, October 17, 1942]

### MAN WHO PREFERS JAIL TO ARMY NO COWARD

(By Vincent Tubbs, Afro staff correspondent)

NEW YORK.—I sat for half a day on a bench across the street from the Roger Morris Apartments at 555 Edgecombe Avenue here Saturday afternoon, waiting to talk with Lewis Jones, aged 28, with whom I had grown up in Dallas, Tex., years ago.

Jones is now New York's problem child. He refuses to serve in a separate colored unit of the United States Army because, he declares, it is not a democratic Army.

He knows that he will probably have to serve a jail term for violation of the Selective Service Act, but he is unabashed and contends that whatever stigma may follow him the rest of life is "just a part of the sacrifice" he will have to make because of his convictions.

Jones was born in Dallas in April 1914. His father, Lewis P. Jones, Sr., was a barber. His mother, Mrs. Paralee Jones, a domestic. Both are deceased. Mrs. Jones died in 1927 and her husband died 10 years later.

Lewis P. Jones, the draft objector, grew up on the edge of one of the select colored residential sections in Dallas, and his playmates were children who have made marks for themselves in later life.

#### CHILDHOOD ASSOCIATES

Among them were Lee Perkins, graduate of the University of Michigan, now a coxswain and platoon leader in the United States Coast Guard at Manhattan Beach, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Booker T. and Fannie Pittman, children of Mrs. Portia Washington Pittman, daughter of Booker T. Washington, and William S. Willis, son of the late grand chancellor of the Knights of Pythias in Texas.

One of his most outstanding traits as a child was his consistent interest in helping "the little fellow." Like most children, he fought often, but hardly any of his fights were in protecting himself from the neighborhood bully. He always took up the fight for someone else.

#### ATTENDED MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

Graduating from Booker T. Washington High School in 1935, he was granted an athletic scholarship to Morehouse College in Atlanta, Ga., where he enrolled in September of that year to pursue a major in sociology.

A knee injury suffered in high-school football competition put an early end to his athletic career, but he remained in school as a working student with the aid of other scholarships granted him because of the caliber of his classroom work.

He became a recognized student of sociology at Morehouse and idolized Walter R. Chivers, instructor of sociology at the Atlanta school. Others under whom he studied were Dr. Ira DeA. Reid and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

#### CHOSEN BEST-LIKED STUDENT

In 1938 the school publication chose the campus superlatives for the year, and Jones was voted Morehouse's best-liked student.

Besides his work as a National Youth Administration student, Jones was the campus barber, and his room was always filled with men engaged in bull sessions. The topics they discussed touched upon religion, sociology, philosophy, and, at the behest of the barber, social problems.

#### CHARACTER TRAITS

Slim and standing 6 feet 2 inches tall, he was immaculate in his dress and carried himself with an air of defiance. Thrifty to a fault, he could always be depended on to have the dollar that any student needed when his allowance check from home was late or exhausted.

He was as generous with his loans as he was thrifty and just as conscientious about collecting his interest.

After graduating from Morehouse in 1939, Jones came to New York with plans to attend the New York School of Social Work. Circumstances prevented his realizing this ambition, so he took a job as elevator operator at Macy's Department Store.

#### CALLED SELF AN ORPHAN

Throughout his early life in Texas and during his college career he was admired for the courage of his convictions. Following the death of his father in 1937, he considered himself without relatives, although he states that he has distant consins in Arizona.

His associates in New York have been the better people, and he has sought out the thinkers.

Most of his contacts, he avers, were made through the New York Morehouse Alumni Association, and those who have known him concur that he cared little for the things that occupy the mind and interest of most young men of his age.

He has attempted to avoid the injection of the personal element into the issue he has raised by refusing to submit for induction into the Army, preferring, he states, "to stay in the background and let the issues grapple with each other."

#### A HATER OF LIES

There is a stubbornness about him, once he has reached a conclusion within his own mind, that defies description. He insists upon facing facts and is a stickler for moral honesty.

Because of his belief in the Shakesperian dictum "First to thine own self be true," he defies the Selective Service Act because "a Jim Crow army belies the very tenets of democracy."

#### STRAINED GREETINGS

When Jones finally came home to put an end to my all-afternoon vigil in the shadow of his doorstep, the greetings we extended each other were sincere but, for some undefinable reason, unquestionably strained.

We were as two people meeting in a new world, shaking hands across some invisible line that made us men of different worlds.

Sitting there across the street from the swank Roger Morris and Alberta apartment houses, overlooking St. Nicholas Place and the Polo Grounds, we talked for a time about our home town, mutual friends, employment, New York, Harlem, and its 300,000 colored residents.

#### CAN'T GET SET IN HARLEM

Always a man of subtle humor, Jones summed up our discussion of Harlem by saying that he has found it difficult to get set to do the things that he had in mind when he first came to New York.

"Every time I almost get set, something happens to throw everything out of gear. I imagine hundreds of thousands of others find themselves heir to the same plight.

"I don't see how Joe Louis ever managed to get going in New York. I've always heard it said that he is a fighter that has to get set before he throws the knock-out punch. I really don't see how he ever managed to get set here."

We laughed at his joke. And it was the first time we had laughed in nearly 2 hours of conversation.

#### THE DEVIL'S ADVOCATE

Then we began to talk about his action in refusing to serve in the United States Army. I as the devil's advocate (a cantankerous person who won't admit that he believes in anything and who argues against any and all points advanced by an opponent) and he as the protagonist.

After more than 2 hours of badgering, I had to concede as I imagine all others who have talked with Jones have done, that he not only has an answer for every attack on his position but challenges the sincerity of any assault upon his position.

#### EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

"I believe," he said, "that the Army and every other institution, industry, and organization in this country should give colored citizens the opportunity to serve the country in capacities commensurate with their abilities.

"If, in the Army, it should be determined that my abilities best fit me for being a water boy and I am convinced that I am best fitted to be a water boy; then I should do everything in my power to be the best water boy in the Army.

"But if I am to be told at the outset that I cannot be anything more than a water boy, then that is a contradiction of the principle of the thing for which the entire Army is established. And so it is with all other institutions which deny colored equal opportunities."

#### FORTY WAVING FLAGS

Around the horseshoe grandstand roof of the Polo Grounds 40 Star-Spangled Banners waved in the breezes from across the East River. Pointing to them, Jones said: "Beautiful aren't they? But it is shameful that the thing for which they stand—democracy—is not real."

He walked with me to the subway station. As my train approached, we shook hands and bade each other luck. He turned and walked away and I boarded the train. As the train pulled away I glanced back at him as he retreated toward the uptown platform.

I said to myself: There goes Lewis Jones, not just American, but all-American. A man of courage and of sufficient stature to challenge one of the most important questions of the times: The question of equality of service and opportunity for young colored Americans in this war for freedom.

#### NO MARTYR, SAYS JONES—ATTACKS PRINCIPLE BEHIND ARMY AND CALLS SELF PATRIOT

NEW YORK.—Lewis P. Jones was ordered to report for induction in the Army several weeks ago.

However, instead of following the directive of his local draft board, he set down in writing his objection to serving in a separate Jim Crow unit, forwarded it to the office of the United States Attorney here in Manhattan and reported to his office prepared to stand the consequences.

He states that he has concluded that he must refuse to accept Jim Crow because he would be doing both himself and the Army an injustice by going into the service feeling that the principle upon which the Army is established is wrong.

#### SEGREGATION IS WRONG

That principle which he believes wrong is the system of segregating colored and white soldiers—a system which he contends is based solely on the color of a soldier's skin.

In support of his belief in the wrongness of this principle, he avers that should the United Nations win the war they will have done so because of their superior numbers of troops, planes, tanks, guns, and ships and not because the thing they are fighting for has been put into practice and proved the "better thing."

Jones insists that there is something that "galls" him in the effort of the United States to put "a Fascist army into the field to fight the Nazis under the guise of fighting for democracy."

#### UNITED STATES "FASCISM" EXPLAINED

When asked what he meant by "a Fascist army," he answered:

"When colored Americans are placed in separate units from whites, trained separately, and sent into the field separately, that is segregation.

"What is segregation but an outgrowth of discrimination and what is discrimination but an expression of one man's belief that he is better than another?"

"Such a belief is the stuff of which the Fascist doctrine of a new order is made."

#### CAN'T BREAK THE LAW

Jones contends that he should not serve in a Jim Crow army because he would be breaking the law—going against the principles on which the Nation was established, playing into the hands of those who have established "a quasi-legal institution of discrimination against colored citizens," for which there is no justification in the statute books of the land.

He insists that those who say separate camps and separate cantonment areas and barracks must be established for the different races are the violators of the letter of the Constitution of the United States, the real offenders of the Nation, and not he.

To submit to their biddings would be criminal, he declares; to refuse, is patriotic.

To be a part of such an army would be hypocrisy, Jones avers.

#### FACES JAIL TERM

It was pointed out to Jones that he, as an individual, can hardly do much toward rectifying whatever wrong exists; that he is almost certain to be sentenced to jail and that his martyrdom will be "wasted sweetness on desert air"—to which he answered:

"I don't expect to accomplish the rectification of the existing wrong. If a jail term is to be my lot, I am willing to accept it.



"I do not feel that I am a martyr. I have become of my present convictions through no light thought, and just as each man in his lifetime must take a stand on some issue, I have chosen to take mine on this one now."

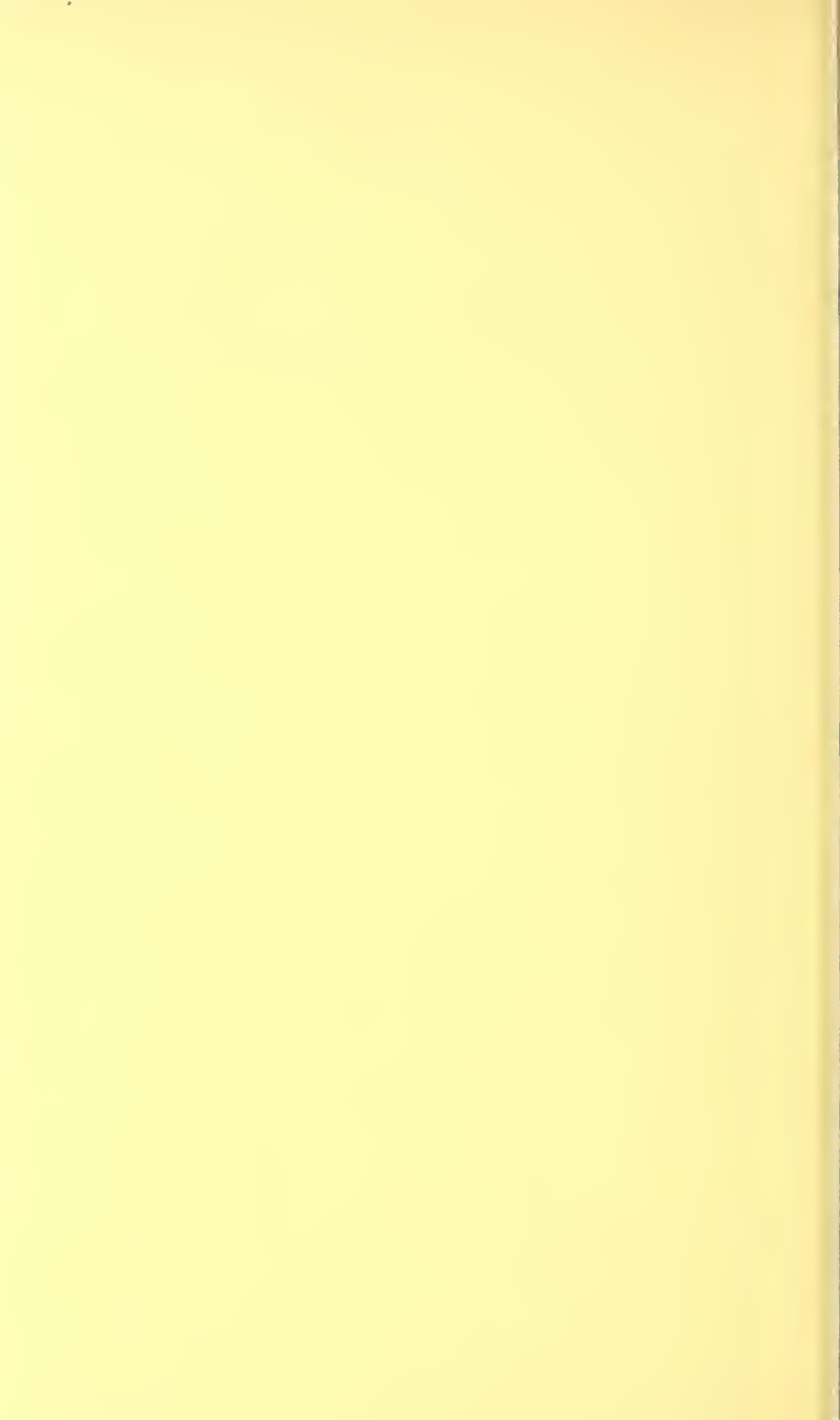
No less than 40 persons—judges, attorneys, draft officials, writers, editors, social workers, even psychiatrists—have debated the issue with him. They have expressed admiration for his spunk, but question his judgment.

Jones remains adamant, insisting that he is convinced that he is right and stating that he is willing to make any sacrifice necessary to his being at peace with himself in his own mind.

Senator THOMAS of Utah. The committee will now stand in recess to meet tomorrow morning at 10:30 in executive session.

(Whereupon, at 3:30 p. m., the committee recessed until Friday morning, October 16, 1942, to meet then in executive session.)





## AMENDING THE SELECTIVE TRAINING AND SERVICE ACT OF 1940 BY PROVIDING FOR THE EXTENSION OF LIABILITY

OCTOBER 15, 1942.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. MAY, from the Committee on Military Affairs, submitted the following

### REPORT

[To accompany H. R. 7528]

The Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 7528) to amend the Selective Service Training and Service Act of 1940, by providing for the extension of liability, having considered the same, submit the following report thereon, with the recommendation that it do pass, with the following amendments:

On page 2 of the bill, strike out all of lines 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10; and insert in lieu thereof the following:

SEC. 2. Any person who, during the year 1942 entered upon attendance for the academic year 1942-1943—

- (1) at any high school (or similar institution); or
- (2) at any college or university which grants a degree in arts or science, to pursue a course of instruction satisfactory completion of which is prescribed by such college or university as a prerequisite to either of such degrees; or
- (3) at any university described in paragraph (2), to pursue a course of instruction to the pursuit of which a degree in arts or science is prescribed by such university as a prerequisite;

and who, while pursuing such course of instruction at such high school (or similar institution), college or university, is selected for training and service under this Act prior to the end of such academic year, or prior to July 1, 1943, whichever occurs first, shall, upon his request, be deferred from induction into the land and naval forces for such training and service until the end of such academic year, but in no event later than July 1, 1943.

Add new sections as follows:

SEC. 4. Section 5 of such Act, as amended, is amended by inserting at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(i) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one shall be discharged from service in the land or naval forces of the United States while this Act is in effect because such person entered such service without the consent of his parent or guardian."



SEC. 5. That section 201 (a) paragraph 1 of section 5 (e) of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof a proviso to read as follows: "*Provided, however, That no person who has been deferred from training and service as provided herein shall be inducted prior to the induction of all persons within the same State who have been placed in categories made subject to induction prior to the category in which such person has been placed.*"

SEC. 6. That section 5 of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof a new subsection as follows: "(j) No individual shall be relieved from liability for training and service under this Act, or held not to be acceptable to the land or naval forces for such training and service, solely on the ground of his having been convicted of any crime which is not a felony at common law, if the local board having jurisdiction determines that such individual is, notwithstanding such conviction, morally fit for military service."

The attention of the Congress and of the American people was focused on the immediate necessity for the lowering of the present minimum age of men subject to the selective-service laws by the President in his address last Monday evening. The following day the Secretary of War wrote to the chairman of your committee, and urged that the age limit be lowered to 18 years. These two events afforded your committee and the Congress an opportunity again to demonstrate to our enemies that a democracy can operate as efficiently and effectively in meeting a great emergency as any totalitarian form of government. Your committee are proud to be able to place this report before you within 3 days after the President's statement of the need, while at the same time it has made a thorough investigation of all phases of the problems presented.

Your committee feel that there are two compelling reasons why young men 18 and 19 years of age should be made subject to the selective-service laws at this time.

The first of these reasons is one of supply. The Director of Selective Service advised your committee that the number of single men physically capable of performing military service is nearly exhausted. This fact, together with the statement of the Secretary of War that he contemplates an Army of 7,500,000 men by the end of 1943, makes it imperative that a new source of manpower be developed. Such manpower can be obtained either by the induction of married men, or by including the 18- and 19-year-old groups within the operation of the selective-service laws. While the induction of younger men is by no means a complete solution of the manpower problem, the induction of these men will interfere least with the normal economic processes of our country. Their induction will be least destructive of industry, agriculture, and other wartime civil pursuits, and will also least disturb the normal domestic relationship which is the basis of American life.

The second, and the more essential reason in favor of the induction of 18- and 19-year-old men, is one of quality rather than quantity. It is essential that we develop immediately the finest possible Army which can be built to meet this emergency. This Army must not only be provided with the best of weapons, but it must be composed of superlative fighting men—men who individually will surpass in ingenuity, in self-reliance, in determination, and in stamina, the best soldiers of our enemies. These criteria require that our Army be fired with the enthusiasm and resilience of spirit found predominantly in young men. It is American youth which can provide the virility and the strength upon which our effort must depend.

It is only natural and human that we desire to protect the youth of our land, and thereby to provide for the continuing advancement of the greatness of our country in future generations. Modern warfare, however, pursues a pace more violent, more terrific, and more pressing than has ever been known. The future of our country, the preservation of our liberty, and the lives of us all make it imperative now that a youthful Army capable both in physique and in spirit of meeting the terrible demands of modern warfare be created without delay. The Chief of Staff advised your committee that the average age of divisions activated within recent months has risen alarmingly. In March, for example, a new division had an average age of 26 years, and 2 months. In June, the average age of such divisions had risen to 27 years and 5 months, and in August, the average age had risen to 28 years and 2 months. This rise of the average age of men inducted into the military service must be stopped before it leads to a loss of striking power of our military units. The effectiveness of modern military organizations is predicated no longer upon mass alone, but upon the striking power which they possess. This striking power can be supplied by integrating in such units a proportionate number of young men in such a manner as to maintain a relatively low average age.

The amendments proposed by your committee are designed to permit the maximum effectiveness to be gained through the proposed legislation. It is concededly desirable that a young man be permitted to complete his high-school or college education. However, where the very foundation of education itself is at stake, the education of individuals must give way. The amendment which your committee proposed to section 2 of the bill permits students now enrolled in high schools and colleges to complete their present year, if they choose to do so, but restricts this privilege to July 1, 1943, at the latest.

Section 4 of the legislation under discussion is proposed in order that the incongruous feature of inducting 18- and 19-year-old men, while at the same time requiring the discharge of such men who have enlisted without the consent of their parents, be eliminated.

Section 5 of the bill is proposed by your committee in order to insure that the selection of individuals will be uniform within each State.

Section 6 of the bill is proposed by your committee in order to permit the utilization of this source of manpower.

There follow letters from the Secretary of War and from the Director of the Selective Service System, urging the enactment of the proposed legislation.

OCTOBER 13, 1942.

HON. ANDREW J. MAY,

*Chairman, Committee on Military Affairs,*

*House of Representatives.*

DEAR MR. MAY: The War Department favors the enactment of H. R. 7528, a bill to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for extension of liability.

The purpose of H. R. 7528 is to reduce from 20 to 18 years the age at which male citizens of the United States, and other male persons residing therein, who are not relieved from liability for training and service under other provisions of law, shall be subject to induction into the land or naval forces of the United States under the provisions of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940. Section 1 of the bill effects the proposed extension of liability; section 2 provides deferment from induction until the end of the academic year for a student ordered to

report for induction while pursuing a course of instruction during the last half of that year at a high school or similar institution of learning; and section 3 defines the age limits for liability for training and service.

Although the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended by the act of December 20, 1941 (55 Stat. 844, 845; U. S. C., title 50, app. secs. 302, 303), requires the registration of male citizens and residents aged 18 or 19 years, it does not now render such persons liable to induction. Consequently, the War Department has long considered the need for submitting to the Congress legislation similar to H. R. 7528. Indeed, in my letter of December 13, 1941, responding to your request as chairman, Committee on Military Affairs of the House, for a statement concerning the then pending H. R. 6215, from which the act of December 20, 1941, was derived, I remarked that "the traditional age for liability for military service in this country is 18 to 45," although I then noted that it had been deemed wise at that time to place the lower limit at a later age (H. Rep. 1508, 77th Cong., at p. 6). In that letter I invited attention to the need to make available, if any when necessary, a great pool of men to meet all contingencies then foreseeable. It is my considered opinion, as well as that of my chief military advisers, that contingencies now foreseeable make it imperative that the pool of available military manpower be still further widened.

The War Department supports H. R. 7528 for reasons which are manifest in this critical period. The harsh fact is that we have a high responsibility to our generation, and to those to come—an urgent, immediate responsibility to develop, with the minimum delay, the finest army in the world, not only armed with the best and most plentiful implements of war but composed of superlative fighting men who, man for man, surpass in ingenuity, in self-reliance, in determination, and in stamina the best soldiers available to our enemies. The urgency of this task cannot be overemphasized; our own survival is in the balance. Its accomplishment demands the substitution of current necessity for our peacetime preferences, and the necessity is this: That our Army be animated by the youthful enthusiasm and resilience of spirit which has surged through all earlier American armies, that in our human desire to protect the youth of our land we remember the terrific pace of modern war, that we realize, above every consideration, the imperative necessity of creating an army, as quickly as possible, more efficient, more determined, more ardent than Europe and Asia can produce after 10 years of concentrated training and indoctrination.

Youth zealous for power and the destruction of liberty is the strength of our enemies' armies; American youth is our strength, and despite our wishful thinking or the dictates of our hearts, the virility of our effort must take precedence. We must face this truth: I should be derelict in my responsibility to this country and its heritage should I fail to voice it.

Members of 18- and 19-age groups are peculiarly well adapted to military training. This is military axiom. Their response to leadership, their recovery from fatigue, their enthusiasm or "flair for soldiering" are exceptional as compared with older age groups. The simple fact is, they are better soldiers, and never before in its history has the American Nation more urgently needed exceptional soldiers.

Not only do 18- and 19-year-olds represent a relatively untapped source of manpower for increasing military needs, but medical records also reveal that they have a higher percentage physically fit for service than any other age groups. Furthermore, it is patent that the induction of young men between the ages of 18 and 20 would be less disruptive of industry and agriculture, other essential wartime civil pursuits, and domestic relationships than that of any other age groups. However, even these facts must remain subordinate to the fundamentals charting our course—we are fighting against slavery, our survival or defeat will save or destroy the freedom of our children and that of millions in the world. These stakes are in the balance against our preferences. The War Department is convinced that our goal must be paramount, and that individual and national preferences must be secondary to the exigencies of war.

The War Department, does not, however, interpose objection to the proposed deferment, under section 2 of H. R. 7528, of high-school or other students during the second half of an academic year. The question of deferment is necessarily one of broad, national policy. In that regard, attention is invited to the fact that the Congress by section 5 (f) of the basic act of September 16, 1940, established the policy that deferments of the nature now proposed should not be operative beyond the end of the academic year in which the statute was enacted.

It is, of course, apparent that the essential data to support the foregoing views may not advisedly be set forth in this letter. However, War Department repre-



sentatives will be readily available to discuss these matters with your Committee on Military Affairs meeting in executive session.

A similar report on an identical bill, S. 2748, was submitted to the Bureau of the Budget which advised that there would be no objection to its submission to the committee.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY L. STIMSON,  
*Secretary of War.*

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS,  
SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM,  
Washington, D. C., October 13, 1942.

HON. ANDREW J. MAY,  
*Chairman, Committee on Military Affairs,  
House of Representatives.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This will acknowledge receipt of letter from your committee of September 8, 1942, requesting the views of the Selective Service System regarding H. R. 7528, a bill to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

The Selective Service System favors the enactment of sections 1 and 3 of H. R. 7528, believing that such legislation is necessary in the best interest of the war effort.

Inasmuch as the supply of I-A men is rapidly nearing depletion, it will be necessary, in order to meet the requirements of the armed forces, to provide for the induction of the men between 18 and 20 years of age or begin to induct men with family relationships.

The Selective Service System also is convinced that such legislation would merely be another step in providing for the orderly, democratic, and impartial method of procuring manpower for the armed forces. As a great many of these younger men are now being solicited for the armed forces, the Selective Service System recommends that the democratic, impartial, and orderly method of procuring and allocating manpower be extended to the lower age group.

The Selective Service System has continually taken the position that deferments should in no way be based upon the economic status of registrants and consequently has repeatedly opposed proposals for granting group deferment to students as a class. For this reason, the Selective Service System does not favor the enactment of section 2 of H. R. 7528.

We have been advised by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection to our submission of this report to your committee.

Sincerely yours,

LEWIS B. HERSHEY, *Director.*

Pursuant to the provisions of rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, there follow in parallel columns the provisions of existing law and the changes proposed.

#### EXISTING LAW

(Public Law 783, 76th Cong., approved September 16, 1940, as amended by Public Law 360, 77th Cong., approved December 20, 1941)

SEC. 3. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this Act, every male citizen of the United States, and every other male person residing in the United States, who is between the ages of twenty and forty-five at the time fixed for his registration, or who attains the age of twenty after having been required to register pursuant to section 2 of this Act, shall

#### PROPOSED LEGISLATION

That so much of the first sentence of section 3 (a) of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, as precedes the first proviso is hereby amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 3. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this Act, every male citizen of the United States, and every other male person residing in the United States, who is between the ages of eighteen and forty-five at the time fixed for his registration, shall be liable for training and service in the land or naval forces of the United States."

be liable for training and service in the land or naval forces of the United States: *Provided*, That any citizen or subject of a neutral country shall be relieved from liability for training and service under this Act, if, prior to his induction into the land or naval forces, he has made application to be relieved from such liability in the manner prescribed by and in accordance with rules and regulations prescribed by the President, but any person who makes such application shall thereafter be debarred from becoming a citizen of the United States: *Provided further*, That no citizen or subject of any country who has been or who may hereafter be proclaimed by the President to be an alien enemy of the United States shall be inducted for training and service under this Act unless he is acceptable to the land or naval forces.

(f) Any person who, during the year 1940, entered upon attendance for the academic year 1940-1941—

(1) at any college or university which grants a degree in arts or science, to pursue a course of instruction, satisfactory completion of which is prescribed by such college of university as a prerequisite to either of such degrees; or

(2) at any university described in paragraph (1), to pursue a course of instruction to the pursuit of which a degree in arts or science is prescribed by such university as a prerequisite;

and who, while pursuing such course of instruction at such college or university, is selected for training and service under this Act prior to the end of such academic year, or prior to July 1, 1941, whichever occurs first, shall, upon his request, be deferred from induction into the land or naval forces for such training and service until the end of such academic year, but in no event later than July 1, 1941.

(a) The term "between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-six" shall refer to men who have attained the twenty-first anniversary of the day of their birth and who have not attained the thirty-sixth anniversary of the day of their birth; and other terms designating different age groups shall be construed in a similar manner.

SEC. 2. Section 5 (f) of such Act, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(f) Any person who, while pursuing a course of instruction at a high school or similar institution of learning, is ordered to report for induction under this Act during the last half of the academic year at such school or institution shall, upon his request, have his induction under this Act postponed until the end of such academic year."

SEC. 3. Section 15 (a) of such Act, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(a) The term 'between the ages of eighteen and forty-five' shall refer to men who have attained the eighteenth anniversary of the day of their birth and who have not attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of their birth; and other terms designating different age groups shall be construed in a similar manner."







Union Calendar No. 926

77TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

# H. R. 7528

[Report No. 2574]

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 7, 1942

Mr. WADSWORTH introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs

OCTOBER 15, 1942

Reported with amendments, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed

[Omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in italic]

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## A BILL

To amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2       *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
3       That so much of the first sentence of section 3 (a) of the  
4       Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, as  
5       precedes the first proviso is hereby amended to read as  
6       follows:

7       “SEC. 3. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this Act,  
8       every male citizen of the United States, and every other male  
9       person residing in the United States, who is between the  
10      ages of eighteen and forty-five at the time fixed for his regis-

1 tration, shall be liable for training and service in the land  
2 or naval forces of the United States."

3 SEC. 2. Section 5 (f) of such Act, as amended, is hereby  
4 amended to read as follows:

5 "~~(f) Any person who, while pursuing a course of in-~~  
6 ~~struction at a high school or similar institution of learning,~~  
7 ~~is ordered to report for induction under this Act during the~~  
8 ~~last half of the academic year at such school or institution,~~  
9 ~~shall, upon his request, have his induction under this Act~~  
10 ~~postponed until the end of such academic year."~~

11 SEC. 2. Any person who, during the year 1942, entered  
12 upon attendance for the academic year 1942-1943—

13 (1) at any high school (or similar institution); or

14 (2) at any college or university which grants a de-  
15 gree in arts or science, to pursue a course of instruction  
16 satisfactory completion of which is prescribed by such  
17 college or university as a prerequisite to either of such  
18 degrees; or

19 (3) at any university described in paragraph (2),  
20 to pursue a course of instruction to the pursuit of which  
21 a degree in arts or science is prescribed by such uni-  
22 versity as a prerequisite;

23 and who, while pursuing such course of instruction at such  
24 high school (or similar institution), college, or university is  
25 selected for training and service under this Act prior to the



1 *end of such academic year, or prior to July 1, 1943, which-*  
2 *ever occurs first, shall, upon his request, be deferred from*  
3 *induction into the land and naval forces for such training*  
4 *and service until the end of such academic year, but in no*  
5 *event later than July 1, 1943.*

6 SEC. 3. Section 15 (a) of such Act, as amended, is  
7 hereby amended to read as follows:

8 “(a) The term ‘between the ages of eighteen and forty-  
9 five’ shall refer to men who have attained the eighteenth  
10 anniversary of the day of their birth and who have not  
11 attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of their birth;  
12 and other terms designating different age groups shall be  
13 construed in a similar manner.”

14 SEC. 4. Section 5 of such Act, as amended, is amended  
15 by inserting at the end thereof the following new subsection:

16 “(i) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no per-  
17 son between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one shall be dis-  
18 charged from service in the land or naval forces of the  
19 United States while this Act is in effect because such person  
20 entered such service without the consent of his parent or  
21 guardian.”

22 SEC. 5. That Section 201 (a), Paragraph One (1),  
23 of section 5 (e) of the Selective Training and Service Act  
24 of 1940, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof  
25 a proviso to read as follows: “Provided, however, That no

1 person who has been deferred from training and service as  
2 provided herein shall be inducted prior to the induction of  
3 all persons within the same State who have been placed in  
4 categories made subject to induction prior to the category  
5 in which such person has been placed.”

6 SEC. 6. That section 5 of the Selective Training and  
7 Service Act of 1940, as amended, is amended by adding at  
8 the end thereof a new subsection as follows:

9 “(j) No individual shall be relieved from liability for  
10 training and service under this Act, or held not to be ac-  
11 ceptable to the land or naval forces for such training and  
12 service, solely on the ground of his having been convicted of  
13 any crime which is not a felony at common law, if the local  
14 board having jurisdiction determines that such individual is,  
15 notwithstanding such conviction, morally fit for military  
16 service.”



Union Calendar No. 926

77<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS  
2<sup>D</sup> Session

**H. R. 7528**

[Report No. 2574]

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## **A BILL**

To amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

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By Mr. WADSWORTH

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SEPTEMBER 7, 1942

Referred to the Committee on Military Affairs

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Reported with amendments, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed









United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 77<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 88

WASHINGTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1942

No. 179

## Senate

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Monday, October 19, 1942, at 12 o'clock meridian.

## House of Representatives

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1942

The House met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the Speaker.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Blessed Lord, how priceless is the gift of life and how close we are to the source of strength. Nothing from Thee is too difficult for us to attempt and nothing too grievous for us to bear. Strong must be the soul that does not faint under the strain of these days; do Thou invigorate our hearts and weapon our minds. Almighty God, this is Thy world, full of riches and full of Thy glory; keep us in grateful remembrance that life is broadened and deepened, dignified, and worth living by the things we lay hold of by faith. Thou dost call us to a life of devotion and patriarchal prayer and a reverent walk with our Heavenly Father on earth.

It matters little how rudely the winds of cruel fate may jar and shake, if the very fiber of our being is of real virtue and goodness; they heal, redeem, and satisfy, for Christ is the true vine and the immortal soul is the unwithering branch. This world, groaning under the weight of crimes and follies is in the hands of a good God, yet the vastness of evil, the exceeding frailty at the moment of our keenest trials, these disturb and defeat. O do Thou increase our faith in Saint Mary's Holy Child and inspire us with the eternal motives which swayed the teaching of our Blessed Redeemer. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 2794. An act to provide for adjusting royalties for the use of inventions for the benefit of the United States, in aid of the prosecution of the war, and for other purposes.

### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, at the conclusion of the business on the Speaker's desk and after any special orders previously arranged, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON]?

There was no objection.

### PERMISSION TO FILE REPORT ON H. R. 7528

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Rules Committee may have the privilege of filing a report and rule on H. R. 7528 by midnight tonight.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH]?

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, what bill is that?

Mr. SABATH. That is H. R. 7528.

Mr. RICH. We cannot keep these numbers in mind. What does it provide?

Mr. SABATH. That is the Wadsworth bill. It is an amendment to the draft law.

Mr. RICH. Drafting boys 18 and 19 years old?

Mr. SABATH. Yes; that is a part of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH]?

There was no objection.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. LAMBERTSON] may be permitted to extend his own remarks in the Appendix of the Record and to include a statement by Westbrook Pegler.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON]?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. CRAVENS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the Record and to include a letter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. CRAVENS]?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

### WOMEN'S ARMY AUXILIARY CORPS GRADE AND PAY

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H. R. 2751) to amend the act entitled "An act to establish a Women's Army Auxiliary Corps for service with the Army of the United States," approved May 14, 1942, to create the grade of field director in such corps, to provide for enrolled grades in such corps comparable to the enlisted grades in the Regular Army, to provide pay and allowances for all members of such corps at the same rates as those payable to members of the Regular Army in corresponding grades, and for other purposes, and I ask unanimous consent that



the statement of the managers on the part of the House may be read in lieu of the full report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MAY]?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement of the managers on the part of the House.

(For conference report and statement see proceedings of October 12, 1942.)

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the adoption of the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. IZAC. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House today for 10 minutes after all legislative business has been concluded and after other special orders heretofore entered have been disposed of.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California [Mr. Izac]?

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include a statement on Navy Day by Mr. Roy Miller.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON]?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my own remarks in the Record, and to include therein an article by Mr. Frank Gervasi.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN]?

There was no objection.

[Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi addressed the House. His remarks appear in the Appendix of today's Record.]

#### AUTHORIZATION TO ACQUIRE MOTOR-PROPELLED PASSENGER-CARRYING VEHICLES

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H. R. 7573) to authorize the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, and the Director of Procurement to acquire motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles necessary for the successful prosecution of the present war.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

Mr. RICH. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman explain the bill?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. This is a bill introduced by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN]. It provides that the limitation of 100 motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles specified in the Navy Department and the Naval Service Appropriation Act of 1943 may be exceeded by such number as the Secretary of the Navy determines is necessary in the prosecution of the war.

Secondly, it provides that the limitation of \$925 specified in the Sixth Supplemental National Defense Appropriation Act 1942 and a similar limitation specified in any other appropriation act or the fiscal year 1943, may be exceeded by such amount as the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget may deem to be necessary in order to enable the Army, the Navy, and the other Government agencies to acquire passenger vehicles.

I may say Mr. Speaker, that in these bills there is fixed a ceiling of \$925. This ceiling was intended to apply in ordinary peacetime when the Army, the Navy, and the other Governmental agencies acquired their motor vehicles directly from the manufacturers.

At present, as is well known, the motor vehicles are in the hands of the dealers throughout the country. The dealers have been required to pay transportation costs, interest, and carrying and storage charges. The Office of Price Administration has fixed a ceiling on the prices of all these cars, with the result that, while the four-door small passenger cars have been frozen in the hands of the dealers, the Army and the Navy are unable to acquire them at the price fixed in the appropriation bills. It is necessary for this price limit to be removed only insofar as it applies to the fiscal year 1943, as disclosed by the hearings before the Committee on Expenditures, which unanimously reported this bill.

I have conferred with the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GIFFORD], the ranking minority member on the committee, and with the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MICHENER], the acting minority leader, and I understand there is no opposition to the bill.

Mr. RICH. Most of the cars that have been manufactured are in the hands of the dealers. Are there any cars at all in the hands of the manufacturers?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. The hearings before our committee disclosed that with one or two exceptions there are no cars in the hands of the manufacturers.

Mr. RICH. With regard to those exceptions, how many cars are there in the hands of the manufacturers?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. We understood that there are only a comparatively few. There was no definite information. The stocks change.

Mr. RICH. What does the gentleman mean by "a few"?

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I would not undertake to say. That was the language used by the witnesses who appeared before the committee. However, I understand that, even though the limitation be removed, as recommended by

the President of the United States, as recommended by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, as recommended by the Secretary of War, and as recommended by the Secretary of the Navy and the other agencies of the Government, they would still have the right, if they found cars in the hands of the manufacturers, to purchase them at the prices fixed in the appropriation bills.

Mr. RICH. Suppose the price limit of \$925 is abolished and no ceiling is placed on the price. Of course, the Price Administration has put a limit on the prices of these cars.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. And that would control.

Mr. RICH. The Federal Government is the largest purchaser of automobiles. Now, you want these agencies to go to the dealers. I appreciate the plight of the dealers, but the United States Government must go to the dealers and pay the price that Henderson has set as the ceiling on these cars. We placed the \$925 ceiling in the appropriation bills for the reason that we did not want the Government officials to be buying the highest-priced cars we had in the land. If you take off that ceiling, what will happen? They will pick up every car they can find, regardless of the price. Instead of getting a car that is valued at \$1,000 or \$1,100, they will be picking up the \$1,800 and \$1,900 cars, and we will have more joy rides in the department than we have ever had.

You look around over Washington today and see the number of Government cars that are being used now. I never saw as many station wagons in all my life as I saw at one of the departments yesterday. With all these station wagons and all these high-priced Government cars running around, does not the gentleman believe Uncle Sam now has just about all the load he can carry? He should not pay the retail price for all the automobiles that are manufactured.

I think we ought to know more about this bill. The gentleman ought to tell us how many cars are now in the hands of the manufacturers. Then let these agencies buy the manufacturers' cars, which they can get at the wholesale price. If it is only a dollar, let us save it for Uncle Sam. It is about time we do that.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. I am sure the gentleman wants to be accurate. This bill does not require the Army and the Navy to pay the retail price. It does remove the ceiling to enable them to pay more than the manufacturers' price as fixed in these appropriation bills.

I may say to the gentleman that the committee did its best to ascertain the number of cars still in the hands of the manufacturers. I repeat that the information furnished to the committee was that there were no cars in the hands of any manufacturers, with the possible exception of one or two manufacturers, and in those cases only a comparatively few cars were involved; and that was a type of car that would probably not be required by the Army and the Navy, whose total appropriations for cars are limited.



this product in the United States was estimated at \$65,000,000.

Mr. Speaker, it is not, I may say to my friend from Pennsylvania, just for the sportsmen, it is for the whole Nation that I am interested in this work; and while I do not want to spend needlessly one dollar I may say to my friend from Kansas, we must manage, in some way, to keep the conservation program going. Let us keep alive the realization that we are dealing with a natural resource that will mean much to us through the war and for the many happy years we hope to live after it has been won.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the previous special order of the House the gentleman from California [Mr. Izac] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. IZAC. Mr. Speaker, I believe I express the sentiments of the great majority of the membership of the House of Representatives, both Democrats and Republicans, when I say that the bill to be presented tomorrow drafting the 18- and 19-year-old youths of America is the most obnoxious measure we have been called upon to enact since my coming to Congress. And yet, because our Commander in Chief has spoken, as good soldiers we cannot fail him now.

But I want to speak briefly on this subject, and believe there is no better time. For I have a warning to leave with you and I would be derelict in my duty if I did not give you the benefit of my own feelings and my own experience.

The President has been induced by his military advisers to ask for the drafting of these immature youths. But you and I, who listened to his talk four nights ago, could detect the tone of hesitation, yes, of disinclination, which clothed his words on that occasion. The customary assurance was lacking, and well it might be. Because no good case has yet been made out by the military leaders and none can be made out in the light of our experience so far in this war and certainly not in the last war.

They say they want a younger Army and that they need the virility of youth, the athletic prowess of the 18-year-olds. Ridiculous; and we fathers and mothers know it. There are some prodigies, of course, but the average youth of 18 is just beginning to get his normal growth. Take the Wilson High School, the Hoover High School, the Roosevelt High School of your home cities, and out of the thousands of youngsters of 18 just how many will you find able, not willing—God knows they are all willing—but able to meet a man in battle? How many on the football squad? For every 1 who makes the squad there are 50 others not well enough matured to compete with the few who developed early in life. The records at the Naval Academy show that with the entrance age limit 20 years it required an enrollment of almost double that at the Military Academy, where the entrance age limit is 22, to produce a parity of athletic prowess. A difference of 2 years at this time of life means immeasurably more than at any other time. More recently the age limit for entrance to the Naval Academy has been advanced

1 year, making it now 21, a step which I heartily approved.

Take the typical college or university athletic team, with its average age of 22 or 23. How much chance would the typical high-school team of average 18 years have to stand against it? And the great military minds seem to forget that when we indulge in a blanket draft it takes all the boys of 18—not the 5,000 athletes alone but the million or more of the just plain average boys.

They further advance the argument that the Navy takes boys as young as 17. Of course they do, but you notice the Navy picks and chooses. In peacetime the Navy accepts only one out of every six who apply; in wartime only one out of three. They can take the cream of the crop, the boys who are best developed; but you cannot do that when you draft them all.

And, besides, there is another side to this picture. Have any of you investigated the result of those battles we have already had, in which some of these very young men have been subjected to the hell of bombs and torpedoes and sinking ships? Do so if you want to share my views; but do not do it if you would save yourselves a heart-rending ordeal.

Let us go back 25 years to the first World War. As a young officer, I had many of these teen-age lads in my division aboard ship. Willing, patriotic, alert—but too young. When the blow fell and 3 torpedoes scattered the wreckage of a 20,000-ton ship and a 700-man crew in all directions on the Atlantic, the shock was more than these young minds could stand. And this was not a unique occurrence, as you will agree when I tell you that today in the veterans' hospitals of the United States there are 34,457 veterans of the first World War suffering from neuropsychiatric diseases—more than from any other cause, and more than all the officers and men who were killed or who died of wounds in France in the whole period of that war. The brain just cannot stand the blasting effect of modern warfare, and the immature youth is the most susceptible.

I have spoken before on the inadvisability of reaching down among the children for the men we need to win this war. I have tried to explain how their physical immaturity renders them unable to oppose the husky soldiers they might be forced to meet in hand to hand combat. I have tried to show how their mental immaturity renders them easy prey to the mental and nervous disorders that always accompany war.

And now a thought on the spiritual side. You and I know the average American home is a safer place than any barracks. But I do believe our Army and Navy commands are doing an excellent job of keeping clean and wholesome the surroundings in which the youth of America must serve.

However, regardless of the care observed we must expect less rigid control of the boy than he has been accustomed to at home—so I ask, Can the 18-year-old, suddenly taken from under the protecting wing of his mother, resist the temptations of a war-torn world, or has his

further education in the mysteries of life suddenly become unnecessary? These are some of the points I wanted to raise—some of the questions those in authority must answer. Because I warn that the conclusion of this war, successful though it be—successful as it must be—will leave in its wake a trail of human wreckage the like of which has not yet been seen.

Our military leaders complain that too many old men are being drafted, that the size the Army must attain is 7,500,000 of men, and that number by the dawn of 1944. My friends, the number already in service has not yet been trained and if trained they could not for a long time be transported to the desired points. The single men, even though of 30 years and upward, have many appropriate functions wherein they can perform to excellent advantage. The fixed coastal defenses, the training cadres—these do not require the dash and daring usually associated with the prime of life.

And how about the officers who lead our young men?—you did not find any marine officers holding back at the Solomons because they were 30 or 40 years of age or over. Oh, I, too, prefer the young and sturdy specimen of early manhood, with his fine mental balance and ability to think clearly, but that peak is seldom attained before the age of 21 or 22—certainly not at 18 or 19. The largest single class of men in the first World War was the 25-year group, and I have yet to hear that they failed to give a good account of themselves. I should like to see a more modest demand expressed by our Army chieftains, for none should know quite so well as they that "mere numbers do not an army make, nor size success assure."

The selective-service officials could likewise temper their contradictory statements which have already so upset the average American family that fear and uncertainty have replaced the peace and quiet of the home. I do not believe we have to break up the homes of our 40-year-olds to win this war, nor can I believe that the immature youths of 18 and 19 are all that stand between us and defeat.

But, my friends, if we cannot win the war without recourse to drafting our 18-year-olds, then the least we should do is to prevent their being sent into combat until 1 full year of training has been given them. They, too, are entitled to their rendezvous with destiny—because they have not yet lived; they have not yet tasted the kind of life we are sending them into combat to preserve. I bow to the will of my Commander in Chief, but I protest the recommendations of his military advisers. My voice may be the only one raised in protest on this floor, but I cannot remain silent when my better judgment—my own experience—tells me they are wrong, and when I really feel the path they ask us to pursue will lead—as the path of glory always has led—but to the grave.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the special order of the House previously agreed to, the gentleman from Pennsylv-



vania [Mr. RICH] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, keen observers throughout the Nation have realized for a long time that the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is the repository for everything from the sublime to the ridiculous. On many occasions I have criticized the useless waste of time and effort, not to mention the extravagant expenditure of taxpayers' money made necessary by extensions in the Appendix of the RECORD. Of course, I realize that in some instances the effusions of individuals would not get into print were it not for the fact that we have a congressional record. Some men say things that are worthy of transcription and recording. Other ambitious souls are less fortunate in their endowment by the Creator with that keenness of intellect which permits them to think through things clearly and with the ability to translate their thoughts into words.

The junior Senator from Pennsylvania has occupied an envious position in the New Deal camp for many years. No one will deny the place which he occupies in the councils of the New Deal. He has position and power. For a number of months past his popularity in Pennsylvania's New Dealism has been a matter of question. Rumor has it that he was unsuccessful in naming the candidate of the Democratic Party for the governorship. According to press reports a line of cleavage was established between pro-junior Senator and antijunior Senator as the primary developed and as the waning fortune of the distinguished junior Senator became apparent with the selection of one Mr. Ross as the gubernatorial candidate of the Democratic Party. The battle raged. Friction was evident on all sides. Harsh words were heard, and the division between the forces became wider day by day.

According to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of yesterday, a peace pipe was smoked last Sunday in the City of Brotherly Love. It may have been that the Democratic bigwigs decided that the Sabbath Day was the best day on which to bring together the warring factions, hopeful that the influences of the Sabbath might ameliorate the sores of long standing. Then, again, of course, it may have been that the Democratic bigwigs decided that the city of Philadelphia and the Sabbath Day together would contribute; in other words, the blue-sky laws and the influences of William Penn might each contribute to make the peace pipe a more acceptable symbol for the hopes of New Dealism than the tomahawks that had been flying in the days preceding. The junior Senator from Pennsylvania was on the spot. He was the one who would be required to make the declaration of peace. Upon his shoulders fell the responsibility of making a statement which, to the uninformed, might appear to be an all-out avowal of the candidacy of those that in days gone by he had so strenuously opposed. Unfortunately the Senator hit upon a theme that all commentators, all students of political affairs have definitely labeled as of no value in the present campaign. Despite the fact that the pre-Pearl Harbor issue

has proved to be a boomerang wherever it has been tried, the junior Senator from Pennsylvania decided that the only basis upon which he could advance the cause of candidates was to attempt to resurrect the discord and the disunity which most patriots have frowned upon. It is a well-known fact that the original strategy of the New Dealers was laid upon the basis of a pre-Pearl Harbor attack.

In primaries throughout the country the effort was made. Wherever it was tried it failed. It is unfortunate that the junior Senator from Pennsylvania has not kept abreast of things. It is unfortunate that the junior Senator from Pennsylvania did not know of the trend of affairs. It is unfortunate that the junior Senator from Pennsylvania resurrected a corpse that had long been buried. It is unfortunate that the junior Senator from Pennsylvania, in his enthusiastic effort to appear as a smoker of a pipe of peace, drew so heavily on the stem of the pipe that his usual keen memory failed him so completely on the Sabbath Day a week ago.

Posterity will have a record of the effusion. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD has provided the means for the children and the grandchildren of Pennsylvania to read of the event when old sores were covered up, when discords were declared to be nonexistent, and when futile and frantic efforts of the New Deal chieftain sought to impress upon the uninformed that unity prevailed in the little New Deal in Pennsylvania. It is regrettable, however, that in this frantic and futile effort the junior Senator from Pennsylvania found it necessary to revive an issue long buried, an issue that should be buried today while we are at war, an issue that has proved to be of no value politically, an issue that can contribute nothing to our all-out winning of the war, an issue which, if persisted in, can only mean discord and misunderstanding. It is unfortunate that, with the ability which he has, he did not seize the opportunity to better advantage in his espousal of the causes of the candidates for whom he spoke. Again, I say, posterity as a result of the charity of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will have the written evidence of the effusions of that memorable day. Whether they will be inspiring or not remains to be seen.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. RICH. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania for a question.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Does not the gentleman believe that one of the fundamental tenets of the American form of government is that there should be contests in primary elections; but that, after the primary elections and the voters have decided who shall be the candidates that the right thing is for those persons who were having differences in the primaries to get together, because they believe in the same principles of government?

Mr. RICH. When the junior Senator from Pennsylvania takes as his theme, and uses the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as his vehicle of distribution, that he will oppose anyone who, previous to Pearl Harbor, was against getting this country

into war, I cannot follow him. He takes as his basis of judgment the proposition that anyone who, previous to Pearl Harbor, opposed our entry into the war is of no value; that he is of no value if he did not follow the New Deal and follow it completely. I am one of those who believe that this country could have been kept at peace. I do not believe the junior Senator from Pennsylvania can espouse his cause to that extent and have peace and harmony. We are at war, and all of us who, previous to Pearl Harbor—and I am one of them—were against getting this country into war, now are for winning it and doing everything we can to win it, because it is the natural thing for the American people to hang together. He ought to have brains enough not to bring up an issue of that kind now.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further at that point?

Mr. RICH. No. I do not believe there is any use discussing this matter on the floor of the House; it is a dead issue. The gentleman ought to send for the junior Senator and tell him that, if he thinks he can elect men to Congress who are nothing but rubber stamps, he had better get on another bandwagon and get on it quickly, because the people of Pennsylvania are not going to stand for any poppycock ideas of that kind.

Mr. EBERHARTER. The gentleman has a little more time; will he yield the balance of his time to me?

Mr. RICH. No; I will not yield to the gentleman because the gentleman is one of the New Dealers who has followed the junior Senator from Pennsylvania; and I do not think anything the gentleman from Pennsylvania can say or anything he can do will help his cause in any way; certainly it would not with me because I do not see anything good in the New Deal as espoused in the meetings held by the junior Senator from Pennsylvania with the New Deal leaders of Pennsylvania. They are just as bad whether they come from Pennsylvania or whether they come from Texas, Alabama, or California; they ought to be buried.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the previous order of the House the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a unanimous-consent request?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include therein a copy of a letter from the President and also from Secretary Ickes on reclamation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. WRIGHT. Will the gentleman yield to me for a unanimous-consent request?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield to the gentleman.









United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 77<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 88

WASHINGTON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1942

No. 180

## Senate

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Monday, October 19, 1942, at 12 o'clock meridian.

## House of Representatives

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1942

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m., and was called to order by the Speaker.

Rev. John Compton Ball, pastor of Metropolitan Baptist Church, Washington, D. C., offered the following prayer:

Our Father, we realize this morning as never before the truth of the expression, "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn." We not only hear of wars and rumors of wars but we know of them and the uncertainty of the outcome of battles with the heart concern over the fate of our loved ones. We plead, therefore, today for victory of arms over our foes that the United Nations may be welded into a solidarity of plan and purpose for the preservation of the freedoms fought for and handed down to us by our forefathers as a sacred trust. To this end "May the words of our mouth and the meditations of our heart be acceptable in Thy sight, O Lord, our strength and our Redeemer." May our boys, on the far-flung battle lines of the world, know that we are bearing them up in our prayers. May they be kept pure and clean in morals and possess a spiritual morale that shall lead to the achievement of their goal, namely, a victory complete and final for the peace of the whole world. In the name of Thy Son and to Thy glory we ask it. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. CELLER and Mr. JENKINS of Ohio asked and were given permission to revise and extend their own remarks in the RECORD.

### CORRECTION

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I desire to correct the RECORD. In connection with my 1-minute speech

of yesterday, which appears at page A4001 of the Appendix, I inserted an article written from the Egyptian front by Mr. Frank Gervasi. I intended for the RECORD to show that this article appeared in the current issue of Collier's Weekly, and I ask unanimous consent that the permanent RECORD may be corrected to that extent.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

### PRIORITIES FOR URGENT LONG-DISTANCE TELEPHONE CALLS

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the Chairman of the Board of War Communications:

BOARD OF WAR COMMUNICATIONS,  
Washington, D. C., October 15, 1942.  
The Honorable SAM RAYBURN,  
Speaker of the House,  
United States House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SPEAKER: There is attached a copy of Order No. 20 of the Board of War Communications which establishes a system of priorities for urgent long-distance telephone calls which require immediate or prompt completion for the national defense and security, the successful conduct of the war, or to safeguard life or property. The persons entitled to use telephone toll priorities, where such a call is required in the manner and for a purpose specified in the order, are listed in paragraph 2 and include the President of the United States, the Vice President, Cabinet officers, Members of Congress, and other governmental and civilian agencies.

It would be appreciated if this information is brought to the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives. I should like to also add that there will be no censorship of telephone calls. A telephone operator will put through calls without questioning the right of the user to use the system. She

may, however, request the name and address or position of the person placing the call, but this will be for record purposes only.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY,  
Chairman.

### AMENDMENT OF SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 554 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 7528), to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, and all points of order against said bill are hereby waived. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill, and shall continue not to exceed 2 hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Military Affairs, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. No amendments shall be in order to said bill except amendments offered by direction of the Committee on Military Affairs or amendments relating to age limits, and said amendments shall be in order, any rule of the House to the contrary notwithstanding. Amendments that may be offered to said bill under the terms of this resolution shall not be subject to any amendment except pro forma amendments. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House and such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommit.

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.



Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll when the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 118]

Allen, Ill.	Hall,	O'Leary
Angell	Edwin Arthur	Oliver
Arnold	Hancock	Osmer
Baldwin	Hébert	Pierce
Barnes	Hendricks	Rankin, Mont.
Barry	Hook	Reed, Ill.
Blackney	Houston	Robertson,
Bloom	Hull	N. Dak.
Brown, Ohio	Jarrett	Rockefeller
Buckler, Minn.	Johns	Rockwell
Buckley, N. Y.	Johnson, Okla.	Romjue
Byron	Kean	Sanders
Capozzoli	Kee	Satterfield
Chapman	Keefe	Sauthoff
Cochran	Kennedy,	Scanlon
Coffee, Wash.	Martin J.	Schaefer, Ill.
Cole, Md.	Keogh	Schuetz
Collins	Kerr	Schulte
Copeland	King	Scrugham
Creal	Kocalkowski	Shanley
Crosser	Kramer	Shannon
Crowther	Lambertson	Sheppard
Cullen	Landis	Smith, Pa.
Dickstein	Lesinski	Smith, Wash.
Dies	Ludlow	South
Dingell	McIntyre	Starnes, Ala.
Domengeaux	McKeough	Stefan
Douglas	McLean	Sullivan
Duncan	Maas	Sweeney
Edmiston	Magnuson	Tenerowicz
Ellis	Mason	Thill
Englebright	Mills, La.	Tinkham
Faddis	Murray	West
Ford, Leland M.	Norton	Williams
Gilchrist	O'Brien, N. Y.	Willson
Granger	O'Connor	Winter
Green	O'Day	Zimmerman

The SPEAKER. On this roll call 319 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

Further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, after I shall have used 3 or 4 minutes, I will yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. FISH] the customary time.

Mr. Speaker, this rule makes in order the so-called Wadsworth bill, H. R. 7528, amending the Selective Service and Training Act, and provides for 2 hours of debate, as requested by the Committee on Military Affairs, and as urged by the leadership of both sides.

The Committee on Military Affairs held extensive hearings for 2 or 3 days on the measure and heard the testimony of Secretary of War Stimson; General Marshall, Chief of Staff; General Hershey, Director of Selective Service; officers of the General Staff, and others, after which in executive session the original bill was amended in several respects, making it a much more improved measure than the one originally introduced.

I am informed that the bill was unanimously reported and I am pleased to say that the Committee on Rules, after two sessions, granted the rule on the bill with only one vote in opposition to it.

I am of the opinion that this legislation which now comes before the House requires immediate consideration and, consequently, we brought in a rule which is not a closed or gag rule, but a limited rule. It is a rule that will permit a vote on the age limit, which is the principal provision in the bill. The other provision of the bill broadens the effect of the law as to the draftees. I feel that the committee has done a splendid piece of

work in bringing the bill before the House.

Mr. Speaker, so that there may be no misunderstanding on the part of any of the Members as to the purpose and effect of the bill, I will state that paragraph (a) of section 3 provides in brief that every male citizen between 18 and 45 years of age shall be liable for training and service.

Section 2 provides that students of high schools and colleges, upon their own request, may be deferred from induction up to July 1, 1943.

Section 4 provides that no person between 18 and 21 years of age shall be discharged from service while the Selective Training and Service Act is in effect.

Section 5 provides that those who have been deferred from training shall be inducted prior to the induction of persons in the same State who have been placed in categories made subject to induction prior to the category in which such person has been placed.

Section 6 provides that no person who has been convicted of any crime which is not a felony shall not be relieved from training or service because of such conviction.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield.

Mr. GIFFORD. The gentleman said this is not a closed rule?

Mr. SABATH. I said so; yes.

Mr. GIFFORD. What possibility is there of offering amendments?

Mr. SABATH. Not only the committee, as I have stated, has the right to offer amendments, but you or any Member will have the privilege to offer amendments on the principal provision in the bill, which is that pertaining to the age limit of draftees. You may offer any amendment you desire, whether you want to provide a minimum age limit of 18, 19, or even 17, or one to reduce the age limit from 45 to 40 years. Notwithstanding the statement of the gentleman from Massachusetts, and a few others who are always prone to find fault on rules of procedure, I will again say that this is not a gag rule by any means. It is a limited rule, as I have explained, regardless of what he may designate it. It has been asked for by the leadership of both sides to preclude the offering of any amendments that might tend to becloud the real issue or purpose of the bill which may be offered by some Members for purely political or personal reasons, notwithstanding that they are aware that any such amendments could not possibly be adopted.

Mr. GIFFORD. I want to clear that matter up. Has there not been a deliberate attempt to foreclose any amendment demanding 1 year of training before they are sent into combat zones?

Mr. SABATH. From the testimony given in the hearings of the Committee on Military Affairs and that adduced before my own committee, I have come to the conclusion, and it is my firm opinion, that the heads of our armed forces on whom we rely are in better position to know the needs of the service and want young men properly trained before they

are ready for combat service and I can assure the gentleman from Massachusetts that they are not going to send them out before they have the benefit of real and proper training.

Mr. GIFFORD. And yet the gentleman believes it is not a closed rule?

Mr. SABATH. Again, I repeat it is not a closed rule, but a limited rule. Let me say to the gentleman that I have the fullest confidence in the officers of our armed forces who have long and efficiently served our country. They know what the real situation is and are keenly cognizant of the various considerations that may affect the drafting of young men of 18 and 19 years of age. It is my opinion, and I know it is not their intent, to send these young men out into combat service until they have been given basic training followed by field maneuvers, and other intensive training, all of which will take from 9 months to 1 year. Thus the vast majority will be at least 19 years of age and nearing 20 before they actually see combat service.

Mr. Speaker, 2 months ago I explained my position as to the induction of young men 18 and 19 years of age and the culmination of events and conditions since then have justified my advocacy of a reduction in the draft age limit. I quote from the speech which I made on the floor on August 31, of this year:

Mr. Speaker, in 1940, yes; as far back as 1938, I saw the approaching danger and urged preparedness. In answer to criticism directed against my position in favoring conscription, I stated:

"It is better to train without fighting than it is to fight without training."

I think I was right then and it is to be regretted that some people who profess to be patriotic fail to realize their duty to provide for the protection of our country. I do not know whether some of the mothers who have written to me appreciate that our country, which is their country as well, is in danger, and that it becomes absolutely necessary to leave nothing undone to preserve our liberty, freedom, and our way of life which we enjoy in this country of ours—a country which deserves every sacrifice to save all of us from enslavement under the Nazis and Japs.

Mr. Speaker, we are at war and we must of necessity utilize the services of our able young men to aid us to insure the defeat of the enemy who seeks to take from us the liberty and freedom for which our forefathers fought, bled, and died. Everyone must concede that that precious liberty and freedom must be preserved and are worth the many sacrifices we must make.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the remainder of my time and I now yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. FISH].

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 10 minutes.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] said that one member of the Rules Committee opposed the rule. Whether that was so or not I do not know. I was not present at the afternoon session, although I was in the morning, when I understood we agreed on a rule.

Mr. SABATH. One member voted against it.



Mr. FISH. One member voted against the rule. I assume that the chairman of the committee is correct. I was not present at that meeting. If I had been present, I certainly would have voted against this rule. I see no reason for this type of gag rule for a bill of this nature. I have always opposed gag rules except on tariff bills and revenue bills, and there is no reason in the world that I can see why the Members of the House should not work their will upon this bill. The principal purpose of the pending rule is to deny the right of the Members of the House, Republican and Democratic alike, the opportunity to introduce and consider and vote upon a proposal requiring that these boys of 18 and 19 years of age be given at least 1 year of military training before being sent out of this country to battlefields all over the world.

If that limitation were put to a vote, I believe it would carry overwhelmingly in this House because I think every Member believes that youths of 18 or 19 years are entitled to at least 1 year of military training before being sent over to fight in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Why, we in this House, and particularly the majority, must remember that not long ago, even in peacetime, they insisted on the extension of the draft bill, which was passed by one vote, that the selectees should receive 18 months training, and that was before war was declared. Some of us opposed that because we said they could be trained in a year. Some of us have not changed our views but believe that selectees should at least have a year of training before being sent with combat troops to fight in foreign lands. That is the proposal that is denied the membership of the House unless the rule is defeated and voted down. I do not want the issue to be confused. Some Members may rise after me and say that the proposal is different, that it would also prohibit ordering these boys in training to defend our country in case of attack. That is not so. The proposal that I want to see discussed on its merits and demerits is whether these young boys of 18 and 19 should be sent outside of America and American territory before at least 1 year's training. Of course, they can defend the country in a week's time of training if we were attacked.

So I do not want any Member to drag this red herring across the trail to prevent debate on this issue. I merely want to state my own views and give my own reasons. The House can act accordingly by a voice vote. If you want to vote down this rule, then you will have the right to vote on such an amendment. The rule gags the membership in that respect, and if the House wants to vote on that, all we have to do is to vote the rule out. Possibly the House wants to give up its right to legislate on this bill. Our only function is to legislate, particularly on bills of this nature. If you want to deny that right to yourselves, that is your privilege.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. Yes.

Mr. CELLER. I agree with the gentleman, and I agree entirely that all of the intelligence does not reside in the Army, and I think we should put a clause

in the bill about preventing colleges from closing, because all those youths of 18 and 19 comprise 95 percent of all college students, and unless you put some clause in there providing that the Army use the college facilities, those colleges will close, and these men will make poor officers.

Mr. FISH. Since the gentleman has raised the question, there would be a lot of amendments to be offered, and properly so, to this bill. Of course we are all in accord that the brass hats are not infallible, nor is the Committee on Military Affairs, one of the most distinguished committees of this House, composed of able and sincere members, infallible. It seems very apparent to me, and I may be alone in this, that the Committee on Military Affairs has made some very serious mistakes in the past, have made some serious blunders, particularly as regards the age limit in the matter of the selective service bill.

The Military Affairs Committee insisted on putting the age limit as high as 45. Many of us who fought in the last war with infantry troops insisted that no combat troops should be used over 30 years, that it would be high enough to place a limit of 35 years of age in the selective draft bill. General Hershey, then Major Hershey, now Major General Hershey, took exactly the same position. He did not want the age limit over 35. The Military Affairs Committee insisted on placing it at 45.

General Marshall appeared a few days ago before the committee and said that the Army is finding out that men between 40 and 45 break down physically under the heavy strain of war conditions, that they fill up the hospitals, that they are now loading down the airplanes bringing back over-age officers from Australia.

I propose, if nobody on the committee does it, to offer an amendment to lower the age limit from 45 to 40 in the interest of national defense in accordance with the statement made by General Marshall, Chief of Staff. I say this only to show that the Military Affairs Committee is not infallible, that there are some Members of the House who served in the last war who know what happened then. I served as a captain of Infantry in the last war and I know we had replacements in our regiment who had not had more than 30 days' training.

I believe the War Department is sincere in its statement in saying they hope and expect to give these boys a year's training, but what assurances have we in Congress? We are responsible for legislation and should not evade that duty. We should have the right to discuss this proposal and should have the right to vote upon it. This rule denies that right. It merely gives you an opportunity of voting on the ages limitations. It is difficult for Members of Congress, in view of the fact that the President of the United States insists that we lower the draft age to 18 and 19 and also the Chief of Staff on the basis of military necessity, to oppose the bill. It might be that some Members of Congress would like to lower the age to 19 instead of 18. I voted for 19 when it came up a year ago but I do not like to go below that and take boys out of high schools. However,

I intend to vote for the bill as the President and Chief of Staff place their demands on military necessity. I intend to vote for all measures necessary to win the war. I do, however, want to have the House of Representatives debate the proposal that provides that these boys should have 1 year's training before being sent to fight throughout the world.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FISH. I yield.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. As I understand the rule no amendments may be offered, except committee amendments and amendments relating to age.

Mr. FISH. That is correct.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Are those the only two classes that can be reached?

Mr. FISH. That is all a Member can present as amendments to this bill if this rule is adopted.

Mr. SABATH. Any committee amendment can be offered.

Mr. FISH. A committee amendment could be considered, but that deprives the House of legislating.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. It is a gag rule. Many of us desire to offer amendments in regarding to helping the boys to finish their training after the war.

Mr. FISH. It is a gag rule, or a modified gag rule and it indicates that we have no confidence in the House of Representatives to legislate intelligently.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. A number of us have amendments to offer, one is to provide what shall be done in the matter of taking these boys out of high schools, universities, and colleges. Such an amendment would not be in order.

Mr. FISH. Such an amendment would not be in order except it were offered as a committee amendment. The rule precludes the membership of the House from offering amendments.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I am against the rule. It denies Members a chance to offer amendments.

Mr. FISH. And I hope others will be against it, too, at the proper time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York has consumed 10 minutes.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed out of order for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

#### OPPOSING CONSTRUCTION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY IN PEACE OR IN WAR

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, the people of my district are aroused over the attempts of the administration at Washington, and of the Democratic Party in New York State, in accordance with a specific plank in its 1942 platform that urges the construction of the St. Lawrence Ship Canal. Various groups and elements in my Congressional district, including the Railroad Brotherhoods, the Orange County Board of Supervisors, the Walkkill Grange, and numerous business organizations have petitioned me to oppose the building of the St. Lawrence Ship Canal, which would divert trade and commerce from New York State to Canada.



For 10 years or more I have been fighting the proposal to spend a billion American dollars to sidetrack our own American commerce to Canada and, by British ships, to the world markets. The proposal is outrageous and an imposition upon the American taxpayers whether in time of peace or in time of war. I have opposed this wasteful and unnecessary project, and will continue to oppose it in every way whenever this pork-barrel measure, detrimental to American interests, appears in Congress. As a member of the Rules Committee I have done everything in my power to block and prevent any such squandering of the people's money on this non-defense project and upon other such projects that are not essential to winning the war.

I have been one of the leaders, from the beginning, against this unsound, unwise and, in my opinion, un-American proposal to divert our trade and the products of American labor to Canada and thence, by Canadian or British ships, to foreign markets overseas. I have repeatedly expressed my views in Congress, that the St. Lawrence waterway project is an economic imbecility, a monstrosity, and a fraud upon the American people, and particularly upon the people living in the congressional district I represent. It would be most harmful to the thousands of railroad employees, merchants, and businessmen in Port Jervis, Middletown, Maybrook, Poughkeepsie, Beacon, and Brewster in my district. It would not benefit a single farmer in that district, nor in my opinion the farmers of any Western State, as it is a political myth.

While it is our duty not to permit Congress to spend a dollar of American money on projects nonessential to winning the war, and particularly when it would destroy the commerce and prosperity of Eastern railroads and shippers by diverting trade away from our seaports by the construction of the St. Lawrence waterway.

In view of the plank in the Democratic State platform in favor of the St. Lawrence waterway, we cannot afford to be silent on this vital issue. We must stop every effort to revive this project and further burden our taxpayers and cause financial and trade losses to our merchants and unemployment among our railroad employees when peace is restored.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MICHENER].

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, I do not agree with the gentleman from New York [Mr. FISH] in all of the things he has just said. Unlike him, I shall vote for this rule that makes in order the bill reported by the Military Affairs Committee. The rule is neither a closed nor an open rule. It makes it possible for the House to act expeditiously and freely on the question as to whether or not the draft age for military service shall be lowered to include the 18- and 19-year-olds. It is not what is commonly known as a gag rule, preventing all amendments. There was no politics in the consideration of this bill before the Military Affairs Committee. The same was true of

the Rules Committee. When war legislation is involved, there is no room for politics. Be it remembered the Military Affairs Committee, both Republicans and Democrats, unanimously reported this bill as drawn. This same great committee requested this particular rule as drawn. As one Member of the House, I shall do nothing to interfere with this request and retard the progress of this legislation.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MICHENER. I yield to the distinguished majority leader, who represents the administration on the floor of the House.

Mr. McCORMACK. And I may also say for the RECORD that the rule was asked for by the leadership on the majority side. I make this statement in order that the RECORD may show that fact.

Mr. MICHENER. Of course, it is not difficult to find fault with this rule, because it is in certain respects restrictive. The Rules Committee is created for the express purpose of reporting to the House that which in its opinion is the most advisable method to advance the consideration of important legislation over the slow and general rules of the House. Seldom does a rule come from a committee that meets with the approval of all of us. At times it takes political courage to vote for a rule, even though we are satisfied its adoption will accomplish the objective at which we aim. That is the situation today. There is always an opportunity to decry and protest against any rule that imposes any limitation on the action of the House.

This rule gives sufficient time for debate, and under it every Member of the House will be permitted to express his views on the advisability of changing our draft law. If a majority of the House does not favor this rule, then it will not be adopted. No one is deprived of his right to vote, and the majority will rule. In other words, this rule is a proposal made by the Rules Committee to the House. The House will reject that proposal or accept it, and within the next few minutes the House will be given an opportunity to speak.

Mr. Speaker, the war in which we are engaged is colossal in its ramifications. At this good hour American soldiers and sailors are battling on the seven seas and in many foreign lands to preserve what we are wont to call the American way of life.

In short, we are in an all-out war. An all-out war can only be won by all-out sacrifice and all-out effort on the part of each and every one of us. All realize that in these circumstances there must be a unified and directing head of our military activities.

Under the Constitution the President is the Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy. We have trained Army and Navy experts upon whose shoulders rest the responsibility of planning for and directing the strategy and activity of our armed forces. The Congress is not made up of military experts. We must rely to a large extent on the counsel, advice, and requests of those so trained military experts. As laymen, we may

have our notions as to the size of the Army, who shall compose it, where it shall operate, and when and where it shall strike. But, in the final analysis, the Commander in Chief and those trained in the science of war must decide these questions.

The bill which this rule makes in order lowers the draft age to include those in the 18- to 19-year category. The Commander in Chief not only requests, but demands, that the Congress pass this law now. The Secretary of War; General Marshall, the Chief of Staff; General Hershey, the Administrator of the Selective Service law; and, in fact, our entire Military Establishment, solemnly yet regretfully informs the Congress that this war cannot be won without the aid of these younger men in the military service; I repeat, cannot be won. In these circumstances, what is the duty of a Member of Congress when the roll is called today? It is generally conceded that the fate of democratic government hangs in the balance. Therefore, it seems to me that there is no alternative. This is one of the most difficult votes I have ever been called upon to cast. I do not want to disrupt the lives of these young men and put them into military service, yet if that is necessary in order that our Nation may be preserved, and that the youth of this generation and those to come may enjoy the blessings, the freedom, the liberty and opportunity which finds expression in our form of government, then it seems to me that I have no choice.

This bill will permit those young men who are now in school to complete the school year. That is as it should be.

I hoped that some provision might be included in the bill guaranteeing that these younger men should not be given combat duty until they have had at least 1 year's military training. The military authorities have presented logical reasons why a mandatory provision of this kind might prove disastrous. They insist that such a provision is impossible of practical accomplishment. They did, however, assure the Military Affairs Committee in the hearings that all of these draftees would receive the 13 weeks' basic training before they are assigned to any unit, and that it is, and will be, the policy of the Army not to assign these young men to combat duty without 1 year's military training except in case of emergency. This seems to be the most assurance we can get. Suffice it to say that this assurance, based upon the hearings before the Military Affairs Committee, convinced that committee to the extent that it voted unanimously for this bill as presented to us. After all, we must trust those who are presumed to know.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MICHENER. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. REES of Kansas. In view of the gentleman's statement, may I ask, does he see anything wrong with the House having a chance to vote on whether or not these boys shall be taken out of the United States for a period of 1 year? They will be here to protect the United



States, but they should not be put into combat service outside of the United States. Let the House pass on it.

Mr. MICHENER. The gentleman who has asked that question is a good lawyer. He is one of the sincere and outstanding Members of the House. He analyzes things keenly. He has not had an opportunity to read the hearings because they are not available. I am sure he did not attend the hearings of the Military Affairs Committee and hear the testimony in reference to this matter which I heard because, if he had, I have such faith and confidence in his good judgment and his desire to do that which is necessary now to win the war that I believe he would approach the matter as I do. Neither of us wants to send these boys to battle without adequate training. Neither do we want to imperil the earliest possible victorious conclusion of this terrible war with the least possible cost in blood and treasure.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GIFFORD].

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I was astonished to hear the remarks of the chairman of the Rules Committee when he said this is not a closed rule. Certainly I have been foreclosed. I have written many letters making promises along the line of seeing to it that our boys are well and fully trained before they are sent into combat zones.

It is perfectly evident that the leadership of this House in trying to back up the President and the military, and fearful that a majority of this House would pass an amendment requiring such training, has seen fit and recognized the necessity of passing such a rule as this. I do not want any man in this House to suggest to me that I lack courage. When he proclaims his own, it carries its inference.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Does it require very much courage to pass a bill to draft men who cannot vote?

Mr. GIFFORD. That feature is not so important at the moment. I see what the gentleman's point is. He is a little roguish in his questions at times.

I want to say to this House that I feel very deeply on this matter. I was formerly a high school teacher and for years past I have constantly visited with these young people. I know them as few of you can possibly know them. I know that some of them are capable and able to enter the service while others have far from reached the maturity sufficient to be taken. I feel that I must wholly rely on the statements of the Army officials that it will not be their policy to send these boys into combat zones. In the last World War a near neighbor of mine lost a boy just barely of the age when he could be drafted, probably never having shot a gun was taken and within 3 months was killed on the battlefields of France. His father said to me in such tones of great emotion that I shall never forget, "Why did they not take

him out into the field and shoot him before they sent him over?"

I cannot endure the thought of sending these boys to actual combat until they are fully trained. Under this rule we are almost foreclosed from stating even our convictions. I do not like to vote against this rule, but I do not lack courage to do so. It is, of course, orderly procedure under our rules. Our own committees have decided for us. They wished to save us from ourselves, apparently.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIFFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Does not the gentleman think that if this question was submitted to the House fairly and squarely the Members would decide that these boys should be given a year's training?

Mr. GIFFORD. Certainly. That is why the leadership and the committee have decided that we shall not have the chance to vote on it. When I notice certain signatures to bring a Townsend plan on to the floor for discussion, and find that some of them are the very ones who support this rule, I have cause to wonder. If we could have passed this bill with an amendment demanding this training and later if these boys were absolutely needed to be sent into combat we could then quickly grant such authority. We would not close the door on the military if in extremity they so needed it. We have jumped through the hoop quickly before and we can jump again if the occasion warrants.

I do not think I have ever before taken the floor to oppose a rule. I do believe in orderly procedure and wish to support the committee. But at the moment I do not know whether or not to do so. We were taken by surprise this morning. I shall vote for the bill, but with great regret that it cannot be amended. I wanted real assurance of the training I have suggested. This House has been deprived of a chance to vote on the question. I protest but whether my protest will go so far as to vote against the rule I am yet undecided. I am indeed sorry that this situation has so suddenly developed. I was at first stunned upon reading this rule. I have written letters stating that I would support such an amendment and now I find myself helpless to fulfill such a promise. There has been hasty action. Even the hearings have not been available until this morning. I regret such a condition has arisen. We now must and will rely on the promises made by the military authorities, which I hope will reassure these young boys and their anxious parents. This bill furnishes a difficult decision for the Members of this body.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER].

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I am of the opinion that it is most ill-advised to present such a rule as this to the membership at this time. I feel that we should not be forced into the most uncomfortable position of voting on this closed rule as a result of popular clamor

and popular excitement. I repeat that all intelligence does not reside in the Army. I say that with all due respect to our Army leaders. They are excellent officers yet they are not infallible. We have a stern responsibility in the matter. We should not shirk that duty. We should debate this draft bill carefully and not under a cloture rule. We should give some direction to the Army; no absolute direction but a discretionary power. We should determine some of the civil policies involved in the matter, leaving it discretionary to the Army whether they shall, in view of any emergency or peril that may arise, summarily take these boys and put them out on the battle front even at 18. There ought to be some expression of our opinion in the statute directed to the Army and to the Navy with reference to the essentialities of training these men in the colleges or universities, so as to make these lads better officers and better post-war heralds and leaders.

The Navy does that and the Army does. They avail themselves of higher institutions of learning. I refer to Annapolis and West Point. Students there are deferred for 3 years. Only recently we purchased at great cost land at Great Neck, Long Island, N. Y., and we set up there what is known as the United States Merchant Marine Academy. Boys who are 18 can go to that academy and be deferred for 18 months. The same holds true with five State merchant marine academies, those operated by New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, California, and Maine. These academies are doing a fine job and they graduate splendid men as ensigns in the Navy, Merchant Marine Reserve. Without these academies our merchant marine service would be greatly handicapped. It would lack a reservoir upon which it can draw for its staff and officers.

I would have the Army, in its discretion, depending upon our peril, do exactly what our merchant marine service is doing.

Those boys can go to those academies and be deferred for 18 months before they enter combatant service. Now in this draft bill you are setting up a preferred class. You discriminate in that regard. You defer these merchant marine midshipmen, Annapolis midshipmen, and West Point cadets, but no others—none subject to the bill.

What is the policy in England? They have had more experience than we have. They do not shut their colleges. Pass this bill and you close all colleges. I repeat what I said a moment ago, 95 percent of all college students are in the age group of 18 and 19. In England they reduced the draft age to 18 as of July 1 last, but they permit the boys to be "screened" carefully and critically analyzed as to their attainments, equipment, experience, talents, and general intelligence. Then they give them courses in engineering, metallurgy, chemistry, forestry, government, economics, noncestral navigation, and all things of that character, and they defer them for 18 months. The subjects I mentioned are not inclusive. They are typical. The



course should be, as for us, those which make for better military officers.

What does Canada do? Canada goes even further than England. They place such great reliance upon their colleges that they allow all their students who may be called in the draft to be deferred until they finish their courses and are graduated. Those students who seek to go to the colleges are deferred during their entire college career until graduation.

It might be said I would discriminate in favor of boys who can afford to go to college. No, indeed, no. I would again pattern after the English system and grant subsidies to poor lads for their college tuition, board, and maintenance. The Navy in its VI program does just that. It pays for the tuition of all lads it sends to universities for the indoctrination courses.

What the Navy does I would have the Army do—use our colleges—and I would put some words in the bill asking the Army in its discretion to do this.

The lesson in China should furnish us some enlightenment. Commencing in the summer of 1937 the Japanese Zeros and bombers sought to destroy, and succeeded in destroying a good part of 108 Chinese universities. That did not faze Gen. Chiang Kai-shek. He discouraged, even after those tragedies, students from joining the armed forces. He felt it was more important to keep the colleges going. He arranged a mass migration of faculties, students, and classroom equipment to the interior provinces, and even appropriated \$5,000,000 to subsidize 30,000 of these students—poor students, whose parents could not afford to send, or continue to send them to college.

In fact, in 1942, 5 years after the Japanese attempt to exterminate colleges began, there are seven more colleges and almost 7½ percent more Chinese students in colleges than there were before the war began.

Gen. Chiang Kai-shek realized that the survival of China, in a way, resides in her universities. He realized, of course, that his armies must be augmented and that military supremacy is essential, but he does not, at the same time, disregard the necessity of maintaining colleges upon which to draw for not only military officers, but for post-war leaders.

It is well to consider also the experience of Germany and even France. If we turn to the trials and tribulations of those countries growing out of the last war, we find that the tragedy in Germany in 1937, and in all likelihood the fall of France in 1940, had their foundations in the folding up of their colleges. Those countries took youths of 16, 17, 18, and 19 years of age and put them in first-line trenches in the years 1914 to 1919. After the war these two countries had an army of young people who had guns, revolutionary ideas, but no trades, no callings, little or no high-school education, and no college education. The results you know.

Wendell Willkie from Chungking said:

This war is not simply a technical problem for task forces. It is also a war for men's minds. We must organize on our side not simply the sympathies but also the active, aggressive, offensive spirit of nearly three-

fourths of the people of the world who live in South America, Africa, eastern Europe, and Asia. We have not done this, and at present we are not doing this.

How can we organize an active, offensive spirit of nearly three-fourths of the people of the world if we have not the leaders? Where are we going to get the leaders if we close our colleges?

The Navy has been far wiser than the Army in my humble judgment. It has used the colleges in a wholesale manner. Its naval VI program proceeds with indoctrination courses in our colleges. The program has been eminently satisfactory and successful.

All I am asking is that the Army follow the pattern laid down by the Navy.

Draft the 18- and 19-year-old youths, but at the same time let those who are qualified enter college to pursue the course that will make them appropriate material for military and naval officers and better leaders for the future.

The Navy has caused the colleges to condense their courses. They crowd into 3 months, for example, that which generally takes about 2 years.

The Army has set up its own colleges as it were—officers' candidate schools. I query whether they have been eminently successful in this regard.

Why should the Army have set up their own colleges, as it were? Section 2 of the current bill sets up a preference as to youths now in high school or in college and defers them until July 1 of next year. There are no such deferments for any period for the future 18-year-olds. Are not the latter therefore discriminated against?

My position is simply this: Draft down to 18 years, but follow the English system. Let the boys be "screened" by officers of the Army and the Navy. Those fitted for study in metallurgy, chemistry, physics, economics, government administration, navigation, and other subjects that would make them better officers and better post-war leaders should be deferred and permitted to take courses in colleges. During such deferment—say for 18 months, or even a year, or even 6 months—those students shall be under military training and discipline.

The English system provides for state bursaries—that is, subsidies. In order not to discriminate against poor students, again follow the example of the Navy, which pays the tuition of their men in the VI program. Subsidize as to tuition, board, and lodging of the boys 18 and 19 who have thus been selected for college work. There will then be no discrimination between the rich and the poor.

If the rule on which we are operating would permit, I would offer the following amendment:

All persons of the age of 18 and of the age of 19 subject to the provisions of this act shall be carefully and critically examined by appropriate officials of the land and naval forces of the United States, under such regulations as the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy shall promulgate, as to their special talents, aptitudes, experience, and general intelligence. Upon their respective requests, those persons who, in the discretion of such officials of the land and naval forces of the United States are found to be especially

qualified for training and education in subjects such as engineering, chemistry, medicine, dentistry, physics, metallurgy, forestry, mathematics, economics, and governmental administration, and also in such subjects as would best fit them to become good military and naval officers, or in any other scientific and professional subjects that would aid the war effort, shall be deferred from induction into the land and naval forces for a period no longer than 18 months.

Such persons so deferred shall be permitted to pursue these specialized courses of training and instruction in any bona fide university and college.

The United States Office of Education shall cooperate with officials of the land and naval forces in the selection of those persons best fitted for deferment and training aforesaid.

After the expiration of said 18 months of deferment, or prior thereto, if any person is certified by the faculty of said bona fide institution of learning where such person has been a student as being unfit to continue the authorized course of training, such persons shall be inducted into the land and naval forces of the United States.

Supplementing their academic courses, these students shall receive such military training as the appropriate officials of the land and naval forces of the United States shall prescribe.

If a person so recommended for specialized training is unable to defray necessary tuition and maintenance charges, same shall be paid for out of annual appropriations for the War and Navy Departments.

(Mr. CELLER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH].

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 additional minutes to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, in view of the nature of the discussion in connection with this training problem, I beg leave to read to the House a letter which I received this morning from the Chief of Staff of the Army, Gen. George C. Marshall, and I invite your close attention to it. It is addressed to me.

In the discussion of the proposed legislation to lower the selective-service age, the proposal has frequently been made that a provision be written into the law that would make 12 months' training mandatory before any individual under 20 years of age could be sent to a theater of operations.

I believe that this originates partly from a desire to avoid the unfortunate instances of the first World War, in which many men were sent to front-line combat before they had had any reasonable amount of training, and, second, on the assumption that, since the War Department has frequently stated that it takes 12 months to train a division, there should be no objection to guaranteeing 12 months' training for each enlisted man.

Such a limitation would impose an almost impossible administrative problem for the War Department. There is a marked difference between the training of an individual soldier and the training of a complicated machine like a division. Every soldier receives approximately 3 months' basic training. In this period he is hardened physically and trained technically, as well as given an understanding of discipline. He is taught how to care for himself in the field, how to employ both his primary and secondary weapons, and how he and his weapons fit into the squad and platoon. Upon completion of this course he is a qualified rifleman, machine gunner,



mortarman, etc., depending upon which course he pursued in the replacement center.

Upon completion of his basic training the soldier is assigned to a tactical unit. If the unit is new (that is, recently organized) there then begins the "team" training that every unit must have before it can be considered an efficient combat organization. The length of time required for this team training varies, of course, with the type and size of the unit. A squad of 12 men who have had proper basic training can be trained as a team in a relatively short period of time. A battalion takes considerably longer. A division, which is a complicated organization involving the combined use of many arms, must have a long training period before it becomes a real combat organization. For this, 12 months is the minimum, and during this 12 months' period units that make up the division go through periods of small unit training, advanced unit training, training with the combined arms, and then extensive field maneuvers with the division acting alone and in combination with other divisions, and corps and Army troops.

To get back to the training of an individual soldier, the length of his training before he can be fitted into an experienced tactical unit, varies according to the type of unit and the duties for which he is trained. A few examples will illustrate what I mean by this.

In the Air Corps, a soldier selected for ground crew (mechanic) training, first receives a period of basic military training. He then goes to an Air Corps technical school, and the length of his training there depends upon the specific specialty in which he is being trained. The period may vary from 18 to 36 weeks, and when he graduates he is, for example, a finished airplane engine mechanic, and can be immediately assigned to and used in a bombardment group as a mechanic, whether it is still itself in training or is in a combat theater.

A radio operator receives his basic training and his training as an operator simultaneously. In from 3 to 5 months he is an effective operator, trained in Army radio procedure and, as in the case of the airplane mechanic, can take his place in a signal company of a combat division, whether that division is still in training or is being committed to combat.

A rifleman, when he finishes his 13 weeks' basic training, is prepared to take his place in an experienced squad at any time. If 8 to 10 men in the squad have had "team" training, the trained basic rifleman can be inserted in the squad without detriment either to himself or his unit.

I could give you many other examples where it would be unnecessary and undesirable to hold a man out of a combat theater for 12 months. It would be almost impossible for the Army to operate under any such mandate. We would, in effect, have to put thousands upon thousands of men "on the shelf" after their essential training had been completed before we could use them. In the Air Corps alone possibly 500,000 such men would be involved. Incidentally, the Navy and the Marine Corps enlist men of 17, and, I am told, that the average age of the entire Marine Corps is below 20.

The proposal would create so many obstacles of this nature that I cannot too strongly emphasize the importance of giving us this legislation without crippling limitations. Trust our judgment and our own insistence that we fight only with properly trained units, to see that each soldier has adequate training before he enters combat. I am certain Members of Congress do not wish to hamper the War Department in the execution of the tremendous task we have before us. These proposals, I am sure, arise through a lack of understanding of the problem presented. Our enemies are desper-

ate and implacable. Our task is extremely difficult.

Faithfully yours,  
G. C. MARSHALL,  
Chief of Staff.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I am disappointed and deeply regret that the committee in charge of this legislation to submit this resolution under a gag rule, and that only amendments agreed upon by the committee may be considered and discussed. Personally, I feel the resolution should be amended to provide at least a year's training for these young men, in the United States, before they are put into actual service. I realize assurance is being given that these boys will be well trained and will not be hurried into combat organizations.

Mr. Speaker, I have an amendment prepared to cover that very subject. I feel the people whom we represent, would feel better about the matter if Congress should include this clause in the legislation. It would, in no way, impede the war effort. In any event, the House certainly ought to have a chance to vote on the question. Of course, under the rule I will not even have a chance to submit the amendment.

Mr. Speaker, I, too, have confidence in the leadership of our armed forces, and I realize the gigantic problem of providing an effective war machine is in their hands. It seems to me, however, that if these immature boys are necessary in this crisis, they ought to have a year's training before going into active service. They will be a little more mature and in better condition to withstand the rigors of combat service.

Mr. Speaker, why not, if this legislation is necessary, why not call the 19-year-old boys first and then give consideration to those who are 18? The difference of 1 year in age makes a big difference in most cases. This would in no way impede the process of increasing our armed forces in this crucial hour.

Mr. Speaker, the provision in this measure permitting boys enrolled in high school or college to continue to the end of the school year is commendable. Then why not then permit the boy on the farm, or in the shop, who does not happen to be in school, to have at least a year's training before he is called upon to go into active service? Seems he at least should have as much time in training as the one who is in school.

Mr. Speaker, this is most serious business in which we are engaged today. I have always been opposed to drafting 18- and 19-year-old boys. I expressed my views against such legislation before war was declared against the Axis countries. My feeling is they should not be called except as last resort and after most serious consideration. I also feel if they are called, the 19-year-old boys could be called before demand is made for those who are 18.

A year's difference at this age is more than it seems.

Mr. Speaker, I have voted for billions of dollars that have been requested for the defense and the war effort. I did oppose measures that I thought at the time might involve our beloved country

in war. That is now beside the question. The plain truth is we are in a grim tug of war, and we cannot and dare not let go. We must win. The cost is secondary. Unfortunately, the picture today is not bright. The Commander in Chief and those charged with the responsibility of directing the war tell us now in no uncertain terms that if we are not to be defeated they must have these boys. That they have got to have them if we win.

Mr. Speaker, the picture I face this afternoon is one of the saddest in my experience. I did not think I would be called upon to vote on this question. Those who hold the destiny of our Nation in their hands at this most critical hour tell us this legislation—in their solemn judgment this legislation—practically determines whether we shall be victorious in this most terrible struggle at arms the world has known.

Mr. Speaker, I trust we may depend that those charged with the responsibility of the prosecution of our war program will see to it that these boys are given a fair break; that those who are called upon to enter the service may be given every chance and every protection that can be afforded them.

Mr. Speaker, this is a solemn, trying matter. Our Government says it needs the youth of our land to save our country in this most critical period in its history.

Mr. Speaker, the people of America are ready and willing to give their most precious possessions and to make any sacrifice to defeat the enemies who seek to overcome us in this terrible conflict.

Mr. Speaker, let us hope and trust that the lives of these boys may not be required. Let us pray that the day is not too far distant when this conflict shall cease and victory shall be ours.

(Mr. REES of Kansas asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD.)

[Mr. HOFFMAN addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I yield my remaining time to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Speaker, I believe that every Member of this House is motivated today by two deep and prevailing convictions. The first of these is that every Member wants to do everything that is necessary, possible, and advisable to help win this war and to promote the security of the United States. Because of that, since the Commander in Chief, President Roosevelt, stated in his radio address to the Nation that the Nation is in peril and that our national security demands the lowering of the draft age, I am convinced that the House today is going to lower the draft age. There is no other choice open to us. America must be saved. In view of the fact that President Roosevelt and General Marshall, Chief of Staff, insist that the safety of America requires the lowering of the draft age, I shall vote to lower it, because first things must come first with all of us, and the winning of the war and the pro-



tection of our national safety must come first.

Mr. Speaker, I am dedicated to doing everything we must to protect this Republic and to win this war. In such purely military decisions as to the size of our Army in war and the strategy of best utilizing our manpower, no man outside of those directly charged with the responsibility of serving as our generals and admirals and our military leadership dare rely solely upon his own judgment. We must follow the judgment of military men on military matters in time of war. I know of no better place to look for guidance. If they prove faulty or incompetent, if they prove unwise or imprudent, we must change our military leadership until we find leadership which will wisely and ably lead us to victory and security. The fate of America means more than the fate of any individual, the reputation of any political party, or the personal or political future of any leader in this country.

America must not lose this war. If in order to avoid that catastrophe it becomes necessary to change military leadership, as has sometimes been the case in previous wars, we must make such change both in civilian and military leadership as are necessary to ward off defeat. However, Mr. Speaker, until and unless the evidence mounts to such a point that such an unfortunate situation becomes apparent, we must follow and support the decisions in military matters of men of military training and holding positions of military leadership when this Nation is at war for its survival. Personally, I am among those who have great confidence and faith in Gen. George Marshall. I pray God that faith and confidence is vindicated. I only wish that more authority would be given him so that he could be the better able to demonstrate his military leadership, his strategic wisdom, and his sense of coordinate action by being permitted to enjoy the unified leadership of all the armed forces on our side so that we could hit the enemy harder, in more concentrated form, and with the singleness of purpose and design which only a unified military leadership can provide and sustain.

The best way to test a military leadership is to give the man the full authority and responsibility for military action. I believe Gen. George Marshall would measure up in that test. I believe Gen. Douglas MacArthur would measure up. I believe the United Nations will measure up in this war more completely and quickly once unified leadership has been secured. I hope it is provided without much more delay because I believe it will save the lives of hundred of thousands of the young men we are called upon today to draft as an essential step in our national safety.

We have another conviction, I think, which is also shared by all Members of this House. That conviction is that we want to give these boys of 18 and 19 who are to be drafted every bit of adequate and wholesome training that is available and possible. I think we should amend this rule today so that we can deliberate upon this program as intelligent men and women, as legislators, and so that

we can write a clear record concerning this conviction of this House. We should be given the opportunity to consider and analyze every possible safeguard for the welfare of these boys to see that their training is adequate, that their surroundings are wholesome, and that their health and ideals are protected. This is a phase of wartime effort where Members of Congress can exercise their judgment and leadership. And, incidentally, if we are going to protect the integrity of this body, we must legislate for ourselves and not rely entirely on legislative committees or on the Committee on Rules to prepare legislation and submit it to us on the basis of "take it or leave it," but do not try to improve it. If Congress is wise enough to approve or disapprove, it follows it should be wise enough to perfect, to strengthen, or to modify.

Mr. Speaker, I say this not in support of any amendment or suggestion mentioned thus far in this debate, but I say it as a matter of general principle to be applied to all legislation if representative government is to function as it should in this Congress and in this Republic. Of late years there has been an alarming tendency on the part of this administration to resort more and more to gag-rule procedure and the closed-rule formula for passing legislation written in the White House instead of on the floor of Congress. I have fought this tendency repeatedly. It must be curbed if Congress is to function as an independent and coordinate branch of government.

But to get back to the lowering of the draft age legislation now before us, Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for it with the same reluctance shared by many of you but I shall vote for it since President Roosevelt and his appointed military advisers say that our national safety depends upon it. The President has said he has secret sources of information not available to us. We all know that this is true. I wish there were more candor on the part of the Executive in giving Congress and the country the benefit of all possible information not of value to the enemy but we must meet the situation as it is. The opinion of laymen alone would not persuade me to vote for this bill but now that the President and the men he has selected as his military advisers say our national future depends upon this step, I shall support it. I hope that they, in turn, have not permitted popular pressure from nonmilitary sources to sway their judgment but that theirs is alone a military decision.

Throughout the long fight which many of us made to prevent if possible the involvement of America in this war and to avert changes of policy which we feared would draw us closer to it, I made it clear time and again by speech and vote that if we should become involved I would go all the way in helping to win the war and I have voted for more than \$200,000,000,000 since coming to Congress to prepare us as fully as possible before Pearl Harbor and to grant every request for arms and equipment which has come to us since. One of the distasteful eventualities we envisioned before Pearl Har-

bor was the possibility that boys of 18 and 19, and also older men who are heads of families, would be forced to go overseas to fight if we became involved in war. Mr. Speaker, war has come, and we must not now withhold a single step which, if not taken, might mean the losing of it. We have found that total war means total sacrifice. We have learned that Japan cannot be bombed into oblivion in 2 weeks and that tools alone will not complete the job. We are now all the way in a cruel and global war and looking back over the path we have trod will not bring us peace or avert defeat—the only road out of this war, today, is the trail marked "victory" and we must march shoulder to shoulder up that trail until that goal is reached.

The drafting of 18- and 19-year-old boys is a distasteful and discomforting decision, but if our national safety might be lost without our making it, who is there who would vote against it? Who is there who wants to lose this war? To win it we may have to make many more distasteful and discomforting decisions. Mothers' hearts are bleeding all over America today and the feelings of some men in authority this hour may have to be hurt before we win this war, but win it we shall and must. Defeat, now, would be a worse eventuality by far than the unhappy action we must take today. However, I think we should provide every possible assurance as a Congress that these younger selectees be given adequate and wholesome training and that they will not be used in foreign combat service until they have attained as much maturity as possible. Surely we can do no less for these young men and surely America owes no less to these new draft categories who are still so young that by neither their votes nor their influence have they had an opportunity to make their ideals and ideas felt upon the course of events either in this Nation or the World. General Marshall and the President have assured us that this will be done but if by legislative action or by the record of statements made by Members in this debate today we can support that assurance and make crystal clear to the President and his military advisers that this is the intent and the desire of this House, let us make sure that this is done. I hope that the record written in the House today will be helpful in guiding those who administer the draft law in developing a program which will attain the foregoing objectives.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH] such time as he may desire.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, desire for the successful prosecution of this war, I am certain, is paramount in the heart of each Member of this House as we begin consideration of the legislation today.

We must put first needs first, and to ask our leadership in the armed forces to strait jacket themselves as to any definite date of training, I believe, would work against the successful outcome of the conflict.

My sister has an 18-year-old son who is in college. Only a few days ago I talked with her about the future which she and her husband have planned for this youth. I know the tugging at her heartstrings



with the realization of what we are doing to make stronger the Army and the Navy and the air force for the protection of our country. I believe that these 18- and 19-year-old boys should remain in high school or college for the completion of the present school year. I also feel strongly that General Marshall and other high-ranking Army officials will not fail to give as many months training to these boys as possible before they are called for combat duty. We must have confidence that those who are in positions of trust, in waging this war, will do what is right on this question.

As a former teacher in a college myself I am deeply conscious of the need to keep alive in America our educational institutions, but I must understand, as all of us must understand, that we cannot win the war if we feel that here and there it is necessary to hold back a part of that all-out effort which we must put into the winning of this struggle. I believe it is clearly indicated that the country needs this legislation and that we as legislators will fail if we do not bring about its speedy passage.

Mr. Speaker, I deeply regret that we, as a people, were not more adequately prepared to fight this conflict in which we are now engaged. Yesterday morning I read a significant editorial in the Washington Times-Herald, which said:

Though yielding to nobody in his patriotism and willingness to serve, how can this man become as agile, enduring, and straight shooting a soldier as a man of 18 or 19 in good physical condition?

The draft law, as written and administered up to now, has taken far too little account of these facts of age and of youth. As a result we have been building ourselves an army whose average age is now growing dangerously high according to testimony of Secretary of War Stimson.

After this war, too, it is to be hoped that we shall be more sensible than we were after World War No. 1.

In 1933 we set up the Civilian Conservation Corps (C. C. C.) to take in a lot of young men who were victims of the great depression.

Had each of these young men received 6 months' to a year' training in military fundamentals we would have entered this war with a reserve of about 3,500,000 men, most of whom could have been turned into grade A soldiers in short order.

Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, in May 1940 I introduced H. R. 9884, a bill which would have amended the Civilian Conservation Corps Act so all enrollees shall receive instruction in military tactics and drill for 8 hours during each week. I was unable to get support for this legislation, but it is gratifying to have quoted from this editorial, which rightly contends that we must prepare our youth more carefully than in the past. The editorial goes on to say that:

We should not repeat that mistake. After this war we should have a system of compulsory military training. A boy should be drafted into the Army between high school and college and trained for a year. The system could be made flexible enough to give him some choice as to when he would serve his year, and to excuse inferior physical specimens from any training.

I have made this statement, because I will find it necessary later this afternoon

to leave for West Virginia. I am hopeful of arranging for an active pair, because I want to be clearly understood as favoring this measure. It would be perhaps political expediency to talk otherwise, but in an hour of the crisis of this country I feel parents having 18- and 19-year-old sons will join in the expression which I received recently from a mother who has two sons in the armed forces of the United States. She lives in Martinsburg, W. Va., and writes, as follows:

I am very happy in having my sons helping out; in fact, I think and I wish that all parents would think as—and I do. This is Labor Day, but it is a world full of war, human suffering, torture, and much sadness, but as war continues we must all stand together with our President and accept the bad with the good. Our country has always had freedom, and we must endure hardships, to keep our freedom and bring peace to a troubled world.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HALLECK].

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman let me make a suggestion?

Mr. HALLECK. I only have 2 minutes and I cannot yield.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure every one of us recognizes that this is a solemn and a trying moment. We are today to pass on a matter of tremendous concern to a great many families and of tremendous and overwhelming concern to the future and the security of the country.

I think it is entirely fair to say that this legislation was initiated by the Commander in Chief, the President of the United States, when he made his radio speech to the country the other Monday night. He said in that address that the lowering of the age to include 18- and 19-year-old boys was inevitable—that it was absolutely necessary for the safety and the security of the country. Subsequently the military leaders of the country appeared before our Committee on Military Affairs and backed up those statements and asked for this legislation.

That committee responded promptly and directly to that request. It performed its duty to the country and to the House of Representatives, and, I am informed, unanimously, Democrats and Republicans, voted to report this bill.

I happen to be one of those—and I think I stand with all of the Members of this House—who is committed without any mental reservation to the winning of this war.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman 2 more minutes.

Mr. HALLECK. While we know the cost will be tremendous, we are determined to win it. Among us, I am sure, there is no difference on that score. I say further that it is obvious that the primary responsibility for the determination that this legislation must be enacted is upon the Commander in Chief and his military advisers. The Commander in Chief and the military leaders are charged with responsibility of leading us in the waging of this terrible war.

I think it is also obvious that the primary responsibility for training these young boys who are to be brought into

the service, and for their proper equipment, mentally and physically, for the service of their country is upon the Commander in Chief and the military leaders of the country. As the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] has pointed out, they have assured us that they will observe the requirements of that responsibility and discharge their obligations to the Nation, the people, and these boys in the manner we would want them discharged.

There are many men in this body who were in the service of their country in the other war at the ages of 17, 18, or 19. We know what military service at this age means. Distasteful as it may be to us individually, there is nothing for this Congress to do in the circumstances except to respond to the demands of the Commander in Chief and the requests and the statements of the military leaders who, of necessity, are in possession of information and facts that cannot be disclosed to all the rest of us.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, and I now yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. NICHOLS].

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois to extend his own remarks in the RECORD?

There was no objection.

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, this thing we are called upon to do today, of course, is a distasteful business. We are all conscious of the fact that no parents in the United States will look with relish upon the proposition that they must give their 18- and 19-year-old sons to the war. If one were to consider this purely from a political standpoint, then one must certainly, in his selfishness, make excuses of every sort before voting for this legislation; but if we are to win this war, and that we will do, we in the House of Representatives and in the legislative branch of the Government must, even as every other public servant, lift ourselves above politics. This is easy to say and difficult to do, but I see it happen on this floor every day. I see men do things here in the interest of their country, in the interest of this war, that normally they would not do in the light of good political judgment.

Someone has said that the Rules Committee has foreclosed the rights of some Members to offer amendments to this bill. Why, Mr. Speaker, there is not one of us who has served here even a day who does not know that this body is governed by the majority. If a majority of this House does not like this rule, which places certain limitations upon amendments, by a majority of your votes you will refuse to agree to the rule. There is nothing mysterious about this. There has been no steam rolling or anything of that kind. This is the ordinary legislative process, and this body will still govern the action on the bill by a majority vote. In the committee I led the questioning of the Military Affairs Committee about this 12 months' training. When I went into the committee I felt very strongly that that provision should be in the bill.



They convinced me that it should not. They convinced me by what I thought was good, sound reasoning and logic. In the first place, they point out that the representatives from the War Department had told them that it would place unnecessary limitation upon their operation and their function, and that it would be a genuine detriment to the Army if we were to put that provision in the bill. That merely meant this to me:

A Member of this body said a moment ago that all intelligence is not in the Army. I am sure everyone will agree with that, but insofar as the conduct of this war is concerned, all of the directive intelligence and the tactical and strategical intelligence must be in the Army and the Navy, and I doubt that even my friend the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN] could do a better job than is now being done. Insofar as the House of Representatives is concerned, the Committee on Military Affairs are your experts on this subject. I am frank to say to you that they must know more about this problem than I do. So, you and I have to depend on them. I think they are good men, capable and competent, and in legislation such as this if we cannot depend upon the great Committee on Military Affairs, and upon the leaders of the Army, and give them and their word credence as to things military, then the democratic processes of this country have broken down.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NICHOLS. Yes.

Mr. McCORMACK. This rule enables Members outside of the committee to offer amendments as to the basic question involved in the legislation and that is age, is it not?

Mr. NICHOLS. Of course.

Mr. McCORMACK. And if this kind of a rule were not adopted, it means that almost any amendment on almost any subject, providing the words "provided, however," were used in connection with it, could be offered, and nobody would want that situation to exist, because it might result in legislative chaos if emotions obtained control. The rule does permit amendments to be offered on the fundamental basic question involved before the House.

Mr. NICHOLS. This is a perfectly sane, sensible rule, because the bill coming from the Committee on Military Affairs deals with many phases of the induction act, would have allowed all of that act to be open to amendment.

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NICHOLS. Yes.

Mr. GIFFORD. I do want to get this over, that in this particular war in respect to the matter of training, "that we are not teaching our boys today so much to die for their country, but rather to see to it that their enemies die for theirs." We want to know that our boys have the proper training to do that. I am glad that the gentleman has expressed his former and present sympathy, but does the gentleman not think that we could well do that ourselves, if the opportunity were presented?

Mr. NICHOLS. I know that it was laid down as the policy of this Congress that men should be given a basic training of 18 months. That was laid down as a policy against the opposition of some of my Republican friends on the Republican side. I know that today it is the policy of the War Department that men be given proper training before sent to combat. In the name of common sense, is there one among you who thinks that General Marshall and the other generals of the Army would relish the idea of taking into battle untrained troops? Of course not. It is their responsibility to win this war. Do you think they love the youth of this country less than you and I? Do you think the men who are heading the affairs of the Army and the Navy of this country think less of 18- and 19-year-old boys than we do? Certainly not. Certainly there is no one here who would say that there is any desire upon the part of those who lead the Army to send untrained men to the battlefields. That is fundamental. Even if they were only selfish to the extent that they only wanted to win and had no regard for human life, they would still want men prepared as best they could be before sending them to battle. There is no mystery, no shenanigan about this rule. You are still a majority group, and if this rule does not satisfy you, a majority vote will prevail.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NICHOLS. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. Is it not a fact that every man who enters the Army regardless of who he is or what his work has been in civilian life, is given certain fundamental training, and after that training has been given, he is selected by a group of specialists to proceed further with his training along the type of work he has indicated he is best fitted to perform?

Mr. NICHOLS. That is correct.

Mr. WALTER. So that it is impossible for a man to have found his place in a combat unit who has not been trained for the particular work to which he has been assigned.

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, let me say in answer to my distinguished friend from New York [Mr. CELLER] who said this bill may close all the colleges and universities of the land that I do not agree with his statement. I think there are ample safeguards in this bill against such a thing, but I may say to my friend from New York that if it is necessary temporarily to close every institution of learning in the United States to win this war we had better get about the business of closing them.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the rule.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. PATMAN) there were—ayes 212, noes 42.

So the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Com-

mittee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 7528) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 7528, with Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, no man alive regrets the world situation that makes necessary this legislation more than I. I regret the necessity of bringing this legislation to the House of Representatives. I stated on the floor of this House on the 17th day of last December that I was opposed to this legislation and would be until such time as I was convinced there was necessity for it. That time has arrived.

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide

In the strife of Truth with Falsehood—for the good or evil side.

And may I add here today that if we lose this war there will be nothing left for us to decide; our conquerors will decide for us just like they have decided for the nations of the earth that they have already conquered, and we shall have nothing to say about who shall work, where they shall work, whether a man shall work on the farm or in a factory, whether we shall be in one vocation or in another vocation; hence the necessity for this legislation today.

The House Committee on Military Affairs, after the President of the United States, as Commander in Chief of the armed forces, had stated that there was a necessity for this legislation at this time, decided it would act promptly, not only in the interest of the welfare of our country and our countrymen and of this generation and of generations to come, but we decided we would by such action take away the unjust, the unfair, the unreasonable effort of some elements in this country to place upon the Congress the stigma of waiting until after the election to pass this legislation. When your committee took up this bill they gave extensive hearings to the Secretary of War, to the Chief of Staff, to the Director of the Selective Service System, and to other military officers of the administration. After this hearing the committee wrote into the bill four different amendments, which the committee felt in view of the testimony were necessary to the proper administration of the legislation and to the proper prosecution of the war.

The first amendment the committee inserted in the bill was to the effect that no person between the ages of 18 and 21 should be discharged from service in the land or naval forces while this act was in effect because such persons entered the service without the consent of his parent or guardian. That was recommended by the Under Secretary of War



and was accepted and agreed to by the committee.

The committee approached another situation in which we found ourselves and which the testimony had disclosed to be simply this: That in the administration of the law as it exists by the more than 6,000 local boards throughout the country we had found that in their reclassification of persons in some instances and in some areas one local board had inducted every man they could find in class 1A. They had dipped into the higher classes which constituted the taking of married men even with dependents other than a dependent wife. We found that in other sections of the country local boards had not exhausted even the 1A men by large groups; so we wrote into the bill amendment No. 2 in section 5, which requires that those quotas be based upon the States at large rather than upon local areas.

The committee wrote into the bill another section by way of amendment. I am sure every Member present knows of the practice and the rule in the War Department for some time that they would not induct into the service a man who had been convicted of a felony. That practice had gone even to the extent of not inducting men who had been convicted of misdemeanors; for instance, a man might be convicted under some provision of the national prohibition law, might be convicted of a breach of the peace, but such court conviction barred him from admission to the service. We have provided that no individual shall be relieved from liability for training and service under this act or held to be not acceptable to the land or naval forces for such training and service on the ground of his having been convicted of any crime which is not a felony at common law if the local board having jurisdiction determines that such individual notwithstanding such conviction is morally fit for military service.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. MAY. I yield.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I find that the Navy declines to take young men into the naval service who have been discharged for what might be called minor misconduct; that is, where a group of sailors would kind of gang up and pull off what might be called gang tricks and for that have been thrown out. Under this provision can they get back into the Navy?

The boys have been thrown out and they cannot get back into the Navy. Is there anything in this bill which will tend to encourage the Navy to take those fellows back in who really want to get back in and prove they can behave themselves?

Mr. MAY. I do not know whether the provision that I have just read would encourage them to do it or not. That is a matter for the Navy. Their rules and regulations are not affected by this bill, to the extent this provision may affect it on this subject.

Mr. CRAWFORD. It is the intent of the committee recommending the bill that these young fellows who want to fight and who are physically fit, and with more or less training, may be taken

in and given a chance. That is the intent of the committee?

Mr. MAY. That is the intent of the committee and I may say that I have been of the opinion that sometimes a fellow who has maybe shot and wounded a man under heat of passion or in sudden affray, and although convicted, would make a good soldier.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I think so, too.

Mr. MAY. Another amendment that answers much of the complaint that we have heard about in reference to exhausting the colleges of this country is the one which we wrote into the bill providing that any person who during the year 1942 entered upon attendance for the academic years of 1942 and 1943 at any high school or similar institution or at any college or university may be deferred upon their own request until the end of the academic year, in no event beyond July 1, 1943. That amendment, to my mind, is ample protection for those who have already entered a school and those who may enter a college course or a high school course between now and the enactment of this law.

Mr. HINSHAW. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAY. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HINSHAW. I appreciate this provision is all right for this year, but the same provision should be extended for additional years, because there are many people going into high school who will graduate perhaps in June of the year in which they are inducted. Does not the gentleman think we ought to allow them to complete their secondary education, if we can?

Mr. MAY. That would practically nullify the purpose of this law, which is to win the war. We have gone just as far as the committee feels the legislation should go on that particular subject. Of course, you and I both, in fact no one here really desires to induct these young men, but as I have said the life of our country is at stake and the liberty of all these young men is in jeopardy as well as all our people.

(Mr. MAY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Chairman, to begin with, I wish to address myself to two amendments in this bill, and I would like your careful consideration of a few observations that I know the Members are interested in, judging from the remarks made during the consideration of the rule.

In the first place, I want to call attention to section 2 of the bill, the so-called educational deferment section. I might add in this connection that I was the author in the original Selective Service Act of an amendment similar to this which deferred students in senior years at accredited colleges until the end of that academic year or until July 1, 1941, whichever date came first. You will recall that the original act was passed during peacetime. It was passed at about this time in the year. A great many young men in those peacetimes had made their arrangements, financially and

otherwise, to attend higher educational institutions. The purpose of the amendment in peacetime was not to unduly disrupt senior classes at the colleges and to allow many young men to obtain their degree before entering the military service. The situation today is quite different.

We have a bill here today to draft into the service certain numbers, by lot, it should be recalled, of those 18 and 19 years of age, an age group which more vitally affects the colleges and high schools. The original bill proposed by the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] gave exemption to high-school students and students of similar schools during the last half of their academic year, or until July 1.

The committee saw fit to superimpose the provisions of the original Selective Service Act giving senior students in any school or college exemption to all students today until the end of the academic year, or July 1, 1943, whichever comes first.

I want to bring you back to the 18- and 19-year-age group. If this amendment is left in the bill, you will defer from selection the sons only of the wealthier group—the sons of the more fortunate citizens who happen to be in high schools or who happen to be in colleges throughout the country. You will automatically force the selective-service boards to take the sons of the poorer people who are not so fortunate—the sons of the farmers whom you do not wish to unduly disrupt—and you will throw the entire selection by the selective-service boards to the boys 18 and 19 years of age who are less fortunate. You will defer and exempt those with parents who happen to have enough money to keep their sons in school. That does not seem to me to be eminently fair.

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HINSHAW. Does not the gentleman think it would be wise to make provision so that the secondary school education can be completed if that does not run too far into the age group?

Mr. ANDREWS. The provision is to allow the completion of the present academic year. I am merely pointing out what will be the result if this stays in the bill.

Mr. HINSHAW. That is the first year. I mean for subsequent years where it is necessary to carry over a few months to finish the secondary education.

Mr. ANDREWS. Obviously I do not agree with the gentleman.

I also want to point out something in connection with section 5, which at the start I was inclined to agree with. This makes it mandatory by States for the Selective Service to take those classified I-A ahead of, we will say, II-A, II-B, or III-A. We all know of situations, particularly in large cities, where draft board boundary lines will come in the middle of a street; on one side of the street will be one draft board and operating on the other side of the street another draft board. The boards operating over these two districts may find themselves with two districts of different environments.



There will be more I-A in one district than in the adjoining district. There is a desire to take all 1-A men, particularly when these districts are together. There are neighborly and family contacts. They see one man taken here and over in the next district another I-A man not taken.

I want to remind you that in any amendment of the Selective Service Act to accomplish one purpose which usually results from what appears to be an injustice another injustice is automatically imposed. It is almost impossible to avoid that. We will assume that this bill is adopted with section 5. What will we do to the boys 18 and 19 in any draft area who are classified I-A?

We will force the draft boards to take more of the 18- and 19-year-old boys who are I-A and continue to defer some of those who have married. I am not saying that they have done so with the intention of avoiding the operation of selective service, but a young man of 18 or 19 under the provisions of section 5 will be much more liable to immediate service than he would be without the provisions of section 5.

I want to call those two things to the attention of the House. I think they are important. I think we should think twice before we adopt them. I am not at all certain but that both sections should not be stricken from the bill.

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. KILDAY. Referring to the fact that these 18- and 19-year-old boys would be called prior to young men who have been married within the last year or two, I call the attention of the gentleman to the fact that under the regulations of the Selective Service System every man who married after May 1941 is not regarded as being a married man for the purpose of dependents and deferment.

Mr. ANDREWS. That is correct.

Mr. KILDAY. So that the classification is fixed as of May 1941, and it could not be that men who married in order to avoid service would not be called before the younger men.

Mr. ANDREWS. But it would tend to increase the pool of young men in that category.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. With reference to the last amendment to which the gentleman has referred, General Hershey before our Committee on Agriculture stated that a large proportion of the men had been selected from certain Midwestern States like Minnesota, that is, our percentage quotas were larger than in some more populous areas. The result has been that a good many boys who should have been left out in the agricultural sections to produce food have been called into the Army. Does this amendment change that status so that we will have a larger supply of manpower there for our farms and essential industries?

Mr. ANDREWS. Not necessarily. It means that the draft board must take the I-A's ahead of the II-A's, II-B's, II-AR's, or III-A's before they dip into the other classes.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. It will equalize it so the same percentage will be taken all over the country rather than a larger percentage from a certain State?

Mr. ANDREWS. That is correct.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Then the amendment will serve our purposes. Mr. WILLIAM T. PHEIFFER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. WILLIAM T. PHEIFFER. Will the gentleman state what the attitude of the committee and the War Department is in respect to those boys who are attending accredited military schools such as Culver, Staunton, and other great military schools? Will they be permitted to complete their military course?

Mr. ANDREWS. That is already covered by basic law. Once the man reaches the senior grade of the R. O. T. C., he is automatically deferred.

Mr. WILLIAM T. PHEIFFER. Then they will be permitted to go ahead?

Mr. ANDREWS. It is a question of whether or not he attains the senior grade of the R. O. T. C. before his number comes up within the 18- or 19-year-old group.

I should like to conclude with a short review of selective service and I am talking to Republicans, not necessarily in the House, but I am talking to a number of Republicans who have written me with the expression that some sinister group has been behind selective service, that some sinister group was in favor of its extension, that another group is trying to bring in the 18- and 19-year-old boys today.

Let us look at the facts. The original Selective Service Act was proposed in 1940 by the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] who is in the House today. It was proposed in the Senate by Senator Burke. It had the complete approval of the War Department at that time.

A year later the move for extension of the Selective Service Act was backed by the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] and numerous Republicans in the Senate and House—not so many in the House.

Once we were at war, on December 7, the War Department came to the Congress. The Secretary of War and the Chief of Staff came to the Speaker's office and asked us to lower the minimum age grade then from 21 to 18. That very day they asked for 18, and the House refused it.

Now they come back 10 months later, as we knew they would, and are obliged to ask for it again. The first move for it was again made by the War Department. The two bills that were introduced in the Senate and the House were introduced by Republicans—Senator GURNEY and Representative WADSWORTH.

To those who say these men should have 1 year's training, and practically all of them will, I say Where would we have been on December 7 had we not

extended the act a year ago? Where would we have been with men with 12 months' training had we not extended the act a year ago?

My point is this, and I think I say it correctly, that selective service, the extension of selective service, and the move to lower the age bracket, have at least been initiated by Republicans and strongly supported by the War Department, sometimes not with the immediate support of the administration.

In conclusion, let me say that we could have had this a year ago, or we could have had it last December. The War Department wanted it just as strongly then as they do now. Any young man in this group who would have come in then would by now have almost completed a full year's training.

The time has come, Mr. Chairman, to let General Marshall and the War Department operate the Army with no more hamstringing by armchair theorists, congressional theorists, columnists, or anyone else. We are at war. We know this is necessary, and I hope the bill will pass as quickly as possible.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. THOMASON].

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Chairman, the time for general debate is very limited and, besides, I feel sure there is not a Member of the House who does not know exactly how he is going to vote upon this important bill. Time will not permit a discussion of the committee amendments to this bill with which I am not in full accord and since, under the rule, these committee amendments cannot themselves be amended, that matter must await the conference report or some later legislative procedure. After all, the real purpose and objective of this bill is to determine whether or not this Congress is going to induct young men of 18 or 19 years into the military service.

War is a horrible thing. All of us, I am sure, hoped we would never have to vote for a declaration of war such as occurred on this floor on December 8 last. We were left no alternative for Pearl Harbor forced us into war. I am sure, too, that all of us hoped the time would never come when we would have to vote for legislation like this. There was a time when I felt I could not support this bill, but I concur in the remarks of my distinguished friend from New York [Mr. ANDREWS], who just preceded me, in saying that we are in the worst war in all recorded history and we must now enlist all our physical resources. We might just as well face the cold facts. We are in a dangerous war and confronted with ruthless enemies who would make slaves out of all of us. In wartime, my judgment is that the only persons in whom we can repose absolute confidence in military matters are our military leaders and for that reason I find myself completely out of harmony and agreement with the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN], who said on this floor during the discussion of the rule that the War Department officials had been guilty of deceit and misrepresentation and that their purpose was to mislead. I do find myself



in complete agreement with the gentleman from New York [Mr. ANDREWS], who says that he has confidence in the high officials of the War Department.

I have the greatest confidence in the integrity, ability, experience, and patriotism of the Secretary of War, and I invite the Members of this House to read his testimony that was given before the Committee on Military Affairs 3 or 4 days ago and which is the first testimony in the printed hearings. It is a full and fair presentation of the war situation as it exists today.

Then I will go a little bit further. I have been on this committee now for 12 years and I have seen some distinguished chiefs of staff come and go, among them the brilliant MacArthur, the grand and able General Craig, but, in my judgment, there is none greater than Gen. George C. Marshall, and in him I have complete confidence. I saw in a recent issue of a popular magazine where somebody said "if George Marshall does not know his job, may God help the United States."

Now, the Commander in Chief, the Secretary of War, the Chief of Staff, and other high military authorities all agree and tell us that the time has arrived when it is absolutely necessary and imperative that these young men of 18 and 19, who are physically fit, shall be taken into the armed service and given proper and adequate training. I think that some of our colleagues have, by their very questions here, shown that the very opposite is intended by this bill from what they think it is. We must trust our military leaders if we are to win this war. These young men will be called in order that they may be trained and able to fight if and when it becomes necessary. It is for their protection as well as that of the country.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from Texas 2 additional minutes.

Mr. THOMASON. The very purpose and object of this bill is to see to it that these young men do have proper and adequate training, and the letter that the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] read this morning from the Chief of Staff was fully confirmed by his testimony before the committee in which he said that they have no other thought except to give these young men at least 12 months' training. Surely, General Marshall does not want to send inexperienced boys into combat service. He was on the battlefields of France in the last war and he knows from experience what lack of training means. He says we must have an Army of seven and a half million men by the end of 1943. We must have 2,200,000 in the Air Corps, 3,300,000 in the ground forces, and 2,000,000 in the Services of Supply. He also tells us he must have trained young men to insure victory.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMASON. I yield.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. We are in a desperate war, and we all know it. Is it not a fact that we must have confidence and trust our military leadership because they are the sole ones to conduct

a war and we must follow them and do what we can?

Mr. THOMASON. I agree with that statement 100 percent, and I think that is the view of almost 100 percent of this House. We have come to the time in this war when we can take no chances. It means work and sacrifice for every citizen in the Nation.

This bill will provide for more than 1,000,000 able-bodied young soldiers. Thousands of them have already volunteered. The testimony shows that in every war in which this country has been engaged, and, in fact, in every war in which every other nation has been engaged, the best fighting men were young men. We do not have to forget the sad days of our own Civil War. We know that on both sides of that great conflict the fighting men were young men. That was true in the last war, and the trouble in World War No. 1 was that thousands of those young men had no training at all to speak of. The very purpose of this bill is to see that these boys do have such training. I invite your careful reading of the testimony of General Marshall on that subject.

I am happy to state a fact which we all know and one to which reference has been made here several times, and that is the House Military Affairs Committee is not playing politics on a question like this. The printed hearings will disclose that we gave full and detailed hearings to the experts of the War Department and when it came to voting the bill out, there was not a vote against it in the House Committee from either the Democratic or the Republican side. I am informed that the very same thing happened in the Senate Committee yesterday. I am sure that this bill will be enacted into law before sundown. There seems to be some uneasiness that this legislation will close some of our high schools and colleges, but that is not borne out by the record. The War Department expects to encourage students of medicine, chemistry, engineering, and other technical subjects. They will be sent to appropriate schools to further their studies and at the same time give them military training. Many of them will be given educational advantages in the Army, and all will be afforded an opportunity to attend officer candidate schools. If we do not win this war our high schools, colleges, and universities will be converted into prisons and our athletic fields into concentration camps. We must and will win this war or all is lost.

The best measure of a nation's ground fighting strength is the number of trained and equipped divisions which can be committed to battle.

Recent estimates indicate that Germany has and can maintain 320 divisions with an additional 160 available to her from Italian, Rumanian, and other Axis satellites. A vast reservoir of conquered peoples and prisoners of war enable her to maintain an economic system adequate to support such a force. Because Germany has been building her army since the middle thirties, all of the 320 divisions are trained and capable of employment now. Japan is capable of maintaining

70 to 90 divisions. Thus, the United Nations are faced with enemies who between them can muster in the neighborhood of from 550 to 570 divisions now.

This total of 570 divisions which the enemy has to oppose ground forces of the United Nations deserves emphasis because it indicates the magnitude of the job which we have on our hands. At the present, Russian resistance is requiring the employment of approximately half of the Axis ground strength.

To provide effective striking forces on other fronts, our Army must increase its fighting power, measured in terms of armored, airborne, and infantry divisions, by at least 50 percent during 1943 if we are to strike the enemy with the maximum force that can be transported overseas—the force essential to translate air supremacy into total victory.

Mr. ELSTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield now to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. CASE].

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Chairman, I shall vote for this bill. I shall vote for it with a heavy heart. I do not like to send these boys to war. And, I want to go on record, now, as saying that the Congress and the administration which sends them to war has three great responsibilities: First, is to give these boys the best environment possible while they are in the Army; second, to give them a chance to complete their education when they return; third, to make good on our pledges to set up a world order in which such a tragedy will never come again.

Also, Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. ELSTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield now to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DEWEY].

Mr. DEWEY. Mr. Chairman, since I have been privileged to have a seat in this great body, I have voted on many important measures profoundly affecting the welfare and destiny of our free country of unconquerable people. But I do not believe any bill has ever been presented to us that gives me more pause than the bill we are debating here today, authorizing the drafting of boys 18 and 19 years of age into the armed service.

I am ever mindful that we are dealing with human lives, that we are passing on legislation which will send the youth of America through the hell of bombs and torpedoes. I am ever mindful that we are dealing with boys who have not yet reached full maturity of mind and body and who have not had opportunity to experience the richness of life. I am mindful of the parents of these boys. No man can but pause before casting his vote for this bill.

Mr. Chairman, the Commander in Chief and his military advisers have stated that this legislation is necessary in order to develop an army that will be the best in the world. Freedom is at stake, and I shall accept the judgment of those charged with the responsibility for the successful conduct of the war. I shall vote for this bill, as I have voted for



all other measures essential to an early and decisive and complete victory over those who challenge man's right to be free.

I am pleased to note that the measure as reported by the Committee on Military Affairs provides for the deferment of these boys in order that they may complete this year's work at a college or university or in high school. I wish this was made a compulsory deferment rather than left to the boys to request it.

It is not my purpose to tell our military leaders how to run the Army. Questions of military organization and strategy we must with confidence leave to our military men. But I cannot refrain from expressing the hope that when these boys enter the service they will be kept together and not placed with the older men. I sincerely hope that special attention will be given to their mental and physical care and spiritual guidance.

Youth is always fired with enthusiasm and a resilience of spirit, with vigor and determination. But it must be recognized that the 18- and 19-year-old boy lacks the maturity that only experience can bring, and that he must receive special guidance and care.

War demands a common partnership. We shall survive or perish together. It seems to me that all of us should be required to serve in some capacity related to the war effort. These boys must have the best food, the best ships, the best planes and best guns that can be produced, in quality and quantity. The whole nation's manpower must be harnessed for the common objective: victory for freedom.

Mr. ELSTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CLASON].

(By unanimous consent, Mr. CLASON was granted leave to extend his remarks in the Record.)

Mr. CLASON. Mr. Chairman, as a member of the committee, I call attention of the House to some of the testimony which came before the committee. All of us, of course, in the consideration of this bill are faced with a proposition which is not a pleasant one. None of us like to see these young men enter the Army and go off to war. We know that it will have a serious effect upon students in our high schools, colleges, and other institutions of learning. We do not like to see these interruptions in the orderly progress of young men into manhood. We were told by Secretary Stimson that this particular group of young men is "necessary to make an Army which can win this war against the kind of enemies that we have before us." He seemed to feel that unless we do take men of these ages and induct them at the present time, and put them into divisions which are being activated, it would not be possible from this time on to secure divisions of the age limits which could go into action successfully in modern warfare. These groups will furnish about one million and a half men. The effect of adding these young men to the lists at the present time is to keep married men with children from having to enter the Army for a period of 5 or 6 months at

the shortest. In fact, General Hershey gave us to understand that if this bill becomes law married men with children will probably not have to enter the Army under the Selective Service Act during the entire year 1943. In that connection I bring up the matter of men 40 years of age and over.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me for a matter of information?

Mr. CLASON. Yes.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. What are the requirements of Great Britain as to age?

Mr. CLASON. According to the record, I see it is 18.5 years, in General Hershey's statement; but I understand from the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] that it is 18 years.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. What about Australia?

Mr. CLASON. I think they are the same as England.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. And Canada? What are the requirements in Canada?

Mr. CLASON. As I recall, it is 20 years.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. And in either Canada or Australia, can a young man of any age be required to serve overseas without his permission?

Mr. CLASON. I am not familiar with Australia, but I am sure of this: That young men of those Dominions have been volunteering below the age of 20 in large numbers and are serving overseas.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I am told that Canada has not yet put into effect this draft law for overseas service. What is the gentleman's information on that?

Mr. CLASON. If the gentleman has the information, I suggest that he put it in his own time. I desire now to pass on to the question of people between the ages of 40 and 45. It is my belief that men over 40 years of age should no longer be considered under the requirements of the Selective Service Act. Mr. Stimson testified directly on this point that a man over 40 years of age who is capable of service in the Army is a "rare bird." When it comes to the point where the questionnaires of hundreds of thousands of men have to be handled in order to get a "rare bird" out of a large group of persons, it seems self-evident to me that that group can be excluded from the requirements of the Selective Service Act at this time without loss to the country or to the Army. General Hershey testified that the Army has lately taken on an undue number of men over 40, though the total is relatively small. He added that he felt the War Department should use them in positions other than in service with divisions. I hope he will also see to it that only the really physically fit are allowed to get into the Army. In some districts we find that married men are in this position. They are having their sons inducted into the service under this act, and then they are in turn under this act called upon to enter the Army within a few weeks after their sons have left home. That indicates that if the Selective Service Act is being carefully administered we are getting into a difficult and unfortunate manpower condition.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. ELSTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 2 minutes more.

Mr. CLASON. General Marshall testified he was appalled by the conditions in hospitals in the South, where he saw that in hospitals containing 3,500 beds a majority of all the men were over 35 years of age and a large number, a very large number, over 40. He said some of these men, or most of them, had been in the service only 2 weeks, and after they had been in service, some only 3 or 4 days, according to his testimony, they were hospital cases. It seems ridiculous that we should burden the Army and General Marshall with these men at all. They passed physical examinations and their organs, which have been able to carry on perfectly well in normal conditions, cannot stand up under the requirements of the Army training, and within 2 or 3 weeks they are in the hospitals under doctors' care.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CLASON. I yield.

Mr. ARENDS. I call the gentleman's attention to the fact that the general also made mention of the fact that many of these older fellows in the service were taken from civilian jobs where they were badly needed and put in the Army where they were serving to no purpose.

Mr. CLASON. He went further than that; he said that even for limited service they did not wish them in the Army over the age of 40 years. That was the flat and positive statement made by General Marshall, that they are not physically strong enough for even limited service over the age of 40.

Mr. O'HARA. Why does the Army take in men of that age even though they are passed by the draft board when the Army realizes they cannot perform combat duty?

Mr. CLASON. To cite a case in point, we are told that a man who has a heart good enough to keep him going in his peacetime pursuits cannot stand the rigorous physical demands of military life. He might have no trouble from his heart while at home, but sustained heavy physical tasks under difficult conditions result in heart ailments which may make him an invalid for years.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. MURDOCK].

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. Chairman, I very deeply regret the necessity for this legislation. However, I do realize the necessity for it and am prepared to vote for it. I am not on the committee reporting it, but I, too, take the word of the high military men concerning the great need. There are certain amendments which I would favor to whatever extent this bill may be amended under the rule just adopted, yet if I were to amend it as I would like, it might be less, rather than more, effective.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. ANDREWS] led me to believe that he is in doubt about the committee amendment on page 2, which defers for a part



of a school year, or until July 1, 1943, any 18- or 19-year-old boy who is now attending high school or college. I take it he is opposed to that provision. I am not opposed to it and shall support that amendment, for I should like to give every young man of that age at least until July 1 next year to complete the year of schooling he is now entered upon.

I cannot agree with the gentleman from New York that such a provision would defer sons of rich men only, and take into the service sons of poor men, for in recent years high schools and colleges have been attended by sons of poor men as well as by the children of the rich. That is one thing to which we point with pride—that our high school long ago became the college of the people. Very few are too poor to attend the high school. Even the college of late has not been the exclusive privilege of the wealthy class.

Something has been said here in debate to the effect that any deferment of teen-age boys would mean a deeper draft on married men. Possibly so, but it may be that we must take in more married men in any case, especially those without dependents, or with only a so-called dependent wife.

Some of my constituents have been complaining to me that there are too many young married men apparently deferred because of their having only one dependent. No doubt that is a matter which the Selective Service will take note of and remedy. I hope in our quest for more manpower for our armed forces, we shall go a long way toward reclassifying illiterates, those who have curable social diseases, and those who have found dependents only in very recent months.

I believe we have put off this step of calling younger men as long as we dare put it off, considering the dire circumstances confronting the Nation and the world. We all know that the Army wanted younger men in the beginning and I for one was reluctant to put the age limit down to 18 at first.

We may not be able to write an amendment into this bill requiring at least a year of training for these young men, before going into combat service, but there is every indication to my mind that the Army proposes that all shall have 12 months' training or more before going into combat. This should certainly be true of units also. I believe the military leaders are sincere both in their desires and their intent for such training.

Any training which these young men receive in the Army will in part compensate for their loss of a year or two of schooling. After all, what will a high school or college diploma mean to any one of these young men if America loses this war? A fraternity pin is a coveted decoration but in the event of our loss of this critical contest, other decorations heavier and less convenient will be provided for all of us.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER].

(Mr. HARTER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HARTER. Mr. Chairman, this is a solemn occasion in the House of Representatives today. We have an unpleasant but necessary duty confronting us. I only hope it will be possible for every Member of this House—and I wish it might be possible for every mother and father of every 18- or 19-year-old boy in this country—to read the record of the hearings before the Military Affairs Committee this week on this subject. I am sure they would be very much enlightened from the testimony that was given to your committee by the Secretary of War, the Chief of Staff, the head of the Selective Service, and other officers from the Staff of the Army.

This legislation has not only been recommended and approved by these gentlemen, but by the Chief of Naval Operations. All have made it very plain to the Military Affairs Committee that the 18- and 18-year-olds must be drafted, and immediately.

I think all of us who have followed our military development and progress, the building up of this superb civilian army of ours, have the fullest confidence in the high command of the armed forces of this country. God help us if we cannot have confidence in our military leadership.

Many of us who now urge the enactment of this amendment to the Selective Service Act some months ago opposed taking men for training in service below the age of 20. We hoped and we thought it would not be necessary to take younger men. With those liable for military service under the present law in the age brackets of from 20 to 45, the Army's experience in recent months, as many older men are called up, is that the average age in the newly activated divisions is greater than it should be. For instance, in August, the average age of a newly formed division was 28 years 2 months. Unfortunately, the experience of mankind and the history of the world proves conclusively that the brunt of all great wars have fallen upon youth. War is a terrible thing. In all its manifestations, none is worse than the sacrifice demanded of the young men of the Nation, particularly these 18 and 19 years of age, who we now propose to call.

Why do we do it? Because their youth, stamina, dash, and vigor are needed to bring victory and a speedier, successful conclusion than we can secure through the use of older men. The sooner and the harder we can strike offensively, the quicker the victory and the fewer casualties.

I do want to say this, however, in regard to the feeling on the part of some of you in the House that these men whom we are seeking to induct should have a year's training, that I was greatly impressed by what the Secretary of War said in answer to a question during the hearings. I shall read it to you:

Mr. HARTER. I understood from your testimony that you expected that the 18- and 19-year old selectees, in the event that the bill that the committee is considering becomes law, will be given a 12-month period of training before being sent into combat with combat divisions?

Secretary STIMSON. That is the program, sir, to be carried out as far as possible and as far as unexpected emergencies may allow.

These youths are not to be mustered into divisions consisting solely of men of their age. They are to be infiltrated with older men, so that there may be a leaven of youth as well as more mature judgment and experience in all divisions possible. Every one of these new selectees will have the Army's basic 13 weeks' training. It is the intention of our Army command to give as many as possible of these men a full year's training before they are sent into combat; however, it is the judgment of your committee that no such limiting amendment compelling a year's training before any of these men can be used against the enemy should be written into this bill. We might suffer unexpected reverses, the United States might even be invaded, and we would find ourselves in a sorry predicament if it was impossible to utilize the services of these youths who would be so eager to meet the foe under such circumstances. Furthermore, many of these men will enter divisions now in training after they have had their basic courses, and naturally their progress will be much more rapid as they learn from the older and more experienced men who have been in training for weeks and months.

It must be apparent to all of us who have given thought and consideration to our military problems, and, of course, I say this merely as a layman, that the number of troops that we can send to overseas duty is completely interlocked with two things—production and transportation.

In the first place we must have adequate weapons and supplies, including heavy equipment for every division sent from this country. Not only are we called upon to adequately supply and support our own troops, but we know that we are not as yet adequately supplying others of the United Nations, notably Britain and Russia, with the arms and supplies we have promised.

Next is the greatest stumbling block, the limiting factor in any scheme or plan to bring our might into this fight at an early date. That is transportation—ships, tonnage. We all know the German has taken a terrific toll of American and Allied shipping during the last year, and particularly during the earlier months of this year, when enemy submarines were operating so successfully in the western Atlantic. What none of us do know is how many precious cargo ships with arms and supplies being transported to our forces overseas, to England, Russia, and elsewhere, have been sunk. We cannot send greater armies to the several theaters of war unless we have the shipping to take them, together with their initial supplies and sufficient ocean-going transportation to



maintain a continuous service of supply to such expeditionary forces.

The fears of some that these new selectees would be sent out of this country without adequate training and without being fully equipped have no foundation when we consider the realities which confront us relating to production and transportation. We are fighting an entirely different war than that of 25 years ago. Not only are weapons changed, but the handling of great bodies of troops is different. This has been largely a war of movement and maneuver as distinguished from the trench warfare of 1917 and 1918. The airplane has become so important in warfare that no victory either on land or sea is won without its potent assistance. Small movements of troops equipped with tanks, motorized and mechanized equipment, possessed of tremendous striking power have achieved unexpected victories over huge armies which were unable to grasp the tempo of today's war. This was peculiarly demonstrated in the military campaign leading to the fall of France.

Let me again say that we, the Representatives of the American people and the public itself, must rely in military matters upon the judgment of those trained in the profession of arms—the ranking officers of the United States Army and the United States Navy. Determinations of military strategy are properly reposed in their hands. We defer to their judgment as is proper, in determining when and where offensive action shall be undertaken by our forces. They and not we will initiate and embark upon a second front; yea, even perhaps a third, fourth, and fifth front when they feel the time is right. When, in the judgment of General Marshall and his staff and Admiral King and his advisers, we are told the drafting of the 18- and 19-year-olds is a military necessity, I am content to accept their recommendation and do what I can as one Member of the House to carry into effect their considered judgment.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SHAFER].

[Mr. SHAFER of Michigan addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. THOMASON and Mr. KILDAY asked and were given permission to revise and extend their own remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILDAY].

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Chairman, there is no issue of the character of war in which we are involved. Likewise there is no issue on the question that we must accept the advice and the decisions of our military men upon military subjects. Our military men have told us that it is essential that they have within our Army the dash, the vigor, the stamina and the courage of boys 18 and 19 years of age. They have told us that unless we do have boys in that bracket and their attendant characteristics we are not in a favorable position to win the war. Therefore, I

accept that as being true and on that basis I voted to report this bill and upon that basis I will vote to pass the bill.

They have told us that to require that these boys when taken in be retained for training for a period of 12 months will handicap the military effort and encumber the prosecution of the war. Therefore the Committee on Military Affairs rejected that proposal and I for one will vote against any such proposal if made now or in any subsequent proceedings on this bill.

The fact that military men make a recommendation does not make the subject upon which they recommend a military question.

They have made no recommendation actually as to my amendment on the educational feature of this bill. There was an educational feature in the original Wadsworth bill that was stricken out and my provision was inserted in lieu thereof. Under that provision a boy might continue in the last half of his academic year in a high school or similar institution. No objection was voiced against that provision by General Marshall or Secretary Stimson. The provision I have offered is almost a verbatim copy of the provision contained in the original Selective Training and Service Act of 1940. It provides for the educational protection of these boys during the present academic year only, ceasing to exist on July 1, 1943.

Mr. Chairman, we are in the position of coming here and changing the law after the academic year has started, and after these boys and their families have made commitments. I call your attention to the fact that the recommendation to lower the draft ages left the War Department more than a month before it ever reached the Congress of the United States. The proposal left the War Department prior to the beginning of the present academic year, but it was held in the Bureau of the Budget and only reached the Congress during the present week.

To permit these boys to complete this academic year is not going to disrupt the military situation. If this bill becomes law without some such provision as contained in my amendment, the day after it does become law the high schools and colleges will be emptied. They will be emptied at a greater rate than even the Army wants to take these boys in, because the boys are not going to wait for you to draft them; they are going to enlist; and you know it. If this bill is finally passed in such shape that you say to them, "You cannot even complete this academic year," they will join up immediately.

If you will read the hearings carefully you will be as bitterly disappointed as I am. This proposition has been under consideration for months. It has already been debated here that the original proposal of 1940 was to draft boys 18 and 19 years of age, but you will find not one governmental agency has a program to bring here with reference to what is to be done to provide for the disruptions in the society of this Nation which this bill brings about. You cut off the entire training of doctors, engineers, physicists,

and all the other specialists, yes, your clergymen, too, because you will take them when they are in high school and before they have begun any specialized training. That is not a military question. That is a question of legislative policy and it is definitely the function of this Congress to see to it that we keep a continual supply of these vitally necessary professions in this country. It is a tremendous task, I grant you, but we should have been given here a program to provide for those disruptions. If you will observe the feeble efforts and the supposition as to what might be done in this regard, you will understand my disappointment. My amendment is just an expedient, that is all. But my amendment will hold the problem in proper balance for the time being. Even though there has been unnecessary delay in formulating a program, this will provide an opportunity to formulate it and carry it into execution. Unless this becomes law with my amendment it will be too late to correct the situation, because your men are going into the military service and you are not going to get them back into school. That is not a military question. The amendment involves a civilian question and a question of legislative policy for this Congress and I feel the Congress would be remiss in its duty if it failed to carry it out. My amendment is only a stop-gap until such time as a proper program is formulated and presented.

The other amendment which I have offered, and it has been criticized also, has the effect of requiring that the various categories be called in the order of preference provided in the regulations. These categories were set up under the provisions of a law we passed not before the declaration of war, but in July 1942.

These categories have been set up and roughly provide for the induction of single men ahead of married men, married men without children before married men with children, and so on. However, this order of preference applies within each local board only. My amendment would make those categories apply throughout each State as a whole. Therefore, no married man would be called as long as there remained in his State single men who had not been called.

This will remove the principal cause of concern, criticism, and lack of unity in the country over the administration of the Selective Service Act. It will place every man within the same State in exactly the same position, and you will not have a man living on one side of the street, married, or perhaps married with children, going into the Army, while across the street, but in a different draft board territory, single men with no dependents remain out of the military service.

You will not disrupt the Army or Selective Service System either, because General Hershey, Director of Selective Service, has made the recommendation to the State directors that they carry that into effect. All are not doing it. My amendment makes it mandatory upon the States that they do so. After all, we are still a federation. It is still the United States. The obligation is upon the State



as a unit. When a call goes out for hundreds or thousands of men from an individual State, it is the obligation of the State, not of the various sides of the streets within a city, to fill those obligations.

I say that these two amendments carry out the legislative policy which we should carry out and which is necessary to actually discharge our duty.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KILDAY. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I commend my colleague on both of these amendments, especially the latter, which corrects a situation that has caused a great deal of dissatisfaction among the people who are drafted, some who have a wife and children going from one place and others who are unmarried going from another place. This will make it uniform throughout each State and see that the will of Congress is carried out.

Mr. KILDAY. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KILDAY. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. O'HARA. The gentleman has spoken on a subject which has been very close to my heart in connection with this problem; that is, what are we going to do to fill the gap left by the induction of these young people who are taking advanced education? The only schools that will not be affected by this are West Point, Annapolis, and the Marine Corps school.

Mr. KILDAY. That is correct. We brought that out in the hearings.

Let me go into this a step further: This will be a tremendous upset to our Military Establishment itself because our land grant colleges in the United States will be closed under this bill if some provision is not made similar to what I have here. The great Texas A. and M. College, the largest military school in the world, has furnished more Army officers than West Point itself, many times more, turning out more than 800 junior officers a year. Under the Selective Service Act only those holding senior R. O. T. C. contracts are deferred. Only students in the last two years of college can hold senior R. O. T. C. contracts. With the course of study reduced to 3 years instead of 4, that means that within 2 years you will have abolished your land grant college production of Army officers.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS].

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I have always said I would never vote to draft teen-age boys unless I became convinced this was a military necessity to prevent failure in our war effort. I am now convinced of that necessity and will vote for this bill.

I regret that Congress has delayed so long in facing this issue, and I regret that, once having decided to meet it, full hearings were not held and that solution of the whole manpower problem, of which this is only a part, has been delayed again

by Congress. Those in control in Washington, however, have seen fit to bring up this single question now, in this way, for decision. Shall we draft the 18- to 19-year-olds? Based on the evidence at hand, I am ready to vote "aye."

Two questions control the decision. What are our manpower resources for military service? What are our military manpower needs? If we have enough fighting men to meet our military needs, we should not draft these boys. If there are not enough fighting men unless we take them, they must go.

I am convinced we cannot build the armed forces now planned without taking these boys. I listened closely to the hearings before the Military Committee. Before that I made my own investigation in the Ohio selective-service offices and in local boards at home. My district, my State, and my country cannot meet the demands of our fighting forces without taking these boys soon, and many men now classed as having dependents will be coming with them soon.

The II-A's and II-B's, able-bodied men without dependents, deferred now in war industries and essential civilian positions, should be replaced by women and older men as soon as possible and sent into combat service. This replacement will take time in order to prevent a breakdown in production. There are surprisingly few of this group, even in an industrial State like Ohio. They amount to less than a third of the 18- to 19-year-olds in available manpower.

We must clean out the fighting material in Government jobs, clean out the stay-at-homes in the War Department, and still we will not have enough.

Do we need seven and one-half million men? I have gone into this, as much as I could, off the record, with high Army officials. On this question we must rely on our military leaders. I believe they are figuring carefully, taking account of our need for production, our training and transport facilities, and the far-reaching commitments our Government has made. I have always felt we should concentrate on Navy and Air Force in a global air-power struggle, and I find substantial agreement on this. Certainly our Navy and Air Force are spread over the globe. The number of ground troops needed, however, to protect and supply our air and naval bases is staggering. We see in the Solomons how important that protection is. Subtracting the antiaircraft, coast and harbor defense, and other troops needed here at home, I can only figure about 100 fully supported divisions in this vast Army. Obviously we will not be furnishing the mass armies to oppose Japan's 90 divisions and Germany's 300.

We will not have seven and one-half million men ready for combat until 1944. We cannot secure the necessary combat forces for an Army over 5,000,000 unless we take the 18- to 19-year-olds.

Taking these teen-age boys is a hard thing to do, but war is hard. I have received heart-rending appeals from mothers, and I am deeply conscious of the great silent appeal of all the mothers, "Do not take my boy until you have to."

I wish older men could go and do the job as well.

We could raise a company or so in this chamber in a few minutes, if they would let us fight. I wish our enemies would send out only their older men so that we could meet them with our older men, but the age-old, brutal, ghastly truth remains, "Old men make wars, young men fight them." These teen-age boys of ours will be fighting alongside teen-age allies, against teen-age enemy fighters. Of course they are immature, many of them, but remember we have taken the young men in the best years already. The men who are left are not nearly as good as these boys in quickness, in stamina, in obedience, in endurance. This was true in the Civil War, when the average age of the Union Army in 1865 was 19½. I saw it myself in the World War, when I was an old man of 20 in the air service.

What will happen to their education? Many of them will receive college training in the sciences and professions necessary for warfare. The Army Selective Service and the Manpower Commission are working on plans for this. I feel it is unfinished business for Congress. There is no question, however, but that for most of them their education will be delayed or will be different from their present plans. There is no question but that this war is going to affect our education, our culture in this country. These boys will come back men, as boys always have, from wars. They will have learned much. They will insist on learning more. We must plan ahead for that time and have our educational system ready, not for boys but for veterans. If we win we can do this. If we keep them out of service and lose everything in order to save their education now they will have paid too dear a price for it. That is the hard decision we must make today. I am ready to make it.

(Mr. VORYS of Ohio asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DITTER].

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Chairman, the President is the Commander in Chief of our armed forces. Upon his shoulders rests the responsibility of leadership in the prosecution of the war. It is a serious and far-reaching responsibility. It includes the duty of making a common-sense appraisal of the tasks which have been undertaken and a practical evaluation of the means at hand to accomplish them. It is an intensely realistic responsibility. Of necessity, it entails the obligation to accept censure for failures as well as the right to claim credit for successes.

The President has seen fit to issue a military command which reaches into thousands of homes of our land—the command to the 18- and 19-year-old boys to become a part of our fighting forces. This recent command is a part of the President's responsibility of leadership. He is charged with the duty of securing the necessary information—facts and figures—upon which the command is



based. As Commander in Chief these facts and figures are available to him. Unfortunately, the Congress has had to depend on the President's military advisers who have given much in the way of opinions, but little in the way of factual information. Whether accurate appraisals can be made under such circumstances is doubtful.

On December 8 of last year I cast a vote by which I approved a resolution of war. I was not unmindful at that time of the seriousness and the magnitude of the undertaking. In that resolution, and I studied it carefully at the time, the Congress pledged "all the resources of the country" in order "to bring the conflict to a successful termination. Those resources include the manpower of the Nation—those whom the Commander in Chief calls into service. To carry out the pledge which we have made, I can see no other course than to provide the legislation which is intended to carry out the President's command.

I am not convinced, however, Mr. Chairman, of the wisdom of the step. I find it difficult to reconcile the immaturity of the 18- and 19-year-old boys, taken as a whole, with the fearful and frightful demands of present-day battle combat. Witnesses who appeared before the Military Affairs Committee of the House insisted that lowering the age limit was not only a national necessity, but that it would prove to be a distinct advantage to our fighting forces. The needs of the Nation must be met. Our situation is perilous. For the moment we must depend upon our present military leaders acting under the direction of the Commander in Chief. But there is grave doubt in my own mind of the advantage which it is claimed will accrue.

I cannot dismiss from my mind the large number of young men here in Washington and elsewhere occupying civilian posts who appear to have been the beneficiaries of unjustified deferments. Before this new group is called what is being done with the deferred? What is being done about favorites who are claimed as indispensable? These are questions that the American people are asking, and they have the right to an answer.

In expressing my regret at the step which is being taken, I cannot refrain from an observation with reference to the manpower problem as a whole. It is not being dealt with as fully and completely as it should be. For some reason, and many of us are suspicious of the reason, certain aspects of the manpower problem have been studiously avoided. Piecemeal efforts have been resorted to in approaching a solution of that which is a closely related and integrated problem. The lesson has been brought home to us more and more, day by day, that men working and men fighting are both parts of a single effort in the successful prosecution of the war. The problem should be solved without further delay. If our 18-year-old boys are to fight, it is not too much to ask the older men to work.

The events of the last few days cannot be overlooked or disregarded. The news has been disquieting. The magnitude of

our undertaking presses itself upon us. We are called upon for an all-out effort if we are to win. The American people have been called upon for every sacrifice. God grant that our leadership be challenged to an all-out service.

(Mr. DITTER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. GEHRMANN].

Mr. GEHRMANN. Mr. Chairman, after we were attacked at Pearl Harbor, I made a promise to the people I represent, as well as to our Commander in Chief, that I would go along with the Commander in Chief and his aides in anything they requested that would further our war effort and assure a speedy peace. I have lived up to that promise.

Today we are considering a question that is very controversial. The question of drafting boys of teen age is not an easy one to decide but, again, I am going to live up to my promise since the Commander in Chief and those responsible for carrying on this war tell us that these boys are needed in order to prevent calling upon married men with families.

Personally, I feel that I would prefer to have the single men drafted than to break up homes, especially where children are involved. On the other hand, in looking around the Government departments, I find that thousands of young men, married and single, are being shielded from the draft because it is claimed that they are needed in these departments to further the war effort. I know that thousands of them are nothing more than stenographers, typists, and messengers, who could be replaced by women or older men and, therefore, I do not believe that their presence in these departments is essential to winning the war. I know that there are many thousands of married men here in Washington whose wives are employed at a good salary. The same thing can be said of many young men who have been taken into some branch of the service as Reserves, subject to call whenever it is deemed necessary. These young men are requested to remain in school and take up certain studies until they are called. I would prefer to have them called immediately before we resort to drafting the youngsters of 18 and 19 years of age.

It is understood that, if this bill passes—and I am sure it will—those boys in school now will be permitted to finish out their school year. It is further understood that none of these youngsters will be sent into combat zones with less than a year's training. Therefore, I feel that I must follow the advice of those who are charged with the duty of conducting this war and vote for the bill but I want to emphasize again that I do hope that none of these youngsters will be drafted until the supply I mentioned above has been exhausted.

(Mr. GEHRMANN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BRADLEY].

Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I opposed the conscription for military service in peacetime. I voted against the original Selective Service Act. I voted against the extension of time in which those original selectees would be held in the Army, not only because I believed it to be a breach of faith on the part of the Congress, but also because the Congress, having originally established a limit on the size of the Army which could be conscripted, by its refusal to extend the time of individual service would have created a gradual turn-over in the Army as these men had completed their year of training service and, therefore, in effect given us a larger army trained—or in the process of training—had the act not been extended.

I remind you that both of these negative votes of mine were cast while we were still at peace. We are now at war. War changes everything. When we voted to declare war we pledged every resource of this Nation to the successful prosecution of the war—we pledged our manpower and our physical resources, private as well as public.

The bill before us today, coming to us with the recommendation of the President and with the recommendation of all of our military leaders, calls upon us to pledge further manpower—the surging power of youth. We have no alternative but to vote in the affirmative.

In company with about everyone I know, I had always hoped that it would not be necessary for us to draft 18- and 19-year-old boys for the armed services. Hundreds of thousands of them have already volunteered and are valiantly serving in each of the several armed services. There is no question but that young muscles and youthful enthusiasm and courage are needed to fight today's warfare.

This week I listened very attentively to the testimony of Secretary Stimson and Generals Marshall, White, and Hershey. All of them have long been convinced that there is no alternative but enroll these younger men. Our military leaders have determined that to fight this war we will need in the ground Army, the air forces, and the Services of Supply 7,500,000 men by the end of 1943. This, you will note, is in addition to the manpower requirements for our Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, which will probably total around 2,500,000 by the end of 1943.

Despite the fact that all branches of the service have repeatedly lowered their physical requirements, the fact remains that we just simply cannot find enough single men, or married men without children or other dependents, to fill up these demands of the armed forces while at the same time maintaining essential agriculture and essential war industries.

When we first started building this huge Army the various Army units, as organized and activated—that is, put into training as a combat team, comprising each of the several kinds of combat units needed to make one complete task force—averaged about 23 years of age. This is



considered a good average age for an aggressive offensive fighting team. However, we are fast running out of the younger men, with the result that the draft boards now are sending forward to camp an ever-increasing number of older men—yes; even farmers of 34, with one eye—as actually happened recently in Rudyard, Mich.

Illustrative of the alarming increase in the average age of our Army is the testimony of Mr. Stimson, which I quote:

They show that a division activated in March had an average age of 26 years and 2 months. In June the average of such divisions had risen to 27 years and 5 months. The average by July was 27 years and 10 months. The average age in August was 28 years and 2 months. That is the average of the divisions being inducted at this time.

This is definitely too old an average for the rigors of modern mechanized and air warfare. Even that superbly trained physical specimen, Joe Louis, in announcing his retirement from the ring recently, stated that at 28 years he was too old to continue to fight in the ring. Modern warfare is almost as exacting in its strain on the human system. An army averaging 28 years is too old to fight an offensive war, and we must fight an offensive war to win.

Older men cannot be trained, and many of them are physically and organically unable to stand such strains as dive bombing, long, forced marches, or the bumps and bruises incident to tank warfare. General Marshall testified that in most of our huge training centers the hospitals are literally overloaded with older men whose health has broken under the strain of trying to get themselves trained to withstand the rigors of the youthful requirements of today's warfare. Yet some of our recently activated units are averaging 50 percent of men over 35 years of age. Such a unit is bound to fare badly in actual combat against the trained, youthful, and experienced armies of our enemies. They are not fit for combat service, and yet, having passed the so-called physical examination on their induction into the service, can claim service-incurred disability and become a permanent charge on the Government under the veterans' compensation laws.

The Army has determined that it takes at least 12 months to train a combat team and therefore it plans that it will not send any units into battle which have not had at least 1 year's training as a unit, received either in this country or in one of our foreign establishments not immediately faced with the prospect of combat action.

The Army plans to use these young boys not as a unit by themselves but rather it will sprinkle them through units now in training in which the present average age is too high for an effective combat unit. In addition, none of these boys will be drafted for the next several months for the reason that it will take that long for the local boards to act. Furthermore, it is expected that boys in school will be permitted to finish their present school year, providing that year is up by July 1, 1943.

There can be no question that there have been many inequalities and injustices in the operation of the Selective Service Act in the past. However, those difficulties are recognized and it is to be hoped will be speedily dealt with by General Hershey. For instance, General Hershey agreed that agriculture was our No. 1 problem at the moment, and promised that very much more careful consideration would be given in the future to the deferment of essential farmers. Today about 536,000 otherwise eligible farmers and students are on deferred lists. It is recognized that there are today in war industries, and especially in the aircraft industry, 556,000 eligible young single men who can very easily, and without marked loss of efficiency in the production line, be supplanted by women or older, more experienced, workers. For instance, the average age of young men working in the aircraft industry today is about 22 years. General Hershey expects that most of these will be in the Army within the next year. He has held numerous meetings with officials of the aircraft and other war industries, insisting that these young men are more needed in the fighting forces and that those industries form definite schedules to replace them with women and older workers. They will be drafted.

It is recognized that there are far too many deferred young men in civilian employment in the Government and even within the War Department itself and General Hershey promises that these too will be in uniform and in combat training in a very short time. They, too, will be drafted.

Mr. Chairman, again I repeat in view of the very complete and convincing expert testimony of those military experts charged with the successful prosecution of this war, to the end that total victory will be ours, I sincerely hope that the vote of this House will be unanimous in support of this measure, introduced by the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH].

In conclusion, I want to say this: For the good of our Nation and for the preservation of our American form of government and our American way of life, I do think it is most unfortunate that this bill has been delayed in the manner it has and for what seems to me to be obviously political reasons. Once again the Congress is being unjustly accused of unwarranted delay and inactivity. Some press commentators have gone so far as to praise the President for goading Congress into action. It is well to recall the facts, some of which are stated in the hearings on page 13, which I quote as follows:

Mr. EDMISTON. Mr. Secretary, our committee has been informed consistently—we were informed all along—that the General Staff did not want this legislation until 1943. Now, our committee wrote to you, sir, on September 8, asking for a report to this committee on this legislation. That report arrived here yesterday afternoon, on October 13. That period was from September 8 to October 13.

What I cannot understand is that the War Department takes 5 weeks to answer a request for a report on this legislation, and on the same afternoon that the report arrives our

committee is called up—I do not know whether the President or you called up the committee—and told, "We want hearings tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock on this bill and we want this bill passed by Saturday." Why the hurry all at once?

Secretary STIMSON. May I say just what I know about it?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Secretary STIMSON. The letter which has just come to you from me yesterday afternoon was sent very much earlier than that, but, under the machinery of our Government, it had to go to the Bureau of the Budget first, and it has been lying there for quite a long time.

Mr. EDMISTON. It was the Bureau of the Budget that held up the report to this committee?

Secretary STIMSON. Well, I do not know; but it did not come out until then. I have not delayed it since the time I sent it.

Mr. EDMISTON. A good many of us are thinking that to rush this legislation through 2 weeks before election is not very smart.

Secretary STIMSON. The only thing I want to say in regard to that is that I do not wish to have any member of this committee, on which I have a great many friends, think that I contributed to that delay, and I do not think that any member of the War Department did.

Mr. Chairman, we recall that this bill was introduced by the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] on September 7. The War Department has long recommended the lowering of this age limit. Nevertheless, the President in his press conference of September 11, stated to the mothers of the Nation in effect—"your boys will not be needed until the end of 1943, have no fears about their immediate call, because the Army has not the facilities to train them until the end of 1943."

All of us in official Washington appreciate that the Bureau of the Budget and the Director of the Budget, function directly under orders of the White House. It is the Director of the Budget alone who gives the green light to legislation when he reports, "This legislation is in accordance with the program of the President," and without which green light most legislation is foredoomed to failure in committee or on the floor. It is of factual note, therefore, that the report from the War Department was not permitted to reach the Congress until the day after the President's latest fire-side chat on August 13, when he reversed his earlier position.

Mr. Chairman, the reports from the Solomon Islands in the South Pacific are dark and foreboding. They seem to substantiate beyond all reasonable doubt the recent statements by responsible military leaders that we are losing this war. It is about time we start winning this war and it is about time to put an end to all political interference with the war effort—in fact as well as in weasel words.

(Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks in the RECORD.)

(Mr. DIRKSEN asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FENTON].



Mr. FENTON. Mr. Chairman, I certainly have no desire to take up the time of this committee because we are all using up valuable time at this moment, as I see it. We are all aware of the position our Navy and Army are in at Guadalcanal and many other points right now. Even while this debate is going on, many of our boys may be paying the supreme sacrifice.

As a member of this committee, I heard every word that every witness said who presented himself before that committee. Of course, these witnesses were mainly from the War Department, witnesses who should know our exact status in the present conflict, witnesses such as the Secretary of War, the Chief of Staff of our Army, General White, of G-1, Personnel, and General Hershey of the Selective Service System.

We also heard General Magee, the Surgeon General of the United States Army. As a physician, I am naturally interested in the health and physical well-being of the personnel of our Army. I was well pleased when our distinguished chairman saw fit to ask the Surgeon General to testify before our committee. The Secretary of War had previously stated in answer to an inquiry of mine that this legislation had the sanction and approval of the Surgeon General of the United States.

Much has been said about the testimony given by the Secretary of War and the other witnesses before the committee. I want to quote just a few things that the Secretary of War really did say. He said that the legislation was approached and advised mainly through and based upon history and upon experience.

To my mind this is true of all legislation because it should be based upon history and experience.

The Secretary of War went on to say further:

In facing a great, critical war like this, we naturally look back to similar occasions so far as they will help or throw light on it; and I think I am stating the truth when I say that in every major war that the United States has had to carry through, it has been largely carried through by men under 20, from 18 to 20.

He further went on to say:

The contingencies now foreseeable make it imperative that this pool of available military manpower should be still further widened than it was in the existing law.

He pointed out that in a letter he had sent to the committee he had stated:

We have a very high responsibility to our generation and to those to come, to develop, with a minimum delay, the finest possible Army that we can develop to meet the emergency, not only armed with the best and most plentiful implements of war but composed of superlative fighting men who, man for man, will surpass in ingenuity, in self-reliance, in determination, and in stamina the best soldiers available to our enemies.

He further pointed out that it was necessary that our Army be animated by the youthful enthusiasm and resilience of spirit which has surged through all the earlier American armies.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. ELSTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania 2 additional minutes.

Mr. FENTON. The Secretary of War was very emphatic about securing the youth of our Nation between these particular ages when he said:

It is youth that is making the power of our enemies—youth zealous for power and for the destruction of liberty. It is the strength of the armies that we have got to fight against. And, on the other side, it is American youth which is our strength and upon which the virility of our effort must depend.

The Surgeon General, in answering certain inquiries about why so many men were being turned down physically, stated that some 40 percent were being so turned down; and I asked him what was the reason for this; I asked him also whether our standards were higher than the standards in other countries or whether we were not in such good shape as we should be. He stated:

When we went into the training program before war was declared our physical standards were set at a very high level because it was looked upon as a training program. There seemed to be no good reason to bring men in who had physical disabilities which might interfere with early assumption of military training. The requirements have been lowered some in the light of our need for more soldiers. They have been lowered, not in respect to disabilities that are likely to be incapacitating but rather in respect to those things that are static, such as defects of vision and possible deficiencies in teeth, but certainly not in the case of involvement of any of the vital organs. I think, by and large, that our physical standards are fully as high as those of any army in the world, probably more exacting.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. WHITE] such time as he may desire to use.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, the Members of this House are working under stress today; most of us realize that in time of war a good soldier must obey the Commander in Chief. We have received our orders but we are not soldiers. This is the Congress of the United States—a deliberative body; we are legislators working under a most serious disadvantage in dealing with a bill that is being rushed through the House without time or an opportunity to consider its far-reaching effect on the welfare of our country or study its full effect on the outcome of the war. We know that the present position of our country among the world powers and our military and naval strength must be credited to the education of our youth in technical schools and institutions of higher education, and that this training has given our country the creative technicians which has developed our great American industries that have given our country its military and naval might.

Knowing as we do the importance to our country's industrial effort the technical and scientific training of our youth in the critical years between the ages of 18 and 21 it seems folly to take these boys out of school and put them in the Army when we have already provided for an army of 5,000,000 men that we are putting under arms as fast as we can; a military force that we are unable to move to the theater of war or adequately supply even if we could transport them over seas. In face of these conditions it is

demanding now of this Congress that we pass this bill and sacrifice the training of our youth for the technical and scientific work on which our very success in winning this war must depend.

We have accepted the plan that we are to be the arsenal of the democracies. To fulfill this responsibility we must produce the ships and munitions to arm the fighting forces of our allies, and for our Nation's defense we have provided manpower for an Army of 5,000,000, and now we are called upon to sacrifice the education of our immature, untrained youth on whose future so much depends.

Let us hope that the Army will realize its responsibility and provide the technical and scientific training necessary for the full utilization of the manpower they are taking from our schools.

(Mr. WHITE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks in the Record.)

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN].

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Chairman, during the nearly 6 years that I have been a Member of this House, no piece of legislation has come before us that has given me greater concern than this particular legislation. Every humane feeling that I have cries against the idea of taking these boys. I have said all along that as a general principle I was opposed to it and would remain opposed to it until I was convinced it was necessary in order to win this war.

The men upon whom we have placed the responsibility of winning this war have come before us and have said that it is necessary, and I agree with the statements that have been made by various gentlemen speaking this morning to the effect that we must place our confidence in those men.

This is a total war, a war that demands every single resource that we can muster. It is for that reason and because these people upon whom rests the responsibility of winning this war have come before us and in no uncertain words have told us they deem it necessary in order to insure our national security that I am very reluctantly supporting this legislation.

I want to say a few things with reference to it. Personally, I think it could have been avoided. Back in the beginning, when our first divisions were built up, the physical standards were so high that only the choicest young men were taken. They were placed in those early divisions, and in those divisions we have a low age average. In the divisions that have been more recently activated we have seen that average age go up month by month until in the last division that was activated that age has reached the alarmingly high point of 28 years and 2 months. The military experts that came before us testified that 25 years was about right. During the World War the average age of our soldiers was 24.664 years, and it is because of the rising average age of these divisions that those in authority in our armed forces have represented to us the necessity of taking in these younger fellows. They admitted to us that it is not a question of quantity, that the present manpower reservoir is



sufficient to raise an army of seven and a half million men, but if we used only that reservoir we would have to look for that average age of divisions to go up and up and up. As I say, there have been mistakes made. I think it is a great mistake to take so many of our young, able-bodied young men and put them, for instance, in these desk jobs in the departments here in Washington, and have others spend their time as commissary clerks, chauffeurs, and in so many other places in which they are being used. I think it has been a mistake to turn back young men with simply minor physical defects. Nevertheless, the harm has been done, and it is too late to correct it in order to take care of this rising average age which we see in these divisions that are being formed. I think had a volunteer system with reference to these boys been pushed actively, this thing could have been very easily avoided, and I was greatly encouraged 2 weeks ago when the announcement came out that the Army was going out after these young men, encouraging them to volunteer. That would have been a selection, whereas what we are offering to you today is a mass induction, a mass induction of 18-year-old boys, regardless of whether they are sufficiently matured physically and mentally or not. In this connection, having to do with all these facts and figures that have been presented to us as to the fitness of these boys for soldiers, I shall read to you some excerpts from the Medical Department of the United States Army dealing with World War No. 1, found in volume 10, section II, chapter VIII, page 430. After giving the total of the men in the service and those that were troubled with neurotic diseases, it says:

These figures reveal a marked disproportion between the admissions to the hospital of men under 21 and their number in the Army at large, 77 percent more men from these groups being admitted to the hospital than their proportion in the Army would lead us to expect. That is, there was a marked tendency for men under 21 years of age to develop neurosis in greater number than their proportion in the Army would warrant.

I cite those facts to you in order to establish, even in the face of the fact that I am going to vote for this bill, that we must not be content to stop with this legislation. This thing has not been thought through yet. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILDAY] discussed the educational situation, which is most serious. As a matter of fact, the Army officials themselves testified that if we are to win this war, we must not be concerned alone with the welfare of those armies out on the front lines, but we must be equally concerned with the armies at home backing them up, and this stream of doctors, dentists, chemists, engineers, technicians, and trained men of every kind must come along in our civilian life and must not be stopped. It must continue to flow from our colleges, and yet this bill, as we present it to you today, dams it up completely. I say there must be considerable thought given to this by this Congress and those who are to administer this act, and I hope before these boys are taken we may have time in connection with the general manpower prob-

lem to come back here with a recommendation that will make these immature 18-year-old boys subject to the process of selection rather than mass induction.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Mr. COOLEY. Does not the gentleman consider the statement he just read in the report of World War No. 1 a complete answer to the argument made here on the floor of the House by the Military Affairs Committee to the effect that boys under 21 are better equipped for combat service than men over 21?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I am a member of the Military Affairs Committee, and I have never agreed to that statement. I say that probably if selected, they would, and yet, in that connection, I call attention to the fact that every one of those boys under 21 in World War No. 1 was in there because of voluntary service. I simply say to you, it challenges our thought and attention to additional action.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Mr. KEFAUVER. The gentleman referred to these able-bodied young boys who have desk jobs. Is not that being largely taken care of by the Army Specialist Corps and other branches trying to replace them?

Mr. SPARKMAN. There have been 300,000 red-blooded Americans who have made application to the Army Specialist Corps to serve. I think that five or six thousand of them got a job.

You have seen the treatment that has been given them, the mimeographed form letter giving them a complete brush off. A hundred thousand veterans of the first World War at the Kansas City convention pleaded with the Army for a chance to serve.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Is not this what we have to think of: Not whether the boys under 20 are better than those above, but whether the boys under 20 are better than the older men we shall get? We have got to face that problem.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Oh, no; by taking the young married men and by paying careful attention to occupational deferments the Army can be raised. I am not speaking against the bill; I am simply saying it must not be accepted as final and complete. It calls for additional thought and additional action.

The Secretary of War, the Chief of Staff, and the Chief of Personnel of our War Department have all assured us that all of these young men will receive adequate training. They very frankly admit that it cannot be certain that every boy will get a full year's training before being sent into combat, it will be their purpose insofar as possible to do so.

We must have confidence in them to do this.

I think it would be well to keep in mind that enactment of this measure does not mean that married men without children will not be taken. It simply means

a postponement of their induction by 2 or 3 months while these young men are filling the quotas.

With reference to the education angle so well discussed by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILDAY], and to which entirely too little thought has been given, I herewith include an editorial from today's Washington Post:

#### YOUNG MEN

The habit of tardiness in recognizing necessities and then of rushing them onto the statute book when those necessities have become immediate, as well as inexorable, is illustrated in the current effort to draft the teen agers. It would be an act of folly to leave the draft boards to induct the teen agers just on the basis of physical fitness. There are other considerations which must be borne in mind. Here is a pool of some 2,500,000 youths upon which this Nation must rely for future leadership. Many of them are in the process of finishing professional training in our colleges. They are our potential doctors, chemists, physicists, and technicians generally. If they are inducted, their half training would be made useless. It thus requires no effort of the imagination to realize that the future progress of the country may depend upon the wisdom and the prudence with which we nurse these fledglings to professional maturity.

General Hershey, head of Selective Service, told the House Military Affairs Committee that there could be no economic discrimination in drafting the teen agers. He is, of course, right, and it is true that the waiving of college students would be discriminatory. Not in order to avoid that charge but as a matter of national interest, however, a youth program—either as an amendment to the selective-service law or as part of a national service act—is urgently needed which will be aimed at the conservation of our embryonic professional talent, wherever it might be. Such a program is required by the exigencies of this war. In addition to the need flowing from the danger of haphazard induction of college youths, there is the need which has been pointed up by the stoppage in the flow of impecunious but worthy high-school boys to college.

From time to time this situation has been called to the Government's attention. Boys are being kept away from the colleges by forces operating both inside and outside the campus. Most of the colleges are now accelerating their courses by leaving out the summer vacation. Graduation is therefore possible within 3 years. But this acceleration, while invaluable in getting young men ready for war tasks ahead, actually means that many a poor but deserving boy is deprived of a college education. For the boy who has to work his way through college usually makes the wherewithal during the summer vacation. If, however, he has no leisure in the summer, he cannot work, and if he cannot work, he cannot go to college. Moreover, work is available to any high-school boy nowadays in the factories, and at wages, also, which heretofore would have been regarded as fabulous. Thus, there is a dual reason back of the falling off in college enrollments.

Our educators for some time have been pointing with alarm to this situation. And with every reason. The situation is likely further to deteriorate unless action is forthcoming. It represents a waste of manpower even without thinking of its consequences to peacetime America. It needs no argument to show that a college training is necessary to provide the engineers and managers and specialists and technicians in our war industry. A college training likewise is invaluable training for officers in the new type of warfare. This is shown in the composition of our new Army. Twelve percent of the



selectees are college men, yet of the men chosen from the ranks to go to officers' training schools 80 percent are college men. In these circumstances it behooves the Government merely as a war measure to maintain and, indeed, to expand the flow of youth to our colleges.

Yet, if the 'teen agers are taken without any safeguards, a hemorrhage from the colleges will be added to the falling off in enrollments. The whole problem is too important to leave to either the draft boards or any directive from Selective Service. The unevenness of both policy and administration in connection with the draft does not yield any confidence that in this matter the draft authorities would be either wise or prudent. Congress in this instance should act as the custodian of our potential leadership in war and peace. As it happens, a plan has been knocking around for months upon which statesmanship should seize. It is being pushed by Dr. Edward Elliott, former president of Purdue University, who is now in charge of professional supply and training for the Manpower Commission. Under this plan the Government would subsidize the bright but poor boys who in normal circumstances would try to work their way through college. This would remove any charge of economic discrimination which might be raised by the waiving of capable college boys from the incidence of the draft till their education has been completed.

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Brooks].

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, I listened with interest to my friend and colleague who has just spoken. While I agree of course fully with the conclusion he reached, I am inclined to disagree to some extent with his line of reasoning.

The bill before us is designed to bring about the building of an army of seven and one-half million men. This does not mean merely seven and one-half million men taken from our civilian population and put in the armed forces; it means more. This bill does not include the personnel of the Navy, the Marine Corps, or the marine service; it simply contemplates personnel of the Army. We did not at our committee hearings receive the figures covering the program of the Navy and the Marine Corps, but it is safe to say that when the figures covering the personnel of the Navy as we have it and the proposed Navy as we expect to have it, the Marine Corps as we have it and the Marine Corps as we expect to have it, the figure of seven and one-half million men will go up at least a million and perhaps two million more. The problem before the Army is to get out of the civilian population seven and one-half million men in excess of the number needed in the other armed services of the country.

I approach this matter, I believe, Mr. Chairman, as reluctantly as any member of the committee and perhaps as reluctantly as any Member of the House of Representatives. A colleague said awhile ago that there are times that call for courage in voting; perhaps this is the time. There is, however, always a time in war that calls for courage among not only the armed forces but the civilian population, and problem after problem presents itself in that manner calling for courageous solution. I approach the matter reluctantly for two reasons: First

the natural reluctance of a person who has seen and known war against drafting young men out of homes, out of schools, and out of the colleges of the country; and secondly I approach with reluctance and hesitation the problem of drafting anyone into the maelstrom of war.

We approach this problem of waging war with the same realization of the tragic seriousness of the hour when we in this body recognized war to exist between this country and the Axis nations. I perhaps, if you will pardon a personal reference to my own experience, am one of the few Members of this House who served in the armed forces of the last war who falls within the age group this bill will now call into service. I know the ability of the young men of 18 and 20 to go into service, to respond to training almost immediately, to carry on under severe physical punishment, to carry on in the face of fatigue and to recover from that fatigue. I have seen older men fall by the wayside when young men of 18 and 20 carried on and still did the job with perfection.

When the Chief of Staff, Gen. George Marshall, and when other generals representing our War Department came before the committee and told us that young, active men were the men who respond immediately to training, that those were the men who can actively wage a war of movement, in a real sense I could understand their position and their necessity. Tragic as the fact of war is it calls for the best and not the worst from our society. If we are going to win we must, unfortunately, give to the Army and the Navy the best we have—both physically and materially.

As one of my colleagues has already said, when this Congress recognized a state of war to exist, we passed, I believe without a dissenting vote, a resolution pledging our resources, both materially and physically, to the winning of this war. I have yet to receive one protest to the passage of this resolution either from Louisiana or from any part of the United States. By the passage of this resolution, this Congress pledged all of the resources—not a part of them—to this purpose. We pledged not only all but also the very best of all of our resources; and if we are to protect this Nation and its people, if we are to rise to the full responsibilities of this solemn hour and give our Army what it says is vitally necessary to preserve our land, we must support this bill and expand our armies as the needs of the hour tragically require.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. ELSTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time to the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. PLUMLEY] as he may desire.

BILL JONES IS DEAD

Mr. PLUMLEY. Mr. Chairman, I shall vote for this bill but let nobody think that I have not felt the burden of the responsibility which rests on me as I have contemplated what my vote should be on the pending measure to amend the Selective Training and Service Act to include the 18- and 19-year-olds. It is no easy task I have to perform.

I almost wish there were some honorable way for me to avoid having to as-

sume the responsibility. I know full well what it means to millions of fathers and mothers, many of whom have written me protesting against the enactment of this measure. On the other hand, an equal if not greater number have said to me that if it must be done in order to save us from the degradation and disgrace of Hitlerism, they would not be heard to complain. Of course I should not and do not intend to shirk my responsibility in the premises, but it is not, I assure you, a pleasant place in which to be found.

#### JUSTIFICATION FOR VOTE

I must have a reason to justify my vote in the premises. I am satisfied that here are the facts we face as detailed by those whom we hold responsible for the winning of the war. It stands to reason that unless you or I have the necessary evidence to prove that these statements are false, then there is but one thing for us to do, only one thing to do no matter how much we dislike to do it. That is to support them and to follow the advice of those responsible for winning a victory. They tell us that unless this proposed act becomes law we shall face defeat not only in arms but that we will lose all that we now have or hope to have or ever hope to be. That is an ultimatum. We must win this war. There can be no turning back.

#### WE ARE LOSING THE WAR

The first fact that is brought home to us in startling fashion is that we are losing this war. Too many people in the United States are not disposed to think that it could happen here, but it is happening here, despite all the fireside chats to the contrary. It is time we Americans were shocked out of our complacency. It is time we stopped playing politics and went out to win the war and to save ourselves. There can be no question that up to date we are losing this war. There also can be no question that the responsibility for this situation does not rest on Congress, notwithstanding any and all attempts to make it appear that such is the fact. Congress has furnished the money, has made the men and the means available for victory. That the situation has been mismanaged, and vitally so, is a fact which cannot be overlooked and one which Congress cannot long permit to go unchallenged if we are to win the war. The situation confronting us is one of which the people, through their Representatives, will eventually have to take notice.

Our colleague, Representative SPARKMAN, of Alabama, has forcefully told you a lot of truths this afternoon with respect to the mistakes and mismanagement responsible for the awful situation in which we find ourselves today, which makes the enactment of this law absolutely necessary.

So we come to a situation which ought not to have confronted us, but does, which makes it necessary to commandeer the youth of this country in order to save us from ourselves and our enemies and to preserve and conserve our lives and liberty.

#### REPORT OF MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

The Committee on Military Affairs says in its report on the bill—



That there are two compelling reasons why young men 18 and 19 years of age should be made subject to the selective-service laws at this time.

The first of these reasons is one of supply. The Director of Selective Service advised your committee that the number of single men physically capable of performing military service is nearly exhausted. This fact, together with the statement of the Secretary of War that he contemplates an army of 7,500,000 men by the end of 1943, makes it imperative that a new source of manpower be developed. Such manpower can be obtained either by the induction of married men, or by including the 18- and 19-year-old groups within the operation of the selective-service laws. While the induction of younger men is by no means a complete solution of the manpower problem, the induction of these men will interfere least with the normal economic processes of our country. Their induction will be least destructive of industry, agriculture, and other wartime civil pursuits, and will also least disturb the normal domestic relationship which is the basis of American life.

The second, and the more essential reason in favor of the induction of 18- and 19-year-old men, is one of quality rather than quantity. It is essential that we develop immediately the finest possible Army which can be built to meet this emergency. This army must not only be provided with the best of weapons, but it must be composed of superlative fighting men—men who individually will surpass in ingenuity, in self-reliance, in determination, and in stamina, the best soldiers of our enemies. These criteria require that our Army be fired with the enthusiasm and resilience of spirit found predominantly in young men. It is American youth which can provide the virility and the strength upon which our effort must depend.

It is only natural and human that we desire to protect the youth of our land, and thereby to provide for the continuing advancement of the greatness of our country in future generations. Modern warfare, however, pursues a pace more violent, more terrific, and more pressing than has ever been known. The future of our country, the preservation of our liberty, and the lives of us all make it imperative now that a youthful army capable both in physique and in spirit of meeting the terrible demands of modern warfare be created without delay.

#### THE SECRETARY OF WAR

The Secretary of War in a letter to Chairman MAY, of the Committee on Military Affairs of the House, says:

The War Department supports H. R. 7528 for reasons which are manifest in this critical period. The harsh fact is that we have a high responsibility to our generation, and to those to come—an urgent, immediate responsibility to develop, with the minimum delay, the finest army in the world, not only armed with the best and most plentiful implements of war but composed of superlative fighting men who, man for man, surpass in ingenuity, in self-reliance, in determination, and in stamina the best soldiers available to our enemies. The urgency of this task cannot be overemphasized; our own survival is in the balance. Its accomplishment demands the substitution of current necessity for our peacetime preferences, and the necessity is this: That our Army be animated by the youthful enthusiasm and resilience of spirit which has surged through all earlier American armies, that in our human desire to protect the youth of our land we remember the terrific pace of modern war, that we realize, above every consideration, the imperative necessity of creating an army, as quickly as possible, more efficient, more determined, more ardent than Europe and Asia can produce after 10 years of concentrated training and indoctrination.

Youth zealous for power and the destruction of liberty is the strength of our enemies' armies; American youth is our strength, and despite our wishful thinking or the dictates of our hearts, the virility of our effort must take precedence. We must face this truth; I should be derelict in my responsibility to this country and its heritage should I fail to voice it.

Members of 18- and 19-age groups are peculiarly well adapted to military training. This is military axiom. Their response to leadership, their recovery from fatigue, their enthusiasm or "flair for soldiering" are exceptional as compared with older age groups. The simple act is, they are better soldiers, and never before in its history has the American Nation more urgently needed exceptional soldiers.

Not only do 18- and 19-year-olds represent a relatively untapped source of manpower for increasing military needs, but medical records also reveal that they have a higher percentage physically fit for service than any other age group. Furthermore, it is patent that the induction of young men between the ages of 18 and 20 would be less disruptive of industry and agriculture, other essential wartime civil pursuits, and domestic relationships than that of any other age group. However, even these facts must remain subordinate to the fundamentals charting our course—we are fighting against slavery, our survival or defeat will save or destroy the freedom of our children and that of millions in the world. These stakes are in the balance against our preferences. The War Department is convinced that our goal must be paramount, and that individual and national preferences must be secondary to the exigencies of war.

So there we are. Our duty is plain, despite the cost our liberty is worth the price we shall be called upon to pay to preserve and to conserve it.

#### UTILIZATION OF RESOURCES

There is nothing to be gained by my making a lengthy speech concerning the issues that are involved. I do wish to make my position plain, however. I am one of those who, right or wrong, believes that there should be mandatory deferment of students until at least the close of their present senior college year. I am firmly of the opinion that we should utilize our established, recognized, accredited R. O. T. C. units, such as V. M. I. and Norwich, and others, in which we are efficiently training officer personnel, to our 100-percent advantage. I agree that not every R. O. T. C. unit comes within that category, but certainly there are several R. O. T. C. units at colleges and universities in this country which measure up to the requirements for the training of officer personnel. This has been proven beyond all possibility of any contradiction. There is no discrimination if the making of officer personnel is the issue. We must make officers where we can and as best we may and as rapidly as we can.

I am also definitely opposed to sending these teen-age troops into combat without at least an approximate or the equivalent of a year of training. To do less than that, it seems to me, would be not only unwise but involves an unnecessary sacrifice of manpower. I am 100 percent for adequate preparedness and proper training of the troops. I know that the lack of such preparedness will cost us much more than the mass multiplicity, numer-

ically, in alleged accretion can possibly gain for us now. If the World War taught us anything, it taught us that.

We are always slow to recognize where we are. We should have utilized the Civilian Conservation Corps to have trained millions of young men for duty in our armed forces; but we would not. We are very slow to recognize necessities. The editorial writer in the Washington Post of this morning covers the situation very satisfactorily from my standpoint when he says:

#### DELAYED RECOGNITION OF NECESSITIES

The habit of tardiness in recognizing necessities and then of rushing them onto the statute book when those necessities have become immediate as well as inexorable is illustrated in the current effort to draft the teen agers. It would be an act of folly to leave the draft boards to induct the teen agers just on the basis of physical fitness. There are other considerations which must be borne in mind. Here is a pool of some 2,500,000 youths upon which this Nation must rely for future leadership. Many of them are in the process of finishing professional training in our colleges. They are our potential doctors, chemists, physicians, and technicians generally. If they are inducted, their half-training would be made useless. It thus requires no effort of the imagination to realize that the future progress of the country may depend upon the wisdom and the prudence with which we nurse these fledglings to professional maturity.

From time to time this situation has been called to the Government's attention. Boys are being kept away from the colleges by forces operating both inside and outside the campus. Most of the colleges are now accelerating their courses by leaving out the summer vacation. Graduation is therefore possible within 3 years. But this acceleration, while invaluable in getting young men ready for war tasks ahead, actually means that many a poor but deserving boy is deprived of a college education. For the boy who has to work his way through college usually makes the wherewithal during the summer vacation. If, however, he has no leisure in the summer, he cannot work, and if he cannot work, he cannot go to college. Moreover, work is available to any high-school boy nowadays in the factories, and at wages, also, which heretofore would have been regarded as fabulous. Thus there is a dual reason back of the falling off in college enrollments.

Our educators for some time have been pointing with alarm to this situation. And with every reason. The situation is likely further to deteriorate unless action is forthcoming. It represents a waste of manpower even without thinking of its consequences to peacetime America. It needs no argument to show that a college training is necessary to provide the engineers and managers and specialists and technicians in our war industry. A college training likewise is invaluable training for officers in the new type of warfare. This is shown in the composition of our new Army. Twelve percent of the selectees are college men, yet of the men chosen from the ranks to go to officers' training schools, 80 percent are college men. In these circumstances it behooves the Government merely as a war measure to maintain and, indeed, to expand the flow of youth to our colleges.

Yet, if the teen agers are taken without any safeguards, a hemorrhage from the colleges will be added to the falling off in enrollments. The whole problem is too important to leave to either the draft boards or any directive from Selective Service. The unevenness of both policy and administration in connection with the draft does not yield



any confidence that in this matter the draft authorities would be either wise or prudent. Congress in this instance should act as the custodian of our potential leadership in war and peace. As it happens, a plan has been knocking around for months upon which statesmanship should seize. It is being pushed by Dr. Edward Elliott, former president of Purdue University, who is now in charge of professional supply and training for the Manpower Commission. Under this plan the Government would subsidize the bright but poor boys who in normal circumstances would try to work their way through college. This would remove any charge of economic discrimination which might be raised by the waiving of capable college boys from the incidence of the draft till their education has been completed.

We might as well understand, if we do not now know it, that to win this war is our first business, or else there will be no business for any of us. Our first business is to win this war.

#### AN EXECUTIVE ORDER

There is altogether too much loose talk, too much carping criticism. Those who are so ready to tear down have usually nothing to offer to help build up. This does not mean that when we realize that a situation has been mismanaged or mishandled we should keep still about it. But it does mean that we ought to have something to offer to help avoid a recurrence of such a situation or to block the source of such error. The truth is we are getting nowhere because we are trying to go too many ways at once due to the lack of coordinated effort, which lack is based on the fact that we have too many bureaus the heads of which each are bound selfishly to assert themselves, rule or ruin, win or lose. It is regrettable. It will spell our destruction and our disgrace. It is time to put a stop to it. An Executive order would do it.

In conclusion, let me read you an article taken from the Kiwanis magazine, entitled "Bill Jones is Dead":

Bill Jones is dead.

Bill Jones had just graduated from agricultural college. He was ambitious to put into action all he had learned about conservation of soil, better breeding of cattle, rotating crops, because his dad's farm was in pretty bad shape. When war came, Bill enlisted in the Army.

Bill went to the Philippines and the little town where he was billeted was overrun by a horde of Japs. Bill fought as long as he could and then, under orders, surrendered. They tied his hands behind him, a Jap soldier started to rape a white woman. He had torn her blouse off when Bill kicked him in the belly, and three Japs waiting their turn rammed their bayonets into Bill's guts.

This happened about the time you were telling the folks at your house that it was all darned nonsense to ration sugar because cake and candy were certainly no diet for soldiers.

Bill Jones is dead.

He was a soda jerker in a small town, and when the bands blared and the flags fluttered, he signed up for the Navy. They put him on a torpedo boat. He learned to wear his hat on the corner of his head, and to roll when he walked. Then his boat got into a scrap down in the South Seas. Bill stood by his gun and laughed as he fired it, but a shell hit the deck beside Bill. When he tried to pull himself to his feet, he saw that his right arm was in the scuppers 5 feet away. He reached for his gun with his left hand, and then

things went black. The list of the ship rolled a dead sailor into the scuppers where his dismembered arm lay. Its extended thumb touched the tip of his nose, so that in death as in life, Bill was thumbing his nose at the Jap ship that got him.

This was just the same day that you were raising hell because they were rationing gasoline, and for fear you couldn't drive up to the lake to go fishing every week end this summer, you hid four cans of gasoline in your garage.

Bill Jones is dead.

Bill's dad had a lot of money, and when Bill wanted his own plane, dad bought it for him. Bill was a wild devil, driving a car out of all reason and flying a plane the same way, and getting drunk too often. But he was the first man in his town to respond to the Air Corps' call for flyers.

Bill got into a dogfight over the English Channel. There were six German planes, but with a "lallyho" Bill dived into the bunch of them. He got two before a third one sent a burst of bullets into his back that almost cut him in half, but he held on to the stick until he rammed the fourth plane and went down with it locked in the flaming embrace of death.

This happened about the time you were bellyaching and feeling abused because of the outrageous treatment given you by the rationing board which would not allow you recaps for your pleasure car.

Bill Jones is dead.

Bill was a boy who had inclinations for the ministry, but when the call came, Bill laid aside his Bible and joined the Marine Corps. Bill wasn't much fun around the blanket where they were shooting craps, and he wasn't so hot at the beer-drinking contests in the jukes, but he earned his sergeant's stripes before they sent his gang ashore in one of those new boats which land through the surf.

The fistful of fighting fools charged a machine-gun nest, and Bill had just taken careful aim and let go with a hand grenade when another machine gun caught him. Four bullets hit his head, but a marine has four speeds forward and no reverse, and Bill fell toward the enemy.

That was the afternoon when you were sitting at the golf club with a highball in your hand, telling the other tree fellows in your foursome that if income taxes were not reduced, they were going to kill initiative in this country.

Bill Jones is dead.

Bill was a football player who had good prospects as professional coach at a good small college. Then came Pearl Harbor. Bill used some football language and headed for town to sign up with the parachute troops. He did all right.

Bill got action in an air raid in enemy country. He hit the ground with a dozen of his pals and raced to where their machine guns and grenades had landed near them. Fully equipped, they made for a nearby farmhouse from which bullets were spraying like water out of a garden hose.

Six of those machine gun bullets fairly cut Bill's legs off, but he lay on his belly in the mud and got two Heinies. Bill's last words were, "Of all the damn fool luck!"

That was the time you were telling the boys at the poker game that the union racketeers and the munition manufacturers were making fortunes out of this war, when we had no business getting into it in the first place.

Bill Jones is dead.

Bill was an uneducated clam digger on the New England coast, but he knew about boats. He had only one eye and the uniformed ranks would not take him, so he shipped on a tanker. His ship was bringing oil up the coast when a German pig boat came up out of the slime and set a torpedo into the hull amidships. The freighter burst into flames

and Bill went over the side into the burning oil.

When he came to the surface, a machine gun was practicing on the bobbing heads. When the bullets hit Bill's head, it burst open like a dropped egg. His charred bullet-riddled body sank beneath the surface.

That was the night you were telling the folks at your party that this war is being run by a lot of old women in Washington, the most mismanaged mess you ever heard of.

Bill Jones is dead. When God in His infinite kindness meets Bill Jones at Heaven's gate. He is going to say, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant!"

What He is going to say to you, God alone knows.

(Mr. PLUMLEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ELSTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. JENKINS].

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, the country is tremendously interested in the matter that we have under consideration here in Congress today. The matter is one which has in it a great human interest appeal. Many matters considered by Congress apply to taxes and tariffs and other abstract subjects in which many of the people are not personally and immediately interested. But this matter that we are considering now is one in which a very large percentage of our families are interested and is one in which millions of parents and millions of boys are vitally interested. Every 18- and 19-year-old boy in America and the fathers and mothers of these boys are interested.

We are in a most serious and crucial period and it is not an easy matter to determine just exactly what is best to do. We are all determined that we will win the war and that we will do everything we can to bring that about as speedily as possible. The question is whether we need at this time to call the 18- and 19-year-old boys into the Army.

Personally I find myself between two very strong sentiments. I have felt that the 18-year-old boys in the high schools of the country should not be drafted into the Army and I have also felt that I must do everything that I possibly can by vote and voice to assist in winning the war. I have maintained that we should all be firmly determined to sustain the commanding officers in the Army and the Navy upon the theory that they do and should know what is best for the country from a military standpoint. In other words my heart goes out to the parents of young boys who are not yet mature and who are not ready to take upon themselves the responsibility of rigorous military activity, and at the same time my judgment tells me that the only safe course for us to follow in military and naval matters is to follow the advice of our military and naval chiefs.

I have felt that the best solution of this very serious question would be for us to pass a law bringing the 18- and 19-year-old boys under the draft but with the express provision that they should not be sent to active duty in any foreign country until after they had been given at least 12 months of preliminary and preparatory training. I think that if



this House were permitted to express itself today on this question its expression would be in favor of giving the boys a year's military training. But the Rules Committee saw fit to bring before the House a rule which when adopted prevented an amendment to be offered to the bill providing that this training should be given to these boys. I voted against the adoption of the rule because I felt it was not fair in that respect. I felt that the Members on the Rules Committee should not have taken upon themselves that much responsibility and that much authority. This is a matter that the House could have well disposed of because it involves no intricate matters and involves no principles that cannot be easily understood by any member without much study or preparation. These gag rules should not be adopted except in very complicated matters and matters that are technical and difficult to understand except after much study. Now that the House has adopted the rule and has prevented the membership from offering such amendment providing for this training, the only other means of relieving this situation would be an amendment that would release the 18-year-old boys from the provisions of this bill. No doubt an amendment will be offered to this effect. If such an amendment is offered I expect to vote for it because I feel that boys who have not yet graduated from the high school should be relieved from the application of this bill at this time.

I agree that there are many boys 18 years of age who have developed until they are fully capable of carrying on the work of a soldier. Many of these who have been thus developed and who have been inclined to do so, have enlisted in the armed services of the Nation. Many others no doubt will do so. There is no question but that many of these 18-year-old boys will make fine, courageous soldiers and sailors. They have done so in every war through which the country has passed. But there are many boys who have not reached maturity at 18 and who are not qualified physically and who do not have the natural development that a soldier should have. It is because I know from experience that many boys at 18 are not ready for the service that I will vote for such an amendment.

If this amendment should fail, of course I will then vote for the bill. I will have done my best to justify my judgment. The fact that the President has recommended and insisted that the 18- and 19-year-old boys be inducted and the fact that General Marshall of the Army and General Hershey of the Selective Service have strongly advocated the passage of the bill providing for the induction of these boys are convincing facts in favor of the bill and I naturally feel that I should support the measure. I will do what I can to perfect the bill, but, if we fail in that, then I think it is my bounden duty to support the measure, for as I have heretofore stated I feel that we must all stand behind our Commander in Chief and the commanding officers of the Army and the Navy in all military and

naval matters and especially in all matters involving the prosecution of the war.

(Mr. JENKINS of Ohio asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks.)

Mr. ELSTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DONDERO].

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, the bill before us—H. R. 7528—proposes to lower the draft age from 20 to 18 years. This same proposal was before the House on December 17, 1941, nearly 1 year ago, and was defeated. At that time the War Department did not ask for a lowering of the draft age to 18 years, and neither did the Military Affairs Committee of this House ask for it. We had just entered the war less than 2 weeks before and the necessity for such a step was not deemed essential. I voted against it then, but supported the amendment to register young men between 18 and 20. The difference of opinion between the House and Senate at that time on the age question was compromised at 20 years. That is the law now.

Since December 1941 the magnitude of this terrible war in which we are now engaged has become apparent to all who would read. It is a war waged on every continent and on every sea. Not only are we now required to provide for our own defense but also to furnish our Allies with vast amounts of war materials. Large units of fighting men must be provided if we are to preserve the Nation in our way of life. The demand upon the manpower of the country is enormous. Already married men with dependents have been inducted into the service to meet military requirements. As we prepare to strike our enemies, the military and naval might of this citadel of freedom must be increased. To do this the reserve manhood of the land must be called into service.

For 2 days I listened intently to the evidence offered by Secretary of War Stimson; General Marshall, Chief of Staff; General Hershey, in charge of the Selective Service; General Magee, Surgeon General of the Army, and others. Each and every one stated as his opinion that it was necessary for the success of our arms to lower the draft to 18 years. Ten months ago, in addressing the House on this subject, I said when it becomes necessary to reach below the age of 20 years Congress will be in session and will be ready to listen and do the thing the War Department requires. That time is here now. Every agency of our Government, charged with the responsibility of defending the Nation and carrying on the conduct of the war, has spoken, showing conclusively the necessity for the proposed legislation. This bill comes to us with the unanimous report from the Committee on Military Affairs of the House. As much as I regret to induct boys 18 and 19 years of age into the armed forces, nevertheless, it is my duty and the duty of every other Member of this body to support, in every way possible, our Government, our war effort, our armed forces, and the winning of the war.

We are not setting a precedent in the history of the United States by inducting these boys. Hundreds of thousands of young men below the age of 21 and many only 15 years of age made up the Union and Confederate armies during our War between the States from 1861 to 1865.

I have made some investigation in the Congressional Library since the hearings on this bill, and I was surprised to find some facts which I think everyone of you will be interested in. It is something to inscribe on the tablets of memory that out of 2,778,000 men who enlisted in the Union Army in the War between the States over 2,000,000 were not 22 years of age, 1,151,000 were not 19 years old, over 800,000 were but 17 years of age, 100,000 were no more than 15 and 300 were less than 13 years of age. These 300 boys less than 13 years of age actually enlisted, were inducted and sworn into the service by officers of the United States as drummer boys in many regiments of the Union.

What has been detailed and what I have said concerning the Union Army in our Civil War can equally be said of the Confederate Army but with greater emphasis on the youth of the rank and file of the men who were led by Jackson and Lee. The average age of the men who fought in the Union Army was 19 years and 6 months and the average age of the men who wore the gray in the Confederate Army was 1 year less, or 18 years 6 months. Certainly, as stated by our able and distinguished colleague from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH], no one will say that the army that was led by Grant or the army that was led by Lee were not as good armies as the world had ever seen up to that time.

Mr. Chairman, I am going to vote for this bill and I hope it passes the House of Representatives unanimously.

A reasonable provision is included in the bill permitting any young man in high school or college, at his request, to have his induction postponed until his school year has been completed.

I am fully conscious that this proposed change in the draft law will disrupt the life and plans of these young men, but war, and especially such a war as we are now engaged in, dislocates the life and activities of every individual and the whole civilized world.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. ELSTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. HINSHAW].

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Chairman, I am considerably disturbed on reading some portions of these hearings on this bill, particularly the testimony from Dr. Edward C. Elliott, president, Purdue University, and Chief of the Division of Professional and Technical Employment Training in the War Manpower Commission. I commend to your reading his testimony on page 153 before you vote on this bill as it stands, so that you may fully understand the viewpoint of the only educator who was called in to testify.



The following excerpt is from Dr. Elliott's testimony before the committee:

Dr. ELLIOTT. I have a very strong personal conviction that not only could the age be reduced to 18 but it should have been fixed at 18 at the time of the passage of the first act.

Mr. HARTER. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Mr. MERRITT. Doctor, would you kindly tell us if there is any difference in the policy in the college education in Canada or England as it compares to the one we have here in the United States as it tends to bear on the induction?

Dr. ELLIOTT. I cannot speak so certainly with regard to Canada as, curious enough, I can speak of the schools in Great Britain. It has been my good fortune during the past week to have spent a number of hours with the vice chancellor of the University of Glasgow, who is in this country, and he told us some extraordinary things, at least extraordinary from our American point of view. First, that the British recalling their very calamitous experience in the first World War when their educated young men flocked to the colors and by the thousands lost their lives, that when the war was over England found herself strangely and tragically lacking in those abilities that are only acquired after long years of training. And as Sir Hector Heatherington, vice chancellor of the University of Glasgow, told us the other night before the war began the English ministers and the representatives of the university joined in adopting a policy. The points of that policy that I should like to emphasize here because they seem to have a direct bearing upon this plan to lower the draft age were these:

First, the English did not allow any student in medicine, in physics, in chemistry, in agriculture, in engineering and in certain defined areas of biology, to go into the armed forces at all except as to the air corps which seems to be a sentimental regard so that the air corps is open to all, especially the best. England has found it necessary to see to it that she has an ample supply of trained scientists. This is above all first a war of scientists and that nation that has the scientists with the ability to apply that science to the destructive arts of war and to self-protection is the nation that is best armed. And I am hoping that if and when the draft age is lowered to 18 that full consideration is going to be given to the protection of these youths who should be designated for training whether they want to stay there or not. A question was asked a moment ago—I think it was by Representative ELSTON—about the medical profession about these students classified as premedical students or who as students in medical schools, to get them to remain there. Today, as a study which has been recently made with the War Manpower Commission indicates, we are in grievous need of 7,000 trained physicists. The physical visible supply is about 700 to meet that 7,000 need. Daily there come to my office representatives of chemical industries pleading for some relief whereby they may secure the trained abilities they need. This morning representatives of the rubber industry came in wondering where they are going to be able to find trained engineers for the equipping of a new synthetic rubber plant.

In essence, Mr. Chairman, I would say that some provision will have to be made, if we are to be wise, to provide protection of those who are secured only by long periods of training. It will be found, I am sure, that teachers will be found wanting. There is the greatest lack of teachers. We have needed teachers of those technical subjects that are just as important for winning the war. Pardon me, sir, I did not mean to give such a long answer to such a short question.

Mr. FADDIS. Doctor, what system would you recommend in choosing those who are going to be educated among the thousands of boys that are being drafted under the provisions of this and other legislation?

Dr. ELLIOTT. I am not sure, sir, that I am prepared to give a definitive reply to that question. Personally I am ready to leave the matter to the Selective Service. I have had experience now with Selective Service boards all over this country, because the students who come to me are gathering from all over the 48 States. While mistakes have been made, I think one of the most competent groups of democratic bodies have been these 6,500 local boards. They have done a magnificent job. Personally I am quite willing to leave the selection of those individuals and the method whereby they may be allocated to the administration of the Selective Service System.

Mr. FADDIS. How much would you say the 4-year college course in engineering, let us say, could safely be dropped in order to furnish competent engineers—be shortened, I mean?

Dr. ELLIOTT. The best I can do, sir, is to make a lucky guess at it. Six weeks ago I instructed the members of my own engineering staff to begin the study of the several engineering curricula upon the basis that the longest time we would be able to keep these engineering students—I may say we have 4,000 on that campus—would be a maximum of 24 months. It might be as low as 18 months. We shall probably not be able to train fully competent engineers while we are at war. Our business is to give these engineers the minimum of science that electrical, mechanical, and chemical engineers need.

Mr. Chairman, I want to commend the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILDAY], for his remarks, and the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN]. I would like to propose to the Chair a parliamentary inquiry concerning the language on page 2, lines 3 to 10, and from line 11 on.

Has the language that is shown as stricken on the printed copy of the bill actually been eliminated from the bill or is that to come to a vote at some time this afternoon, probably? Has the committee stricken that out and substituted the language following it or is that to be a matter of vote later on?

The CHAIRMAN. The committee amendment seeks to strike out the language on page 2 and substitute the language in italics. The House will vote on the amendment.

Mr. HINSHAW. Then the language from section 2 on that is now shown as stricken out must be voted on before it is actually stricken from the bill?

The CHAIRMAN. The House passes on the committee amendment.

Mr. HINSHAW. If the committee amendment is defeated, does the language now stricken out remain in the bill?

The CHAIRMAN. If the committee amendment is defeated, that language remains in the bill.

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Chairman, I think we ought to look this over very carefully. It seems to me that we are acting under a high degree of compulsion and rather hurriedly, the bill having been introduced on September 7 and it laid dormant for 6 weeks before it was called up for hearing a few days ago. The statement was made about that time that the House and the Senate

would not be called on to act on this matter until some time later. Now, all of a sudden we are called upon to act and without, I believe, adequate hearings on the bill. In fact, none but Government witnesses were called to testify on the question.

I call your attention to the fact there is stated in the testimony quoted a necessity for 7,000 scientifically trained young men in the Army today and there are probably only 700 available. I remember reading the testimony of the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] concerning this matter, and I know he also is concerned. It seems to me that we are going to have to vote for this bill because it is brought here under the sudden compulsion of the recommendations of the President, the Secretary of War, and the Chief of Staff, but I certainly hope the Military Affairs Committee will give further consideration to this matter in the very near future in order that some of the grave errors that are contained in this bill may be eradicated, otherwise we will find both the youth of our country and the armed services in exceedingly serious predicaments. The Navy Department has a classification for enlistment entitled "V-11," in which they can take boys who are in college or in any other position, but under 40 years of age, and hold them for as long as they like in that class V-11 without calling them into active duty. It may be that the Navy will by the use of the class V-11, provided it is necessary, train those boys to become ensigns for the new Navy that is soon coming off the ways.

Mr. Chairman, under authority to extend my remarks and include excerpts I submit the following taken from the hearings on this bill. These statements were not heard by the committee but only accepted for the record subsequent to the hearing.

Mrs. AGNES WATERS. Mr. Chairman, are the hearings to be closed today? I want to know if we can put in any opposition to this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a written statement?

Mrs. WATERS. I have not.

The following statements were subsequently submitted for the record:

"STATEMENT BY DR. GEORGE S. STEVENSON, MEDICAL DIRECTOR, NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE, NEW YORK:

"(Submitted at the hearing of the House Military Affairs Committee for inclusion, with opinions of eminent medical men and educators relative to the drafting of youths under 20 years of age, in the report of the House Military Affairs Committee on the Wadsworth bill for the drafting of 18- and 19-year olds)

"I am sure that none of us take this matter of drafting our 18- and 19-year olds lightly. It is bound to be a critical decision. In time of war, when mistakes are costly, we are especially obligated to make the soundest possible judgments with all the facts in hand. Such questions as this are always complex. Only to the biased is the argument all on one side. There should be difference of experience and of opinion. An unreserved conclusion permitting no compromise and no modification is a conclusion of prejudice; not of clear thinking.

"I can understand the current pressures that are seeking to find resources in men, in money, in materials. I can understand the demands of this and that group that does not



want its operations disturbed and that looks upon youth as an answer. I have seen such interests operate in the past, in the early thirties, putting youth in a buffering position by limiting their opportunity to participate in adult activities. They were kept dependent. Now we see them called on again in an opposite capacity to avoid disturbing the set-up in which their elders have found a place. There is a modicum of virtue in this search for productive stability. But there are other things in the drafting of this group that warn one of its dangers—dangers that seem to me to outweigh the purported benefits.

"It is not a simple question of whether such youth shall be drafted or not. I am sure that those who propose this hate to see us come to it just as those who oppose it would say that we should defend our democratic way of life to the last man. The question is, Who is the last man? Is it the man with a family or is it the youth? To take either is unfortunate. In balancing the pros and cons, however, I feel that the weight of evidence carries us to the latter and that the age 20 should be maintained as a minimum of compulsory service. I feel that the damage that will be done to the family can be more readily patched up than can that which will be done to the youth, and that the values of youth for military duty are greatly inflated. Let me, please, share some of this evidence with you.

"1. There is no sound basis for the claim that youth of this age make better soldiers. I say this without hesitation, even though I have no authority in the military field, because I am aware of a very serious fault in the reasoning that has led to this conclusion. Presumably this conclusion grows out of the experience of military leaders. Actually our Army has not had experience with the sort of boys they would get in a draft. Their experience has been with volunteers, the most matured part of this age group as evidenced by their capacity to arrive at independent decisions and break ties with family and communitarian part of this age group, as evidenced point in their development. Some 18-year-olds are more like 20, others more like 16. It is this whole range that a draft will bring into the Army. The more immature will find themselves in a terrible situation, and so will the Army. Let us not forget that their conclusion is based upon a very small percentage at the top, but that 2,500,000 trail them.

"2. None of us has been satisfied with the care used in selection of men to date. The mental casualties as a result are enormous. Military discretion prohibits my citing figures. Consider then that our selection of 18- and 19-year-olds cannot be as good. More and more as our physicians leave their civilian posts will local facilities for examination be lessened. Less and less as we enter combat will qualified psychiatrists be available at induction stations. Remember that there are 2½ million boys in this group of 18- and 19-year-olds, and that even allowing 2 years, 5,000 a day will have to be examined along with other draftees. Remember that this will have to be done by the 40 percent of psychiatrists remaining. Remember that not all psychiatrists are adept at evaluating relatively normal people, and remember also that outside of mental hospitals our psychiatrists are concentrated in the large urban centers representing about 20 percent of our population. These psychiatrists are now giving freely of their time and will continue to do so, but there are just not enough of them to take on this added burden and do it better than it has been done.

"And now let us look at this question from a third angle. Let us look ahead to the post-war period. We have in the 18-year-olds a group which in general has not experienced an opportunity to function as free agents in a democracy. They have lived as dependents

upon their families, both economically and to a decreasing degree emotionally, and in the normal course of things would at this age step out on their own and try their wings. If they are drafted this growing self-dependence will stop. These men would merely step from one type of dependency—the family—into another type of dependency—the authoritarian Army—and with the termination of the war these men will have established attitudes of mind much more favorable to the reception of totalitarianism than if they had tasted of freedom and free responsibility. Of course, our adversaries, the Fascists, find the drafting of youth quite harmonious with their purposes for it prepares youth to fit in with their philosophy. I think the loyalty of our youth would be strong enough to prevent them from ever accepting an authoritarian government, at least as a general policy, but they will be apt to find themselves throughout their lives in conflict with society because of their being deprived of this 2 years of experience with democracy in action.

"I am quite aware that some of our youth, of their own, will seek this opportunity for service to their country; and I know that this is often of great value to them. I would not wish to see this opportunity discontinued. To such men I should give the fullest encouragement to enlist, for I think they have attained a maturity that will allow them to stand up under the strains of this service. If those who are not ready to volunteer, including those who are less mature, if those of this age group could be given a quasi-military status, allowing them on the one hand to enter industry, to continue education, to do anything but remain idle; and on the other hand to undergo training as reserves, and if this group could be put in first-class physical and mental condition in anticipation of Army service, I should not be concerned about their being drafted. That is the point of view that I am impressing upon our Committee on Drafting Youth, which is seeking to educate the public on the issues involved in this proposal to draft the youth of 18 and 19. Our headquarters are in room 916, at 1790 Broadway, New York City.

"The implications of all of the discussions, however, are that drafting means induction into activity in the Army according to the same patterns as our older draftees, and this I am sure would be fraught with many hazards to the Army, to the youth, and to the strength of our democratic principles."

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"OPINIONS OF EMINENT MEDICAL MEN AND EDUCATORS RELATIVE TO THE DRAFTING OF YOUTHS UNDER 20 YEARS OF AGE

"From Dr. Edward A. Strecker, president-elect, American Psychiatric Association, Philadelphia:

"I believe that the 18- and 19-year-old boys should be the last group to be drafted. No other age group would be so seriously damaged as this one by its disarrangement and disorganization and would become so maladjusted not only immediately but throughout its future. If these boys are given 2 more years in which to grow up with perhaps part-time work on farms, where labor is evidently needed, they will be of more value, both in the war and in the post-war world."

"From Dr. Caroline B. Zachry, director, Child Guidance Bureau, Board of Education, New York City, to Dr. George S. Stevenson:

"Many of us who are close to the problems of youth are deeply concerned over the possibility of drafting 18- and 19-year-old boys. We realize how grave are the psychological dangers of war to boys of this age. I am writing to urge you to use your influence to the end that every other source of manpower be used before these boys are called."

"From Nolan D. C. Lewis, M. D., New York State Psychiatric Institute and Hospital, New York City, to Dr. Stevenson:

"With the hope that my opinion may help a little in preventing the making of a serious mistake, I should like to say that any proposal to induct boys of the 18- and 19-year level into our armed services at the present time is an unfortunate one. During this period of years the young boy is either in the midst of that formal education so necessary for the promotion of the best interests of society and civilization, or if not in school, is, along with the others, just learning to adjust in the complexities of our social and economic system. Any measure taken to interrupt this course of events should be very seriously scrutinized. The majority of interruptions in these life factors will result in a permanent end or an irreparable deviation of the life plan that is so much needed to constitute a sound basis for reconstruction here at home, after the war. These persons should constitute the trained minds of the future. Those hardly out of adolescence are comparatively immature emotionally and intellectually, and many of them are as yet unstable constitutionally, and are thus unfit for the regimented camp life or for active field service. Certainly, the older groups, including the married men and those married men with children, should be utilized first, until the supply is exhausted, before considering the adolescents for service."

"From Dr. David Beck, Mount Sinai Hospital, New York City:

"As a physician who has been medical director of one of the city's largest private schools for many years, and who has had other close contacts with young people in various institutions and in general practice, I wish to register my protest against the proposed drafting of boys age 18 and 19. It is my earnest conviction that these boys are not fitted physically, and particularly mentally and emotionally, to be drawn into the war directly. I believe further that letting these boys first develop to the age of 20 will make far less likely the mental break-down under stress such as would surely be common in the younger age groups. We must consider the blasting of individuals' lives and the resulting compounded cost to the country in money, and more particularly in the most valuable unit of its manpower. We must learn from the experiences of others.

"If it is true that to use these boys has become absolutely and literally vital to the war effort, then there is this sane alternative: These boys may continue at college taking special preparatory courses, or they may be drafted for farms or defense industries for 2 years while they mature and grow less incapable of taking the impacts of war."

"From Dr. Thomas V. Moore, department of psychology and psychiatry, the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., to Dr. George S. Stevenson:

"I shall be pleased to act upon the committee and would like to make the following remarks concerning the draft of boys of 18 and 19.

"The age at which the character of young men matures is a variable quantity. A number of boys of 18 have not the maturity of the normal boy of 16. A somewhat lesser percentage of 19-year-olds will belong to the group of immature characters.

"If all boys of 18 and 19 are drafted, there will be a large number of youths mentally inadequate to meet the problems with which they will be confronted. Theoretically, it seems that there will be great danger in such a program being carried out indiscriminately. If the Government does decide to draft boys of 18 and 19, some effort should be made to test their emotional maturity and all those who are emotionally immature should be re-



jected. This would be a matter of some difficulty.

"It would seem to be a more rational procedure to provide for the further education of all boys of 18 and 19 of average normal intelligence. If they are drafted into the ordinary military services, their education will cease and we shall not have a body of men from whom to draw the officers of the future.

"Trusting that the National Committee for Mental Hygiene may be able to present this problem to Congress in its true light, I remain, \* \* \*."

"From Prof. George S. Counts, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York:

"It seems to me that we should proceed very cautiously in any move to draft into the armed forces 18- and 19-year-old boys. I am not saying that this should not be done under any circumstances. However, I have seen no sound argument for taking this step at the present time.

"I agree with you regarding the psychological and educational objections to drafting these boys. In addition, I am of the opinion that they are not required at this time in our armed forces. There are many other ways in which their energies and talents might be employed. What we need is a thoroughly accurate survey of our manpower and a thoroughly defensible policy for the use of that manpower in the total war effort. Quite possibly, from the standpoint of that effort, if the war is to be a long one, a large proportion of these boys should go to school rather than enter the armed forces.

"There is much loose talk now about an army of 13,000,000 men. Such an army may be possible and desirable, but I doubt it. I do not believe that we have a sufficient industrial and labor base to maintain a mechanized army of that size. It is obvious that the question of the drafting of the 18- and 19-year-olds should be regarded as one aspect of the total problem and should be so treated."

"From Prof. John Dewey:

"The morale and mental health of this country would be undermined by drafting the young boys of 18 and 19. These boys are inexperienced, impressionable, and have never yet had an opportunity to live independently; they have not the stability and preparation of the older soldier. When they reach the age of 20 they will still be available for military service and they will be better equipped physically, mentally, and emotionally to withstand the shock of war. They will be better either as soldiers or as civilians.

"We have in this vast land great reserves of manpower without sacrificing our boy-power. All of us know many men in their twenties and thirties who have not gone into military service. They should be called first; the young boys should be the last to go. Those boys who are entering college should be permitted to continue their education. Unless we have boys with a basic college education, the country will be depleted of trained men in the future, when they will be so vitally needed. Being forced into the war machine will prevent their growth and development. Other boys who are not headed for college could replace unskilled labor on farms, in factories, etc., thus having a chance to grow up before going, fresh from school, to war."

"From Carleton Washburne, superintendent of schools, Winnetka, Ill.:

"May I, as an educator, strongly protest against the drafting of the youths of 18 and 19 until all able-bodied men, married or not, are fully and effectively participating in the war effort?"

"Temporary disruption of family life is, of course, undesirable—so is war. The question is the choice of the lesser of two evils. Mature men can readjust to the war situation and back again to civilian life, if they come back, with less loss to the Nation than can boys of 18 and 19 stop their education,

stop their preparation to carry on after the war, and be thrown while still immature into the terrible maelstrom.

"There are plenty of us over 45, who, while we may not be fit for the rigors of infantry attack, could replace men of the present draft age behind the lines in the infinitude of services necessitated by the Army. Every such expedient should be used to the limit before we pull boys out of school and jeopardize the Nation's future."

"From Dr. Frank J. O'Brien, associate superintendent of schools, former head of the Child Guidance Bureau, New York City schools, to Dr. George S. Stevenson:

"I am very much concerned as to the wisdom of conscripting boys of 18 and 19 years of age in terms of the boys themselves, their value to the armed forces at this age, and their subsequent adjustment after the war.

"We are aware that many boys of 18 and 19 years of age are very immature emotionally, although there are exceptions. To take these boys away from the stabilizing influences of home and school and put them into our armed forces may only have the effect of producing emotionally unstable and, therefore, not particularly useful individuals.

"A 20-year-old boy is still plastic but certainly more mature and is, therefore, better material for military training than boys of 18 and 19. I feel certain that the Army can accomplish a great deal more with 20-year-olds in a much less period of time than could be accomplished with the younger group.

"From the standpoint of subsequent adjustment, conscripting the younger group endangers their future service to the Nation. Already the proposal to draft the 18- and 19-year-olds, so my experience indicates, is having its effects upon those still younger. For example, a boy who is not yet 17 stated that he thought he would give up school and join the Navy. After some discussion with him about this, it was very evident that he had no desire to go into the Navy but he thought he would not be able to finish much of the school work he had planned and, therefore, that he might as well quit school now as 2 years from now. This adds to the maladjustment of youth, therefore, even more than is indicated by the proposed conscription of 18- and 19-year-old boys.

"I recognize that conscripting these boys is a much easier procedure and, therefore, less complicated than conscripting those of 20 or over. If this should enter into the picture, certainly the ease with which conscription can be accomplished should not be the determining factor in selecting our manpower for the armed forces.

"If the war continues and the manpower needed is so great that it will be necessary to conscript boys of 18 and 19 years of age or even younger, then, I think, we should do it; but I do not believe it is the wisest thing to do at this time, not only from the point of view of the individual, but also from the point of view of the armed forces."

"From Dr. Felix Morley, president, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.:

"I am fully in accord with the viewpoint about the undesirability of drafting boys of 18 and 19 for combat service. I am sufficiently well acquainted with the psychology of youths of that age to realize that the experience, wholly aside from the matter of risk, is unlikely to be helpful during these formative years."

"From Dorothy Capfield Fisher:

"It would be the greatest calamity if boys of 18 and 19 were sent into active service. That goes without saying."

"From George S. Stevenson, M. D., medical director, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York City:

"The question of drafting the 18- and 19-year-old group is one of concern to a number of psychiatrists of my acquaintance as well as to me. It is our feeling that the original se-

lective-service provision represented a decision untrammelled by pressures of emergency. It is important, now that these pressures appear, that we should not blind ourselves to some of the things involved in drafting the younger group. Selection of good soldiers from this younger group is bound to be much less successful for the simple reason that these men have had fewer years in which to show clues to their instabilities and disqualifications. These particular years have proved especially important in the evaluation of the older group. Thus there will be an undue proportion of unfit men taken into the service.

"It must be remembered also that these 2 or 3 years, when young men are emancipating themselves, are the years in which they can gain great personal strength by being on their own. In the Army they will miss this opportunity since the Army, without question, continues a dependence and regimentation. These men may fight for a glorious victory and at the end find themselves confused by the absence of a background of civilian experience and so regimented that the freedom that we are fighting for means nothing to them.

"In concluding that it would be far better to take men with dependents we have considered fully that it is not a good thing for a child to be deprived of a father or a wife of a husband, but even this is not as serious as subjecting the 18- and 19-year-old group to combat experience. As an alternative, would it not be possible to provide for this group the same sort of military training that has been provided to college students, in order that they may acquire much of the technical elements needed in the Army and at the same time have 2 years or so of experience as civilians standing on their own feet?"

"The CHAIRMAN. The committee will now go into executive session, and we will call General Hershey.

"Thereupon, at 4 p. m., the committee went into executive session."

Mr. Chairman, it is evident to the casual reader of the foregoing statements that this legislation has been hastily considered. The eminent persons who have contributed these views point out that some 18-year-old boys are mature and some are very immature, that some are in fact still children, while some are men. They point out also that great damage can come to many of the less mature through neuroses and other psychiatric maladjustments. They urge that careful psychiatric examination be given inductees of the top teen-age group before induction, with a view to postponing induction of those who may be found immature.

Other professional views point to the necessity for higher education of those best qualified and explain the need to our country for the special training of specialists whose services will be needed by the armed forces upon completion of training and certainly by the country for its welfare.

I feel very strongly that section 2—deferring for a few months those who are completing an academic year, should be extended into dates beyond June 30, 1943, to permit all youths to complete at least their secondary school educations. If they do not complete that much education before induction, I venture to say that they will never return to school to graduate.

Many who are inducted while in college will some day return to complete that stage of education as they did after



the last war, but not so with those who lack a little bit of completing high school.

Everyone knows that war is a young man's business when such business becomes necessary. I thought myself to be quite competent to command and did command first a platoon and then a company of engineers in the last war. I was 22 years and 10 months old when I received my commission as a first lieutenant of engineers. I was a few weeks less than 24 years old when my promotion to a captaincy arrived. There were older men, much older, serving in the ranks under me. They were fine and able men but many of them could not stand the gaff, and many did. Brains and experience are invaluable to an army but so are the springy qualities of youth.

Permit me to quote to you the words of our distinguished Chief of Staff, Gen. George C. Marshall when he appeared before the Senate committee considering appropriations for the Military Establishment for 1941. General Marshall made the following statement on Wednesday May 1, 1940. I quoted these remarks in the RECORD on September 14, 1940, when the House was considering the original conscription bill, in an effort to persuade the House that older men were not the best material for military training and service. I quote as follows:

General MARSHALL. We are studying the use in war of older men. For example, older men, men between 35 and 45 are particularly suited for military police work. In France our military police were young men, lacking in the tolerance and that more benign point of view which comes only with years.

Senator THOMAS. If you have old men, that would change the ratio. At the present time, we have an Army with hospitals as an incident, and if you get old men, you will have hospitals with the Army as an incident.

General MARSHALL. I did not understand you, Senator.

Senator THOMAS. I said at the present time we have an Army with hospital facilities as an incident to the Army; but if you get old men in the service you will have the hospitals as the main consideration and the Army as an incident.

General MARSHALL. Young men get all of the diseases. They take all of the risks; get all of the colds and are sick a great deal until they finally become hardened. At first, the older man, say around 30, is the more desirable soldier; but he lacks stamina. He does not react from hardships the way the younger men do. The young fellow is a great care at first, because he will not take care of himself. He gets sore feet and he acquires all of the camp diseases. He does not clean his mess kit, and he eats indelicately and suffers from diarrhea and other disorders. The older men avoid much of that. But the older man does not have the stamina. When you put a heavy pack on him his age begins to tell heavily.

Please notice that General Marshall considers that an "older man, say around 30, is the more desirable soldier but he lacks stamina." Men 35 to 45 are fit for military police work.

In conclusion, let us hope that the committee will give further consideration of this subject when time and circumstances are not so pressing. I shall vote for the bill with deep misgivings.

(Mr. HINSHAW asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CRAWFORD].

[Mr. CRAWFORD addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. O'HARA].

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, this bill is a bill which I approach the consideration thereof with a very heavy heart. May I say to the membership here today that I hope all of them have heard the remarks of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILDAY] and the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] because this bill gives the subject of their remarks very little, if any, consideration.

I have been very much troubled about the very things they have discussed, first, the responsibility of this Congress as opposed to the responsibility of the War Department, the War Department thinking only in the terms of the immediate needs of the War Department, while the legislative body here should think in the terms of the future of this country. I wonder how much thought has been given by the Military Affairs Committee to the need of investigating some of the departments down here which are loaded with young men who are in there for the purpose of avoiding service in the armed forces of the United States by holding some job in a department in Washington, and I wonder how much effort will be made to take a survey of the young men who may have gotten into so-called defense industries for the purpose of avoiding the draft or at least for the purpose of getting deferment, young men who are single, young men who are 20, 22, and 23 years of age.

The very serious problem here is that all of us want to do what is necessary and what is right, but may I call your attention to something that Clemenceau, the former great leader of the now fallen French Nation, in substance, said:

In time of war the more serious the conditions the more necessary it is that the people of the country be represented in the conflict between the military and the civilian population of the country.

In other words, Mr. Chairman, what you are doing today will weigh more heavily upon your responsibilities and upon your conscience than you may appreciate this minute, because I do not know and you do not know how far reaching an effect it will have on the future of this country when we take out of the colleges, the universities, and the high schools of the United States the finest men, physically and mentally, qualified to be the future officers of this war if it is to be a long one. Not a thing has been done in the way of a safeguard unless the Committee on Military Affairs provides in the future what is to be done. This legislation has certainly been hastily considered.

Where are we going to fill the gaps caused by the drafting of the youth of 18 and 19?

There has been much confusion upon the subject of the drafting of the 18- and 19-year-olds. It is true that only last September 7, in speaking to the Nation, the President stated in substance that there was no urgent need before the first of the year to consider the reduction of the draft age.

The consideration of this bill in the House has been rushed through the Committee on Military Affairs subsequent to the speech of the President on Monday of this week. There are no safeguards in the bill for the training of this youth.

There are too many bitter experiences from the last war still fresh in the minds of those men who served in that war, of the tragedy of too many of the youth of the country being rushed into the front lines with improper and inadequate training, and the pitiful examples of some of them reaching the front-line trenches without knowing how even to fire a rifle. Some safeguard as to the training and conditioning of the immature youth should have been provided. The gag rule on this bill has prevented that.

No consideration has been given to the psychology of the draft upon these youngsters. Apparently no consideration is given to the fact of the tremendous numbers of the youth who are 18 and 19 years of age who have gone into service as volunteers. They do not want to be drafted, they will go in gladly. But what of the psychology of the average youth who knows that he is going to be drafted and will have no opportunity of enlistment? They want that right of selection, which is so important psychologically to them.

I shall support an amendment to not reduce the age below 19. I think that even has its advantages.

Mr. Chairman, I have read the hearings upon this bill. I fully realize its importance. I have followed the debate upon the bill, and have approached this bill with one viewpoint and that was that I would vote for the bill if I felt it was necessary in the conduct of the war and I would vote against it if I was not satisfied that such was the case.

I am voting against the bill because I do not believe that such a showing was made.

Mr. ELSTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. MARTIN].

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, the bill H. R. 7528, calling for the conscription of men 18 and 19 years of age into the armed forces, received the unanimous support of the Committee on Military Affairs; and at the outset I want to pay a tribute to Chairman MAY, of the committee, for the way he conducted the hearings and deliberations on this bill. He and the committee met a serious situation and an emergency need of the country bravely and expeditiously. The entire committee was ready and willing and did give their maximum effort to the intense study of the need for this bill, and the decision they reached unanimously should go far to convince our enemies that America stands united



today in answering the challenge of this war.

#### CONSCRIPTION FOR TRAINING IS NO LONGER AN ISSUE

Starting with the first national convention of the American Legion at Minneapolis in 1919, most veterans of the First World War favored the resolutions adopted in that convention favoring a policy of universal military training and opposing compulsory military service in time of peace. I cannot recall very many ex-service men who have at any time opposed conscription for military service in time of war. The policy of the American Legion, for instance, at no time opposed compulsory military service in time of war, even though the distinction between conscription for training and conscription for armed forces prevailed in time of peace until the national convention at Boston, Mass., September 23, 1940, which was after the House of Representatives had passed the selective-service law on September 9, 1940.

As late as August 28, 1940, the Iowa State Convention of the American Legion enacted a resolution demanding prompt adoption by Congress of a system of compulsory universal training, as set out in the resolution adopted by the national convention at Minneapolis in 1919. I personally shared the views of the American Legion in making that distinction between conscription for training and conscription for armed service in peacetime. However that may be, the enactment of the selective-service law in September 1940 brought into being a national policy of compulsory military service in time of peace and the declaration of war on December 8, 1941, removed all the grounds for distinction between conscription for training and conscription for military service for the duration of the present war in which our Nation is now engaged.

#### THE ISSUE OF DRAFTING YOUNGER MEN

I have personally been awaiting for some word from the Secretary of War and General Marshall, Chief of Staff, and other military officials as to our needs for winning this war, and when I listened to their unequivocal statements and their earnest appeal to us to authorize the drafting of men of 18 and 19, and when I heard that any delay in the passage of this bill and the drafting of these younger men would jeopardize our own chances for victory in this war to that extent, I felt that there was no other issue and no other factor that could possibly justify the defeat of this bill at this time. America is united today as never before in the determination to win this war as completely and as quickly as possible, and America does realize the seriousness of the task ahead. I am certain that no patriotic American citizen wishes to do anything that will impede our war effort in any way.

At one other great crisis in our Nation's history, we are told the youth of the land answered the challenge and finished the job. According to Dyer's Compendium a great majority of the Civil War soldiers were 21 years of age or younger. The figures are surprising:

Over 21 years of age.....	618, 000
21 years or younger.....	1, 435, 738
18 years or younger.....	1, 151, 000
16 years or younger.....	844, 000
14 years or younger.....	252
10 years or younger.....	25

Total enlistments..... 2, 053, 753

In the first World War the average age of our armed forces was somewhat higher. In the hearings, at page 64, General White testified that the average age was 24 years and 3 months. In this war today, General White testified the average age was 25 years and 5 months on August 1 of this year.

#### HOW LONG WILL NEW INDUCTEES BE TRAINED?

One of the big issues involved in this bill is the length of time to be given the new inductees before they are sent into expeditionary forces or into combat. I was glad indeed to hear the testimony of our Army officials that insofar as possible each inductee will be given a maximum amount of training, and that, of course, is only good common sense. The real question is how long that maximum training can be. You will find in the hearings, on page 57, that General White explains that the 12 months of training commonly alluded to as the training to be given to each inductee is not a guaranty of 1 year of training to each individual soldier but rather a period of time established for the training of newly activated divisions. You will find, on page 63 of the hearings, in answer to my questions, that General White explained that all divisions newly activated would be filled if possible within the first 2 weeks of their activation, so that the only personnel of any such division who will have less than 1 year of training in the division in the regular procedure would be those men who are added to the divisions as replacements to make up for any attrition. In addition to the time spent in the division there is, of course, 13 weeks' basic training that is given to all inductees before they are placed in a division at all.

#### EDUCATION

In view of the time given to education in the hearings, I think it of sufficient interest at this point to set out here the educational level of men of military age as set out by the report of the Bureau of the Census in June 1942:

With the specialized needs of modern warfare requiring a higher level of education than ever before, the Nation has ample reserves of well-educated manpower, the study pointed out. The 1940 census tabulations show that of all men in the 18 to 44 age group, about 32 percent had completed at least a high-school education.

A comparison between the educational levels of white selectees in the present Army with those in the Army in the last war is shown in the following table:

Education	Percent of white selectees or draftees	
	World War II	World War I
All classes.....	100	100
College.....	11	5
High school graduates.....	30	4
High school nongraduates.....	28	12
Grade school and no schooling.....	31	79

The phenomenal improvement in the educational level of selectees in World War No. 2 as compared with draftees in World War No. 1 is due largely to a spectacular increase in educational opportunities in the United States in less than a generation, the study revealed. According to statistics of the United States Office of Education in 1940, on the eve of our entry into the war, almost as many men were attending college as were in high school less than 25 years ago. The high-school enrollment in 1940 was seven times greater than in 1916.

Census Bureau figures for 1940 reveal that of the men in the 18-44 age group who have registered or been ordered to register for selective service, only 5.3 percent had less than 4 years' formal schooling. Approximately one-half the group had less than 9 years of school with the other half having more—the median number of years of schooling completed being 9.4, or the equivalent of slightly more than 1 year of high school.

Of this group, men from 21 to 24 had the highest median number of years of school, and those from 35 to 44 the lowest. The study pointed out, however, that the 18-to-20-year group had not yet completed their education. These facts again reflect the rapid improvement in educational opportunities in recent years.

A real issue confronts us today regarding the educational requirements for the years ahead, both for the Army and for the civilian needs in the war period and for the needs of the Nation thereafter as well. Of course, we must give maximum consideration to our war needs at this time and especially to the needs for the armed forces for the successful and efficient prosecution of the war. Bearing those needs in mind, I made a point to ask some questions of Maj. Gen. James C. Magee, Surgeon General of the Army, and Dr. Edward C. Elliott, president of Purdue University, at pages 151 and 156 of the hearings. As to giving young men less than 18 years of age an opportunity to secure basic military instruction before they are placed in the Army, it seems to me that the colleges and high schools of the country can be of real help in making available to large numbers of these young men the opportunity to take basic military instruction before they reach the age of 18. An expansion of the R. O. T. C. and junior R. O. T. C. system might be the answer.

The War Department might take the position that they cannot spare officers and noncommissioned officers to do this work, but I submit that there are enough World War veterans available to do the job if the War Department wants to take them into the armed forces for that purpose. A training program could be devised to bring the training of each instructor up to date and I am sure that every veteran qualified by the War Department for this service would serve with outstanding credit, and the military training given these young men before they are drafted would give an invaluable start and make their services of far greater value also to our Nation.

#### THE FARM SITUATION

A great deal has been said in the press and on the radio and in Congress regarding the farm problem, particularly the shortage of farm labor that has come about because of so many men leaving the farms to go into war production plants and into the armed forces. The production of an adequate supply of food



is a serious responsibility and our farmers are meeting the challenge to the limit of their physical ability. The farmers are today facing a real emergency in the matter of shortage of manpower if we are to keep all our best-producing acres in production. Farm plans are necessarily seasonal, and almost all crop plans must be made far in advance. The present plan followed in Selective Service in granting deferments of 6 months is of tremendous benefit to the farmer. But the farmers need more time than 6 months' deferment to plan next season's crops and to carry out the planting and harvesting of those crops. My statement on that point on page 114 of the hearings is not accurately reported and should be changed to read as follows:

Mr. MARTIN. These fellows who have 6 months' deferment have greatly benefited the farmer but no farmer at this time of year can plan next year's crops with a 6 months' deferment, and it should be planned now in my area.

I understand from General Hershey's testimony that all policies regarding deferment are determined by the War Manpower Commission rather than by the Selective Service Director. That being the case, the War Manpower Commission has an immediate and pressing responsibility to determine the needs of agriculture for the service of any man subject to the draft. A system should be devised for keeping a sufficient number of trained and experienced farm hands on the farms. It may be necessary to assign experienced farm hands, who have been inducted into the service, back to the farms on a proper showing of need. The production of food is just as essential and the service of producing food is just as patriotic as any other war service. Unfortunately the production of food for the most part calls for the same degree of youth and vigor that is required of our armed forces, and consequently agricultural labor and the armed services are in direct competition for men of the same age. I sincerely wish that the War Manpower Board and the Army officials devise a plan whereby enough skilled producers of food will be left on the job of food production in our rich agricultural areas to insure our Nation against a food shortage in event we have a poor crop year such as 1934 or 1936. In addition to this, I hope these same officials will devise a plan whereby the producers of food will be given the recognition for patriotic service to which they are entitled. I am seriously alarmed by reports coming from my district of large numbers of farms to be taken out of production next year in the most fertile agricultural area of the world. The greatest cause of taking these farms out of production is the shortage of manpower. There will be other factors seriously limiting the acreage planted to crops and limiting successful harvests. One of these factors is the shortage of farm machinery and the difficulty in securing repairs. When a crop is ready for harvesting the days and even the hours of good harvest weather must be used to the utmost. Many a crop has been seriously damaged by the delay in securing repairs at the critical harvest hour.

I know of no group of our entire Nation more patriotic and more willing to serve in the armed forces and in our munitions plants than our farmers. They are accustomed to long hours and hard work and they are extremely patriotic. They should not be caused to feel that their patriotism is less if they continue their long hours of back-breaking toil on the farms of our country. The production of adequate food is a challenge to the most vigorous and able-bodied men in the land and it is exceedingly dangerous to our food supply to take all of our vigorous, trained, and experienced young men from the farms and undertake to substitute for them children, women, or even men who are unskilled, untrained, and unaccustomed to the rigors of farm life. The unfortunate thing about the farm problem is that once the seeding time has passed there is not much we can do to remedy threatened crop shortage, whether that threatened shortage arises from reduced acreage or from reduced yields. The issue on farm labor is the No. 1 issue confronting us today and I am glad General Hershey recognized the issue in that light in his testimony before our committee. It is time for the present national administration to stop blaming the farmer for an inflation that he has not caused and to extend to the farmers of our land a real and helping hand without further delay.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLANNAGAN].

Mr. FLANNAGAN. Mr. Chairman, the question presented in this legislation is not one of choice but one of necessity. If we had the choice of raising an effective hard-hitting army in some other way, there would be few, if any, who would not choose the other way.

I do not believe there is a single Member on either side of the aisle who does not appreciate the seriousness of the step we are about to take. The appeals that come to us from the mothers of this land, I know, touch a sympathetic chord in the heart of every Member. To those of us who are fathers the thoughts expressed in these appeals have for months weighed heavily upon us because we have been apprehensive that sooner or later our Commander in Chief and Army and Navy officials would advise us that the war had reached such serious proportions that the step, in the interest of American safety and freedom, would have to be taken.

Our apprehensions are now cold, hard facts. Our Commander in Chief, our Chief of Staff, our Secretary of the Navy, our Secretary of War, and others charged with the duty and responsibility of the prosecution of the war now tell us that in order to successfully prosecute the war our young men of 18 to 19 years of age will have to be taken into the service. In this hour of peril mine is not the duty to question my Commander in Chief, my Chief of Staff, my Secretary of the Navy, my Secretary of War. As a patriotic Representative, as a soldier in the legislative branch of the service charged with the responsibility to enact such legisla-

tion as is needed in defense of my country, mine is the duty to obey. I shall perform that duty.

To the mothers who appeal on the ground that lowering the draft age will disrupt the education of our boys let me say: Yes; that is true; and I can testify to its truthfulness from personal experience. I had a boy of tender years in college on that fateful Sunday back in December. He was a clean, manly youngster who was wrapped up in his studies and was making a scholastic record of which his mother and I were justly proud. But after Pearl Harbor, of his own free will and accord, he decided that his duty was no longer in the schoolroom but in the service of his country, and so he left college and volunteered for training as an Army pilot. I know not what the future holds for him, but I do know that his destiny is in the hands of a just and righteous God, in whom I trust. While I nightly pray that he may be spared to come back home and complete his education and take a man's place in the land that he helped keep free, whatever his fate, I shall cherish until I draw my last breath the choice that he made. Oh, yes, when he made the decision his mother and I, with eyes that were moist and hearts that were heavy, talked his decision over. Thank God that through our tears we saw the correct answer. We decided that we would encourage, in every way, the patriotic impulses that surged through his stout young heart. Why? Because we decided that we had rather for him to go through life an uneducated freeman than an educated slave.

And to those who entertain fears that because our boys between the ages of 18 and 19 are still in the impressionable age and are getting the ideas of the sacred values of human life fixed in their minds and that training for warfare and fighting on the fields of conflict will sear their souls, let me say: The history of our Republic is a glorious record to the contrary. Many of those who entered the Revolutionary War and the War between the States in their teens afterward rose to a standing and leadership never before witnessed in the world; and the citizenship of our Republic during these conflicts has never been equaled. I have faith in our American youth of today. They have in them the stuff that men, real men, are made of, and, I am persuaded, will come out of this conflict, as their forefathers did in the other two memorial conflicts, with a God-given consciousness that when freedom was challenged they were men enough to accept the challenge, with souls made whiter and nobler and purer by reason of the sacrifices they have made to preserve the freedom and liberty and equality that is theirs by reason of the sacrificial blood of their ancestors, and take their rightful places in developing a truer, greater freedom, liberty, and equality, not only here at home but throughout the world.

(Mr. FLANNAGAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD.)



Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. COSTELLO].

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Chairman, I do not think there can be any doubt in the minds of the Members of this House as to the necessity for this legislation. The Secretary of War and the Chief of Staff have definitely emphasized to the committee the fact that they cannot conduct this modern type of war unless they have young men. Older men will not do, because the speed and tempo of this war require terrific endurance and stamina on the part of the soldiers. People who tire easily, who suffer from fatigue, will not be able to wage war in the way that is going to be asked of them if we are going to be victorious. So we have to look to our younger generation to carry on this fight.

There are some other matters that are equally important. It is not sufficient for the Army to train a highly organized and well-developed unit. A fighting force without foodstuffs or munitions would be worthless. I believe it is very important that the Selective Service System should reconsider its classes of deferment and the methods of deferment. I do not believe the deferments of those who engage in agricultural pursuits and in the production of essential munitions of war are adequate. Draft boards in many instances will not honor requests for the deferment of essential employees. I know that in the aircraft factories of the West many persons are being taken into the service who will be most difficult to replace. While the women everywhere are playing their part in the production of munitions, we need not kid ourselves; they definitely will slow down the rate of production of munitions. The more we take men out of the factories and put women in, the slower the rate of production will be. I have been told that in the machine shop of one aircraft plant now almost completely staffed by women workers productivity has dropped to 30-percent efficiency.

I believe it is unfortunate that General Hershey has not had some industrial experience and background. He is an educator. On that account, I do not believe he realizes the necessity and the difficulty of maintaining our engineering and trained staffs in many of the industrial plants. You cannot replace a schooled engineer with any other individual, man or woman, unless that person has had the same training and schooling. In the aircraft plants our plane program is seriously threatened by the inroads of the draft on the engineering departments composed largely of young men recently out of technical schools. For these reasons I believe it will be very imperative for the Committee on Military Affairs to give very serious thought and study to this entire manpower program in the near future. Another criticism of General Hershey, which I believe is justified, is based on the many conflicting statements he has issued which have driven essential employees to the recruiting stations rather than face the draft. I am informed by reliable sources that every time a statement is issued by General Hershey as to who he is going to draft

next, thousands of needed men quit their jobs for the Navy, marines, or some branch of their own choice. This has caused a great handicap to the steady flow of production.

One other item: Mr. Chairman, I am very loath to assume the responsibility of attempting to criticize those who have charge of the conduct of this war, but I believe that the present battle of the Solomons is crying out for redress. We have heard a great deal about a unified command, but the battle of the Solomons definitely indicates that we do not have it. General MacArthur has been designated as the supreme commander of the Southwest Pacific area. Then we find that the Navy has been given command of another sector of that same area. Whether the unified board of strategy in Washington determined upon this invasion of the Solomons I know not, but if they determined upon that invasion and did not work out a better program of conducting that attack than has been evidenced during the past 2 months, they are certainly subject to criticism.

For 2 months the marines have been fighting on Guadalcanal. They have not been given relief. The Army has not been called upon to bring in their troops from adjacent areas nor to bring in their aircraft to join in the defense of that island, or to complete its conquest. Why, I ask, Mr. Chairman, has this not been done? Army divisions have been prepared and have daily expected to be taken to Guadalcanal, but they cannot get there walking across the water. They have to be taken there by boat, and this is clearly the Navy's responsibility.

I am afraid, Mr. Chairman, that an effort has been made on the part of the Navy to conduct a grandstand campaign in the Solomons without asking for the aid of the Army ground forces or the Army air forces. As I say, I am loath to criticize, but I believe that situation cries to heaven for readjustment. If we are going to put a unified command in an area, let us have one commander in charge of the entire battle area and not continue to leave that command divided.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from New York [Mr. DICKSTEIN].

[Mr. DICKSTEIN addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

[Mr. DICKSTEIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his own remarks in the Record.]

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield the remainder of the time on this side to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. EDMISTON].

Mr. EDMISTON. Mr. Chairman, I want to take a few minutes of your time to clarify, if I can, an erroneous impression that has been created by the press since last Monday night when the President made his fireside talk. I want to give you the absolute facts and the history of this legislation.

Senator WADSWORTH, of New York, introduced the original bill on this subject on September 7, and on September 8 the House Military Affairs Committee asked

the Secretary of War for a report on the legislation. Six weeks later to the day, on October 13, this request was answered and the report arrived late in the afternoon of October 13, in the House Military Affairs Committee.

The press has definitely intimated that my committee and this House did not have guts enough to act on this until Roosevelt made a fireside chat. I resent that, personally, very much. During the testimony on this bill I asked Secretary Stimson a question and I want to read his answer to the question as to why it took 6 weeks if this measure was of such importance that it must be passed today, when we got the reply from the War Department last Tuesday. Here is Secretary Stimson's own answer:

The only thing I want to say in regard to that—

That is, the question I asked him why it took 6 weeks—

is that I do not wish to have any member of this committee, on which I have a great many friends, think that I contributed to that delay, and I do not think that anyone in the War Department did.

It was held up by the Director of the Budget in my opinion at the request of the President until he could make his fireside chat and make the country believe that he made Congress act. I want you to know that we have been ready on the Military Affairs Committee to act on this legislation ever since September 7.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EDMISTON. I yield to my chairman.

Mr. MAY. The gentleman recalls the fact that when I opened the hearings on this bill as chairman, on the 14th day of October, I announced that on the day before I had received a letter from the Secretary of War and on that same day I called the committee in session.

Mr. EDMISTON. I think that demonstrates the fact that we have acted just as instantaneously in response to the War Department on this sort of a measure as we possibly could. Of course, we cannot act until the Secretary of War and the Chief of Staff and G-1 of the Army and General Hershey give us their opinion on a subject such as this. We must trust our military experts.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EDMISTON. I yield.

Mr. COOLEY. Can the gentleman explain to us what happened on September 21, when an official of the War Department in a letter addressed to the Members of the House, said this:

Eighteen- and nineteen-year-old boys will not be called into service until such a course is absolutely necessary. When and if such a course is adopted it will be because this age group is urgently needed and because it is imperative that their training for actual duty with the Army be initiated.

Now if the War Department had any idea on September 21 that it was necessary to pass this legislation, how can the gentleman explain this letter?

Mr. EDMISTON. I cannot explain that, I will tell the gentleman, and neither can I explain why the Chief Ex-



ecutive himself, just a few weeks before his fireside chat, said that this was not necessary until late in 1943.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. ELSTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the balance of the time on our side to the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH].

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Chairman, the members of the Committee, I assume, are pretty well aware of my opinions on this subject. Inadequately, they were expressed in a speech which has been printed in the RECORD as a result of the kindness of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. FOLGER], so I shall not at this time, and at this late hour, indulge in repetition, at least, if I can help it.

One or two thoughts occur to me. For a long time I have been convinced that we would have to come to this move. As the summer went along and the autumn came upon us, I began to encounter conditions in some of our draft boards which indicated very clearly that they were scraping the bottom of the barrel in many districts in their efforts to find competent, single men, and as a result were bringing into the Army men of an age which is not conducive to good soldiering. Then, as I had an opportunity to study some of the records of the Selective Service System itself at its headquarters here, I confess that my impatience reached the point at which I was impelled to introduce this bill. Always in the back of my mind I have had this dread—to this effect. It is a highly probable thing that we shall have tens and hundreds of thousands of our men in desperate action sometime in the year 1943. Where these actions will take place I do not know. When they will start I do not know. But it is more than probable that by that time, some time in the calendar year of 1943, we shall be engaged in this war desperately, and believing as I did then and as I do now that men of 18 years and 19 years, properly trained, could contribute immensely to our success, my dread was that we would delay so long in putting them into the Army, that when those terrible battles occurred, we would be compelled to put them in untrained and see them slaughtered. So I welcome the passage of this bill at this hour, and it is none too early. The quicker this legislation goes through, the more we can be sure that these youngsters will be trained. I rejoice that the House apparently is going to pass it by a substantial majority.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Yes.

Mr. McCORMACK. The gentleman stated a moment ago about men in the service at an age which is not conducive to the good of the service. I call the attention of the distinguished gentleman from New York to the fact that the average age of all the enlisted men in the Army of the United States now is 26 years and 2 months, that the average age of all enlisted men in the Navy is 22 years and 10 months, and the average age of all enlisted men in the Marine Corps is 19 years and 6 months.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Yes; and may I add to that that in a division most recently activated in the Army the average age was 28 years, and 2 months, which means that there are thousands of men in that division well over 30 years of age, 32 and 35. When those figures came to my attention I made up my mind it is none too soon to pass this bill.

May I reminisce a moment if I have the time. As you gentlemen well know, this is not the first time in which the Congress of the United States has been asked to lower the draft age to 18 years. I remember very well what happened during World War No. 1. When we went into that war, we commenced to get ready, as was our custom in those days, in May of 1917. We passed the first selective-service law at that time and made the military age range from 21 to 31. The American Army was recruited and organized very largely in that age range. We did not actually get into the bitter fighting until May and June of 1918, 13 months later, when the A. E. F. began to be an important element in the war on the western front.

The Germans had held the offensive all through that spring, and it was only by a narrow margin that the last German offensive was stayed. The fighting was still desperate in July. At that time Secretary Baker and the War Department made up their minds that the desperation in that fighting was going to continue, and we would have to enlarge the age range, and especially drop it to 18 years in view of the fact that in all probability the war would go on through the succeeding winter and perhaps on into 1919. So a recommendation was made to Congress at that time that the age range be dropped to 18 years, and incidentally raised to 45—just what this bill does. The bill was debated in both Houses in August 1918, and was passed and enacted finally on August 31, 1918. Remember, these young men had not been registered prior to the passage of the act. The machinery for registration was being arranged, and the registration itself was being planned for in September, but in September and in October the whole war picture changed, to most military men most unexpectedly. Allenby and Lawrence drove Turkey out of the war. Austria collapsed. The whole of the territory of Serbia which had been overrun by the Germans and the Austrians was recovered, and finally by the middle of October Germany was left fighting alone and by the end of that month the end of the war was plainly in sight. On November 11 the final collapse was admitted by the Germans when they asked for an armistice. So the result was that no men of 18 were actually drafted, but the Congress, when it passed the bill in August 1918, did so with the full expectation that these young men would go into battle. We were activated at that time—I was a member of the Senate—by the same feelings that are controlling us today. We had the same inner feelings about the necessity of the war. It may be interesting to know that the House of Representatives passed that bill by a vote of 336 to 2, and

that the Senate passed it by a vote of 75 to 0. I hope we can approach those figures today.

On an entirely different phase of this subject I want to make a few remarks, perhaps to bring some reassurance, not only to the Members of Congress, but to the families, the parents, and the relatives of men in the Army. It has to do with the moral condition of our troops, their behavior. There are two yardsticks you can use in measuring the personal behavior, moral or otherwise, of a great army.

The first yardstick is represented by the sick rate or hospital reports. The sick rate in our Army today is the lowest we have ever had in our history, and I believe the lowest of any army on earth. It runs about three-fifths of what it ran in World War No. 1, and I may say that with respect to social diseases, which, as you all know, have been the curse of armies for generations past, our Army has established a record that is veritably amazing. That terrible evil has all but been completely overcome. We have never known anything like it. I have been to great units, great divisional cantonments and found whole regiments without a single case. I have found in an outfit of 18,000 men only 18 cases. With respect to that terrible menace which always overhangs armies I may make this observation, that men in the Army are suffering from that curse less than their contemporaries in civil life. We ought to rejoice at it.

Your hospital rate, your sick rate, is a yardstick measuring the behavior of your men, for obviously if large numbers of them indulge in excesses the sick rate goes up; our has gone down, way down. The other yardstick is represented by the summary court record of an Army. As you know, a summary court corresponds very closely to a police court in a big city; minor offenses are brought before the summary courts. Obviously, if large numbers of our men are misbehaving in one way or another, the summary court rate will go up. It may be of interest to you to know that in the Army of today, measured by the strength of the Army, as compared with the Army of 1918 and 1919 and its strength the number of summary courts is only one-quarter as many as it was 25 years ago. There is something for your comfort.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The Clerk read as follows:

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That so much of the first sentence of section 3 (a) of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, as precedes the first proviso is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 3. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this act, every male citizen of the United States, and every other male person residing in the United States, who is between the ages of 18 and 45 at the time fixed for his registration shall be liable for training and service in the land or naval forces of the United States."

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 1, line 10, after the word "ages", strike out the word "eighteen" and insert the word "nineteen."



Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Chairman, there are three amendments all going to the same point simply changing the age from "eighteen" to "nineteen" wherever it appears in the bill. I ask unanimous consent that all three amendments may be read and be considered together.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 3, line 8, after the words "the ages of", strike out the word "eighteen" and insert "nineteen."

In line 9, after the words "attained the", strike out the word "eighteen" and insert the word "nineteen."

Page 3, line 17, after the words "the ages of", strike out the word "eighteen" and insert the word "nineteen."

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Chairman, I approach this matter with great temerity and offer this amendment only because I feel it to be my solemn duty. I do not pose as a military expert, but I submit to you that Members of this Congress are as good judges of human nature as are the generals and the admirals. Some weeks ago I believe it was, the President said that this matter of drafting the 18- and 19-year-olds would not become imperative until next year. Nothing since has happened to greatly change that situation. This bill has been considered by the Military Affairs Committee, reported to the House, and will be passed by this Congress in less than 1 week. I submit that if it becomes necessary, that if it becomes emergent, later on the 18-year-old boys can be included within 1 week.

The induction of 18-year-old boys into the Army, Mr. Chairman, is a serious thing. I see no reason why 18- and 19-year-old boys should be inextricably bracketed together. We could easily take the 19- without taking the 18-year-olds. Many 18-year-old boys lack a whole lot of being men. There are great differences between boys of this age. I submit to you that if the drafting of these boys is authorized our armed services are going to induct them in wholesale lots without discriminating greatly between the mature and the immature 18-year-olds. If you could give each a careful personal examination as to aptitude and development before induction, much harm could be avoided. Many 18-year-old boys are still in their adolescence. Many of them are going to be cracked up, so to speak, by being summarily drafted and inducted into the service. I submit to you further that during the first World War no drafted boy under 21 saw combat duty. I submit further that most of the boys of 18 who are developed and who are bold and adventurous will in the course of a few months volunteer. We can certainly get along without the 18-year-old boy who is going to be injured physically or mentally by compulsory military service. It seems to me, in view of the great harm we are probably going to do to the 18-year-old boys, we might well take more time and consider further his particular case before we authorize his induction into the service. I feel that this particular measure has not been given sufficient consideration on that point.

I submit to you that we ought not to include them at this time in this measure. I, therefore, offer the amendment to change wherever it appears in this bill the word "eighteen" to the word "nineteen." Some months ago we lowered the draft by only 1 year to include 20-year-olds. We should lower it only 1 year at this time. If absolute necessity is later shown the draft can again be lowered to include 18-year-olds, but absolute necessity should first be shown.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOSSETT. I yield.

Mr. COOLEY. The gentleman heard the statement made by the distinguished gentleman from New York regarding the sick list of the present Army. If I understood the gentleman correctly, he said the sick list in the present Army was the lowest in the history of the country; yet at the same time the age of the present Army is the highest in the country. Does not this, in the gentleman's opinion, answer the arguments which have been made here regarding the incapacity of the men over 28 years of age?

Mr. GOSSETT. I think so. Furthermore, I am told by many veterans of the first World War that many boys of 18 years just simply cannot stand the gaff, so to speak.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. GOSSETT. I yield.

Mr. COOLEY. Does not the statement put in the RECORD a moment ago by our colleague indicate that men under 21 furnished most of the neurotic cases in the last World War?

Mr. GOSSETT. I understood that to be the case; and in the last war such men seeing service were volunteers.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, I do not rise to interpose my judgment about military matters against the judgment of the Chief of Staff of our Army or of the Chief Executive of this Nation. I shall vote for this bill for the military leaders of the Nation have said it was necessary. That is my reason and my only reason. But I cannot do otherwise than speak and vote in favor of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas, because everything in my own experience teaches me it is right and wise. I cannot but believe that if this age were fixed at 19 years we could get the men we have to have for the Army. Indeed, I believe on the average we would get better men because they would be men psychologically ready for the experiences they must face. Most of my life I have been a school teacher and I know the reason why 77 percent more men under 21 suffered from psychoneurosis during the First World War than was the case with the older group. Those figures were submitted by the gentleman from Alabama in his excellent speech awhile ago. It is because a considerable proportion of American young men simply are not mature at age

18. That is the year in which most of them finish high school. There are some of them who are just not ready and, as the gentleman from Alabama said, the ideal thing that could be done would be a consideration of this matter with regard at least to the 18-year-old group so that there can be a careful selection from that group, not mass induction. There ought to be not only physical but careful psychological examination of them—and I believe Congress should insist that this be done. Eighteen years is the exact age at which the normal boy graduates from high school if he makes a grade every year and enters school when he is 6. I believe we ought not to prevent any boy from at least finishing his high-school course before he is called.

I would not take any position that I thought was going to weaken our Nation, but I believe these things most strongly and feel in duty bound to give the House my opinion. From what I know of the development of American boys I sincerely believe we will get more nearly the exact men who can do the best job in this Army if we select from the 18-year-old group with far greater care than this bill provides.

I want to say one thing more. This bill undoubtedly is going to pass by an overwhelming vote. These young men are going to do their duty. We should all understand that they are going to go and fight for a world that will be theirs when they come back and not for your world or mine. I want to say again as I have said many times in this House that no Member of the House will be doing his full duty if he simply votes for this bill. We must proceed to see that the world that these young men come back to will be as nearly one of genuine opportunity for them as we can make it. And the younger the age at which you call these boys the greater your obligation with regard to their future.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I have listened with great interest to the speeches which have been delivered during the course of the debate on this bill. Many Members have said, "It will take a lot of courage to cast a vote for this bill." They tell us here that we should follow our leaders, and they remind us of the fact that we are now engaged in war. We are told that American men who are 27 or 28 years of age are physically unfit for combat duty, and that the average age of the Army must be lowered. The statement to the effect that able-bodied American men who are 27 or 28 years of age cannot fight is a reflection upon American manhood which cannot be justified, yet apparently Congress has decided, and our leaders have decided to lower the age and let the Boy Scouts fight this war.

I was in the cloak room a moment ago, and I asked one of the pages, "How old are you, son?", and he said, "I am 18." He is just a page boy. Are we going to let page boys and Boy Scouts stand forth as the best fighting material that America can offer in this world crisis?

My personal situation is somewhat unique. Immediately after Pearl Har-



bor and immediately upon voting for a declaration of war I tendered my services to the War Department and to the Navy Department. I sought to enlist by representing myself at the recruiting station. I later conferred in person with officials of both Departments and subsequently applied by letter, tendering my services and likewise expressed a willingness to tender my resignation as a Member of this House upon being accepted in a combat unit. I was told, in effect, "You are too old to fight. You cannot stand the gaff, and Uncle Sam just does not have any place for you." Uncle Sam does not want you, and he does not want me, because he says we just cannot take it. And yet our leaders all of a sudden decide that the Nation is badly in need of teenage boys, boys who, many of you said only a few short weeks ago, should remain tied to their mothers' apron strings until they become men. Oh, it does not take courage, but it certainly takes a lot of gall for able-bodied men in the legislative branch of the Government to vote for a bill that will press 18-year-old boys immediately into combat duty, to make cannon fodder of children; yes, because you know that is just what will be done. We are told they will be trained. Yes, to be sure they will be trained. They will be trained to go forth and to die in the interest of a country and for a society and a civilization in the building of which they have never been permitted to participate. Are we so hard-pressed for men that we must fight our wars with children and beardless youths who are in no way responsible for the chaotic world in which they find themselves?

I would revamp all of the educational institutions of America during the present emergency. I would stop teaching sociology, philosophy, art, Latin, and music, and a lot of subjects now being taught, and I would gear up the institutions of America to the wheels of war and utilize all of the facilities of the colleges and universities of this Nation in the teaching of subjects which are vital to the war effort, but this bill contemplates no such action.

Shortly after Pearl Harbor I had a conversation with Admiral Nimitz. This was before he was placed in command of the Pacific Fleet, and during the course of our conversation he received a telephone call from some of the policy-making officials of his Department. The subject of ages was then being discussed, and I heard Admiral Nimitz tell the official with whom he was talking that this would be a long, hard-fought war, that it would not be over this year or next year or year after next, and that in the years to come we would need engineers, doctors, technicians, chemists, and other skilled men, and he said that he did not want those who were responsible for arranging the age limits to lower the age limit so as to disrupt and to cripple the institutions of learning in America. Similar views have been expressed by many persons prominent in the life of our Nation. If we pass this bill, what will become of our institutions of learning? What will become of the high schools?

To prove to you that not even the War Department had reached a decision on

this very important matter until very recently, I quote the following from a letter written by a responsible official of the War Department to a Member of this House on September 21:

Eighteen- and nineteen-year-old boys will not be called into service until such a course is absolutely essential. When and if such a course is adopted, it will be because this age group is urgently needed and because it is imperative that their training for actual duty with the Army be initiated.

This letter clearly indicates that the War Department on September 21 did not then consider it necessary and certainly not "absolutely essential" to draft 18- and 19-year-old boys. What has happened since then to make it necessary? No one seems to know anything of importance which has transpired since September 21 which requires the enactment of this legislation.

Mr. MAY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COOLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. MAY. I cannot remember anyone who stated on the floor that 28-year-old men could not fight. I wish the gentleman would point out the Member who stated that, if he can.

Mr. COOLEY. As I understand it, that is the present position of the War Department and as I understand it, that is the position of the gentleman's committee. Why, we drafted men into the Army up to 35 years of age and at the request of the War Department we lowered it to 28 years of age because the War Department did not want men over 28 years of age in the service. Then, with the consent and approval of the War Department, we fixed the age limit at 45 years. Now, at the request of the War Department, we are about to lower the age to 18 years. On every occasion congressional acts have been approved by the War Department and the President. I understand that the War Department is now taking the position that men over 28 years of age, which is the present average age of the Army, are incapable of carrying on this fight because many of them are in sickbeds. The distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] in his recent speech completely negatives any such thought when he tells us that the sick list in the Army at the present time is the lowest that we have ever had and that the age limit in the Army is the highest in our history.

Mr. MAY. That is not the testimony or the contention of the War Department or anybody in it.

Mr. COOLEY. It may not be but it is the statement of the author of the pending measure. As food for further thought I want to read to you again an excerpt from volume 10, section 2, chapter 8, on page 430, in a series of studies of the medical department of the United States Army in the World War, volume on neuropsychiatry:

These figures reveal a marked disproportion between the admissions to the hospital of men under 21 and their number in the Army at large, 77 percent more men from this group being admitted to the hospital than their proportion in the Army would lead us to expect. That is, there was a marked tendency for men under 21 to develop neurosis

in greater numbers than their proportion in the Army would warrant.

Has the Medical Department of the United States Army been consulted regarding this pending bill? If so, the House has not been told about it. I wonder if the Medical Department of the Army is now willing to repudiate its findings concerning the neurotic tendencies of men in the armed forces under 21 years of age.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 3 additional minutes.

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word and I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman for an observation if he wants to make it.

Mr. COOLEY. Will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair may say that under the parliamentary rules of the House he cannot secure permission to address the House and then yield the time to someone else.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to make some remarks on my own account, but I just want to get an observation from the gentleman on the topic about which he was talking.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina has not asked the gentleman to yield.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I understood the gentleman to ask me to yield just now.

Mr. COOLEY. Will the gentleman yield to me for one brief observation?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. COOLEY. I should like to say further that I believe that this House is rushing into a very important matter with only slight consideration being given to either its importance or its implications. There is no reason on earth why we should hesitate to eliminate from our educational system all of the nonessentials. Likewise, there is no reason on earth why we should not utilize the dormitories and the classrooms of the colleges and universities and high schools of America in teaching and training the youth of our Nation in matters which are essentially a part of our war effort. Yet this is not being done. The only thing that we are doing is disrupting our school system and putting these boys—yes; children, if you please—in a uniform and into Army camps along with men many of whom have been hardened by years of service in the Army.

One further observation: We sit here, the Congress of the country, well knowing that every department in this Government is literally filled with men of combat age and what have we done about it? We will all agree that something should be done about it, yet we are all conscious of the fact that nothing has been or is being done about it.



Many men of combat age now in the armed forces are doing jobs that can be done by older men, yes, even men over the age of 40, or 45 or 50, or even by girls. Some have been in the Army for 5 or 6 or 7 years, sergeants and noncommissioned officers, 23, 25, or 27 years of age, who are still chauffeurs for lieutenants and others who hold commissions.

Do you mean to tell me that you and I and others of our ages are not capable of being chauffeurs for lieutenants? Oh, they have no place for us. We are too old, and we are too old—why? Because somebody down the street says we are too old. We talk about the size of the Army. I think that everyone of you is conscious of the fact that we are now overexpanding our armed forces. Not one of us will be fool enough to believe for 1 minute that even America, with all of its great resources, could support an army of 13,000,000 soldiers and carry the other great burdens which we are now carrying for our Allies, yet just a few weeks ago that was the figure; that was the figure that was given to the country. Now they have lowered that figure to 7,500,000. Who knows that we will be able to equip fully, or to house, to clothe, and to feed an army of even 7½ million men? How many men will be needed in industry? How many men will be needed in agriculture, which is now already crippled? The determination has not yet been made.

We speak of manpower and the shortage of skilled workers, and yet we have the 40-hour week and strikes throughout the country. We want a larger Army, an Army ever-increasing in size, and yet there are men between the ages of 21 and 30, hiding out in so-called defense plants, having been deferred, yet continue to strike. Soldiers do not and cannot strike with impunity. There is another group whose induction is being delayed, married men of combat age neither supporting wife, nor chick, nor child. Many of them married just a few hours before Pearl Harbor and many marriages were accelerated by the impending crisis. Physically fit? Yes. Of combat age? Yes. Inducted into the service? No. Why should a 25-year-old man whose wife is earning her own livelihood, be deferred? Many married men are comfortable in the security of their marriage and they are playing bridge and gin rummy and otherwise entertaining themselves, while the Nation is hard pressed for manpower. What is going to be done about it? Certainly something should be done about the present situation before lowering the draft age. Production on our farms is being crippled on account of the labor shortage. Dairy herds are being sent to the slaughter pen because of a labor shortage. Our farms have already been stripped of manpower and yet we are told that we must double the size of our present armed forces. The suggestion is worthy of more serious consideration than is being given to it here in this House today.

I thank the gentleman from Michigan for yielding to me for this brief observation.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I thank the gentleman for his observations.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mrs. BYRON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I should like to say that I am in favor of the bill, and that I am a mother who has a son 18 years old, the oldest one of my five boys. My husband was an aviator in the last war, and my brother is serving overseas at the present time.

Mr. BOREN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, of course we must win this war regardless of cost. However disquieting that cost may be, I am ready for its payment upon its show of need, even though it means troubling my heart with this grievous task of the teen-age draft. But to the claim that this is the essential price of victory, I say it is not so, it is not true.

The teen-age draft will give a million manpower to our Army strength, you say. I reply that a million manpower is available without a teen-age draft if you will take the swivel-chair soldiers out of Washington and remove those from non-essential Army assignments the Nation over.

Another million is available if you will take the red-tape artists out of the useless Government activities which now hinder and hamper the war effort. Yet a third million is available, turned down seeking service by flatheads making rules against flatfeet and minor nothings.

Under the present situation, it is my certain conviction that this bill is based upon injustice, inequity, and error. The Army's claim that youths, yet mentally immature, make better soldiers is an indictment of our military system so disgustingly shameful that in the name of all the soldiers who made America's proud military history, I deny that lie.

The intensity of my opposition to placing the brutal burden of winning this war on the shoulders of teen-age youngsters does not permit me calmly to voice the sentiments that choke my words with the anger of rebellion against this outrage.

I have no doubt that, if called upon, our youth of teen age will serve bravely, nobly, and well but I rise to point to the grave injustice of exacting the full responsibilities of citizenship from those deemed so young that we deny them the full privileges of citizenship.

They are too young to vote, you say. Too young to fill the jobs in the factories and the offices, but you hold them to be old enough to die—old enough to face the hell of the battlefield. In God's name, what nonsense is this?

Only a knowledge that it was the last resort against defeat and disaster could lead me to vote for such a measure.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 30 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, personally I do not understand why there is opposition to taking youth of 18 into the Army. Forty

years ago I was 18 years old and I could do four times more work than I can today. I could walk 20 or 30 miles a day and I doubt if I could walk 2 miles today. So I still cannot understand why there is opposition to taking youth into the Army. A year or two ago I spoke to the Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee to the effect that this country ought to have compulsory training for all youth from the age of 18 up, after they leave high school. We today would have an army of at least six or seven million people who would be ready to go and fight at all fronts whenever necessary. Why are we lacking in help today? It is because we have not built up an army, an army such as is required to police the world. I say that only through compulsory training will we be able to have an army, and we must remember that this war will not be over in 1 or 2 years, and after the war is over we will have to police the world.

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Chairman, I do not see why we are so unduly excited over this bill. I think the best way to determine what we are about is to look toward what the 18- and 19-year-old youths are doing themselves today. The 18- and 19-year-old youths are volunteering for service today and happy to be there. Only yesterday I had occasion to go through the Procurement Office of the Navy in Chicago and I saw the 18- and 19-year-old boys who were volunteering for the air-cadet service. They were fine specimens of manhood, patriots happy to go there and fight, and here we stand saying, "Let those who want to volunteer go and those who do not want to volunteer we will let them alone."

The arguments that were made here today against this bill are the same arguments that we heard a few years ago. The same arguments, I might say, that were probably put forth by some of the American Firsters. I want to read to you something which is rather enlightening from one of the great men of this Nation, a man who stood on the platform with Lindbergh fighting the war effort, and now has shown himself to be one of the Nation's great patriots. He says:

Only a year ago there were many loyal Americans—and I was one of them—who felt that this was not our war. We used to say that if the Soviets were wiped off the map it would be good riddance, and that the feeble, guilty old British Empire was not worth one American life.

Yet, humiliating as it is, I am ready to confess that we were wrong and President Roosevelt was right. It was our war from the first.

If the President had listened to me, China, Russia, and Great Britain would now be prostrate, and we should be facing our zero hour alone and unprepared.

This statement was made by the Very Reverend Robert I. Gannon, president of Fordham University, in an address at the formal opening of the academic year, 1942, a man who himself confesses that if the President had followed him and others of his thinking, we would be prostrate at the feet of Hitler.

President Roosevelt has asked for this now. The President was right before and he is right now. The people of this Nation want to win this war and the people are in favor of this bill.



Men like the Very Reverend Robert I. Gannon are real patriots. It is about time some of you in this Congress follow in the footsteps of that great man. Nobody likes to see these young men go in the Army but none of us wanted this war either. We are in it, and we must win. Thank God, the youth of America are real patriots. God bless and protect them.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, if I thought this bill was necessary I would not be opposed to the measure. If it is necessary for the preservation and maintenance of our country, then, naturally, I am in favor of it, but the question arises in my mind at this time and in the minds of the people of the United States, Is it necessary at this time?

Some 3 weeks ago General Hershey appeared before the Military Affairs Committee, and I have in front of me what I borrowed from one of the members of that committee, a memorandum of what General Hershey submitted to the Military Affairs Committee on the available manpower now subject to the draft, capable and qualified to be drafted. I do not have the time to go over this list with you, but it says a recapitulation to the effect that there are 2,500,000 subject to the draft now that are qualified without dependents or with dependents, who are able to take care of themselves.

If we have now ready to be drafted into the armed service of this great country, along with others which we have in the service, 2,500,000 available soldiers, then why is this necessary at this time? This is what your Selective Service Director has given to the Military Affairs Committee. I am sure if I were not correct in this the chairman or some member of that body would correct me.

I am in support of this amendment because I do not believe from what General Hershey or the Army have given the Congress, that it is necessary. If it is necessary, then I say let us preserve our country at all costs. If it is necessary, I say, in line with what the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY] has said, take me and some of the rest of us here. I was in the other war and I know a little something about training, and I differ from some of you on the statement that a man 24 or 25 or 28 or even 30 years of age is not equally capable with a boy or a child of 18 years in the matter of endurance. If the War Department's theory is correct with reference to endurance, did it ever occur to you that these high-school students of 18 years of age would defeat the college men in football games? If the 18- and 19-year-old boys are physically and better qualified than the older men, then may I ask you why the professional baseball and football clubs do not select them. It is very seldom that you ever hear of a boy 18 years of age on a professional baseball team, and you never hear of one that age on a professional football club. Almost all of the athletes who compete in endurance tests are over the age of 18 years; therefore such argument will not stand up. Boys 18 years of age are not settled either physically or mentally; they are more susceptible to become excited and

nervous as shown by the medical report put in this RECORD by the gentleman from Alabama. They are more susceptible to immoral influences than older men. And here may I say this, that there is being permitted the opening and operation of rum shops in and around our Army camps. As I see it this is the worst thing that could be done; to me this is very wrong, and this Government should never have permitted this. I believe, as millions of other American citizens believe, that the rum shop furnishes the most vicious and demoralizing place and influence that could be put in reach of the American soldier. I call upon this Congress in defense of the young men who have been taken from their homes and put in the service to put a stop to these vicious and demoralizing rum shops around our Army camps.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] for 3 minutes.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I hope the amendment of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GOSSETT] to strike out the figure "18" and insert "19", is adopted.

I am of the opinion that a great many people who are now on the Federal pay roll ought to be in the Army before we go to drafting boys of 18; and many people in industrial jobs, who seem to think that this war is a joy ride, are just as much entitled to fight this war as are these 18-year-old boys.

During the war between the States Jefferson Davis was urged to lower the draft age to 15 years, but he said that he declined to "grind the seed corn of the Confederacy." I am afraid that in a short time, instead of putting these men into the Army who are now enjoying wages and salaries they never enjoyed before, and which many of them do not earn, they will be here asking us to lower the draft age again, to grind the seed corn of the Republic.

You are stripping the farms in my section of the country of their manpower now.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] said that there was little or no venereal disease in the Army. The reason is that they are exempting men who claim to have venereal disease, and as a result rejecting the Negroes in the South, and taking the white boys off the farms.

Nine men out of 10 who go to the Army in one county I know are white men, and yet the contractors are required to employ 47 percent Negro laborers on a munition plant in that same county.

Those Negro laborers could do just as much in labor battalions as could these boys of 18, or even more.

Let us put a stop to exempting men merely because they want to be exempted before we take boys 18 years of age.

I realize as well as anybody the danger that we are in. We may have to defend our own shores before long, and if you people keep stirring up trouble for us in the South, we are going to need our young men trained when this war is over in order to take care of the domestic sit-

uation. But I think we ought to adopt this amendment and not take boys as young as 18 years of age.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. JOHNSON] for 3 minutes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Chairman, I shall support the pending amendment to this draft bill that will make the minimum age limit 19 years instead of 18, as proposed by the Committee on Military Affairs. I submit in all seriousness that this compromise, if agreed upon, would make this bill much easier for the average Member of Congress to support. I do not mind saying to Members that this is the most difficult bill for me to support of any of the several defense measures that have come before this body.

It will be recalled that when the original draft act was passed that certain high-up officials in the War Department even then insisted on lowering the age limit to 18 years. The bill as passed by the Senate contained a minimum age limit of 19 years. The House insisted on placing the age limit at 21, and finally 20 years was agreed upon as a compromise, not only between the two Houses but between those of us who have steadfastly opposed lowering the age limit to 18 years and the so-called military experts who have been determined from the outset of this war to do so.

To those who are here today insisting that the age limit be reduced to 18 years and who are so vigorously opposing the pending amendment that proposes that the age limit be placed at a minimum of 19 years, I cannot refrain from reminding them that back in the year of 1935, some 7 years ago, I offered a bill to give military training to the youth of this country who were at that time or should thereafter become enrollees in the C. C. C. camps of the United States. For many months thereafter I begged for a hearing on that measure but was absolutely unable to secure one. It is significant that some of those who are today most active for lowering the age limit of the youth of this land ridiculed the idea 7 years ago of giving military training to boys who not only needed it but who were pleading for an opportunity to receive this training that was of such vital importance to the safety and security of our country. If all the enrollees who were in all of the C. C. C. camps of the country from the beginning had been given military training, we would have had a trained army of some 3,000,000 men who served in the Civilian Conservation Corps. So I cannot refrain from saying that the hindsight of some of our self-admitted experts appears to be considerably better than their foresight.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Yes; I shall be glad to yield to my good friend from South Dakota.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I notice that the gentleman from Oklahoma has introduced in the House a companion bill to S. 680. I want to go on record now as commending the gentleman in doing



that, and as saying that when this action is taken today to put 18- and 19-year-old boys in the Army, every Member of this House who votes for that should get behind the gentleman's bill and give a better environment to these boys in the camps.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I thank the distinguished gentleman, and of course agree with him. If and when the pending bill to lower the draft age is passed, that of course will be additional reason why my bill to outlaw intoxicating liquors at, on, or in the vicinity of Army camps and naval establishments should be considered and passed. I might add in this connection that this great Committee on Military Affairs that is so anxious today to rush this bill through without opportunity of amendments, has not yet shown a great deal of concern about the passage of my bill or similar legislation that would give at least some protection to our boys in uniform. In fact, I have not yet been shown the courtesy of a hearing on the bill to which the able gentleman from South Dakota referred. Let me add that despite the statements made here today about the good health of the young men at Army camps, and the excellent moral conditions of such camps, reports I am receiving are not anything to boast about in certain areas.

There are many things about this bill that I do not like. I voted against the rule to bring the bill in without an opportunity to offer all amendments. I voted against it because, for example, an 18-year-old high-school boy will not be permitted to finish his school and graduate in his class unless he walks down to the draft board and begs them to permit him to finish high school. Now if this bill means what it says, if you really intend to exempt high-school boys, why not put it right in the bill, rather than through a notice to a high-school or college boy who may be trying to complete his high-school or college education that he must ask for deferment.

Again, Mr. Chairman, I could not bring myself to vote for the rule on this bill today in spite of the explanations of members of that committee that there was nothing unusual about that procedure. It may not be unusual procedure but in my judgment it is wholly undemocratic and poor legislative practice to bring a bill before this body that will hamstring Members who desire to offer amendments. I have the utmost respect for the Military Affairs Committee of the House. I served for some years as a member of that committee and would have been chairman now had I chosen to remain on that committee instead of going as I did by my own request to the Committee on Appropriations, but to say that no Member of this Congress can offer an amendment except to the age of the draftee unless he happens to be a member of the Committee on Military Affairs is another way of saying that unless one happens to be a member of that committee he has no right to offer any suggestions as to legislation of this kind that affects every community and almost every home in the entire country.

We are told by members of the Committee on Military Affairs that responsible representatives of the War Department have given assurance that these 18-year-old boys if and when drafted will not be called into actual combat until they are thoroughly prepared and they are leaving the inference that this is the policy of the War Department and the Navy at this time. Yet reports are coming to us of men who have been killed or wounded who were inducted into service after Pearl Harbor. I have just talked to a young man now serving in the Navy from Okarche, Okla., in the district I have the honor to represent in Congress. He is sitting in the gallery now. I am advised that the parents of a young man from that town inducted into the service less than 9 months ago were notified of the death of their son in action a few days ago.

Having served in World War No. 1 as a buck private, I remember how we were told then that our boys would be trained before they were put in the front-line service, but I had the experience of seeing boys go into the front lines with practically no training; in fact, some who had never fired a rifle in all of their lives. So I accept with some apprehension the statement of assurance from the so-called brass hats in the armed forces that these boys are to have good and sufficient training before being called upon for combat duty.

Someone has suggested that if we took the swivel-chair patriots out of Washington and other places that there would not be a necessity for lowering the draft age at this time. Of course, there are many desk jobs among the officials in the War Department and other departments of Washington that are essential to the winning of the war; but it is generally conceded that if all those in the Government service who have asked for and secured deferments and all the others who have been turned down because of minor defects were permitted to serve in the Army, Congress would not be called upon for this drastic action at this time. It is difficult to make the country believe that it takes 1,200,000 employees in the War Department, most of whom have desk jobs, to run this war, and that great army of civilian employees is still growing. Many of them are taking care of jobs that intelligent women and older men, some possibly with minor defects, could perform equally as well.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, considering the past history of this legislation and all the facts and conditions involved I shall support the pending amendment to place the minimum-age limit for military service of our American youth at 19 years, instead of 18, as proposed by the committee.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY] for 3 minutes.

Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY. Mr. Chairman, I was one of those who stood up in opposition to the adoption of the rule because I did not think the rule permitted sufficient latitude. I believe the bill should be amended. I believe it is

important to specify some form of training. Unfortunately we are estopped from discussing any incidents we know about whether in the Army or the Navy, and I am sure that if we were free and the galleries were cleared, we might be able to discuss them free and aboveboard.

If we could, we would not hesitate about saying whether or not we would take the words of General So-and-So and Admiral So-and-So. We all know that many unfortunate things exist in the Army and in the Navy. I think that to turn 18-year-old boys in without a specific provision that they should be trained for at least 1 year or 6 months is a most unfortunate situation.

I am not going to discuss the matter of all these men going around Washington in uniform having on their shoulders the insignia of colonels, majors, and whatnot, some of them just toddling around. There is something funny about an age limit. Here we have a Secretary of War seventy some years of age speaking about those of 28 as being old men. My heavens! If he is capable of being Secretary of War at his age, I do not know why a 28-year-old man is no good.

I believe it is unfortunate for us to draft these men without provision for their training, and as far as I am concerned I am not going to support any measure that will take an 18-year-old boy unless I have some assurance that he will have 6 months' or a year's training before he is put into active service. To do so is wrong.

I know there are some men in the Army at 17, but not all boys are as hard as that; they come from fine homes; they come from schools, they are sheltered and protected; yet we would throw them into the whirlpool and tell them to be soldiers. I was talking to a group of boys on the streets of New York when I was home last and was shocked. They had not been in the Navy more than a few weeks, and I want to tell you now they had no training. It was a sad sight.

I am not going to vote for any measure unless I am sure it provides for adequate training.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. THOMASON] is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Chairman, I beg this House in this critical hour that you not permit your personal or your racial prejudices to get the better of your judgment and patriotism. Some statements have been made here that there are men down in the departments in Washington who ought to be drafted, or that Negroes in some places should have been drafted instead of white men from the farms of the country; but I remind you in all fairness that if they were deferred they were deferred by their local draft boards. There are 5,600 local draft boards in this country which have done the most marvelous and patriotic job of any people I know, and done it without compensation or hope of reward. They are among our unsung heroes. I refuse to believe there has



been any neglect or favoritism by any of them.

I can only repeat what I said earlier in the day: Heaven knows, my friends, in this hour when our boys are already in every part of the world we have got to trust somebody. Our leaders plead with us that this bill is necessary and imperative for the winning of the war. For a year, and especially since Pearl Harbor, the War Department has repeatedly told your Committee on Military Affairs that sooner or later these young men must be called and trained, and that we cannot safely wait longer. All will have 12 months' training. Hard days are ahead, and we cannot longer delay.

I wish you could have gone with me and others of our committee on an inspection trip to Fort Benning and other posts and have seen those 18- and 19-year-old boys parachuting out of those planes, and all of them volunteers. Thousands of young men of this age have already volunteered in the Army and many more in the Navy. The Navy takes them at 17. It takes young men of strength, action, and daring to handle parachutes, airplanes, and tanks.

Let us not take another bite at the cherry or let our prejudices run away with us in this critical hour when our flag must be defended. The time has come to take no chances. Let us pass this bill as the War Department wants it and quit amending it every few months. We did it in the last war, and every nation in the world is training young men of this age for the days when they may have to go into combat.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MAY] is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, let me repeat that no man in this House or anywhere else in America regrets any more than I the necessity of coming here to ask that you draft 18-year-old boys; but when I look back at this flag and when I know it is trailing at many points on the battle fronts of the world, and when I know that the 18-year-olds of today may be the slaves of another generation, I wonder how men can come at this late hour of the day and undertake to say that we will cull this thing year by year and have this committee hold sessions for the next 2 years instead of finishing the job now so we shall not be called upon to do it again next month.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAY. No; I am sorry I cannot yield in 2 minutes' time.

Mr. Chairman, I tell you today that the Nation you love, the Nation that is the only hope of all of the world at this hour is on trial, and the Congress of the United States is on trial before the American public. As for me, I stand here without fear or trembling to ask this House of Representatives this afternoon to be brave and not send us out as a Committee on Military Affairs to come back next month or in the next 6 months and tell you we have got to draft 18-year-old boys; let us get the job over with, and get these young men well trained, and let us

get the job of licking Hitler and Tojo over with.

[Here the gavel fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, in the few minutes at my disposal I desire to make just a few temperate statements without emotion but with as calm determination as it is possible for me as an American citizen to command.

Mr. Chairman, repeatedly during the past 2 years I have said that this generation of Americans was on trial. This means each and every one of us; this we are going to be judged by what we do today in performing our trust, defending our heritage of the past, and measuring up to our obligations to future generations to preserve the United States of America. We in Congress are on trial, as the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs said. These good people in the galleries and every one of the 130,000,000 Americans of this generation are on trial. The verdict we will receive will come from the historians of tomorrow.

This amendment should be defeated. We should proceed to vote with vision and courage. Our country is engaged in a war, but unlike some wars, if we lose this war we will not retain our country. If we lose this war we lose not only the war but we lose our beloved country.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that the pending amendment will be defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GOSSETT].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. GOSSETT) there were—ayes 55, noes 155.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 2. Section 5 (f) of such act, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(f) Any person who, while pursuing a course of instruction at a high school or similar institution of learning, is ordered to report for induction under this act during the last half of the academic year at such school or institution, shall, upon his request, have his induction under this act postponed until the end of such academic year."

With the following committee amendment:

Strike all of section 2 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 2. Any person who, during the year 1942, entered upon attendance for the academic year 1942-1943—

"(1) at any high school (or similar institution); or

"(2) at any college or university which grants a degree in arts or science, to pursue a course of instruction satisfactory completion of which is prescribed by such college or university as a prerequisite to either of such degrees; or

"(3) at any university described in paragraph (2), to pursue a course of instruction for the pursuit of which a degree in arts or science is prescribed by such university as a prerequisite;

"and who, while pursuing such course of instruction at such high school (or similar institution), college, or university is selected for training and service under this act prior to the end of such academic year, or prior to July 1, 1943, whichever occurs first, shall,

upon his request, be deferred from induction into the land and naval forces for such training and service until the end of such academic year, but in no event later than July 1, 1943."

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. CELLER moves to strike out all of section 2 commencing on page 2, line 11, and including all of page 3 down to and including the period on line 5, and insert in lieu thereof:

"All persons of the age of 18 and of the age of 19 subject to the provisions of this act shall be carefully and critically examined by appropriate officials of the land and naval forces of the United States, under such regulations as the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy shall promulgate, as to their special talents, aptitudes, experience, and general intelligence. Upon their respective requests, those persons who, in the discretion of such officials of the land and naval forces of the United States, are found to be especially qualified for training and education in subjects such as engineering, chemistry, medicine, dentistry, physics, metallurgy, forestry, mathematics, economics, and governmental administration, and also in such subjects as would best fit them to become good military and naval officers, or in any other scientific and professional subjects that would aid the war effort, shall be deferred from induction into the land and naval forces for a period no longer than 18 months.

"Such persons so deferred shall be permitted to pursue these specialized courses of training and instruction in any bona fide university and college.

"The United States Office of Education shall cooperate with officials of the land and naval forces in the selection of those persons best fitted for deferment and training aforesaid.

"After the expiration of said 18 months of deferment, or prior thereto if any person is certified by the faculty of said bona fide institution of learning where such person has been a student as being unfit to continue the authorized course of training, such persons shall be inducted into the land and naval forces of the United States.

"Supplementing their academic courses, these students shall receive such military training as the appropriate officials of the land and naval forces of the United States shall prescribe.

"If a person so recommended for specialized training is unable to defray necessary tuition and maintenance charges, same shall be paid for out of annual appropriations for the War and Navy Departments."

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I rise for the purpose of making a point of order against the amendment just offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER]. The amendment is not in order under the rule by which the bill is being considered.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, may I be heard?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will hear the gentleman.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, may I point out to the Chair that on page 2, line 3 of the rule, there are the words "amendments relating to age limits" which is rather a broad term, namely "relating to age limits." "Relating" means having to do with, relative to, or within the realm of. There is no absolute limitation. The word "relating" is rather broad. It generally covers the subject matter. The



subject matter is what may happen to those lads drafted under the act who are 18 and/or 19. The training and service of those between 18 and 45 is the subject matter of the bill and my amendment, therefore, refers to age limits and their training. It is a subject related to the age limits. To my mind, and in my humble opinion, the amendment is in order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would call the gentleman's attention to the fact that even if the gentleman's contention were correct and his amendment fairly related to the age limits, lines 5 and 6 of the rule provide that committee amendments are not subject to any kind of amendment. This is a committee amendment and not subject to any kind of amendment.

Mr. CELLER. Do I understand the Chair to say that only committee amendments may be offered to the bill? I did not hear the Chair's entire statement.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair did not say that. The gentleman understands, of course, that the bill is being considered under a special rule which is quite different from the regular rules of the House. This rule provides that only committee amendments may be considered to the bill, with the exception that amendments may be considered relating to age. But committee amendments, under this rule, are not subject to amendment. You may not amend the committee amendment under this rule.

The Chair therefore sustains the point of order.

Mr. CELLER. Do I understand the Chair to rule that there cannot be any amendment whatsoever to the words on page 2, commencing at line 11 and running down to page 3, line 5?

The CHAIRMAN. That is according to the rule adopted by the House.

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs a question. After July 1 or June 30 next, when a young man reaches 18 years of age without having completed his high-school education, can he then become eligible for training as an air cadet? After June 30 next a young man becomes 18 years of age and has not completed his high-school education; can he, upon reaching 18 years of age, make application and become an air cadet?

Mr. MAY. Why, certainly.

Mr. HINSHAW. If he has not completed his high-school education?

Mr. MAY. Any time before he is inducted he can do that, under the provisions of this act.

Mr. HINSHAW. Is it not a requirement that he shall have completed his high-school course before he can become an air cadet?

Mr. MAY. Oh, no.

Mr. HINSHAW. Is the gentleman certain of that?

Mr. MAY. That is my understanding and I have no information to the contrary.

Mr. HINSHAW. I have understood that a young man had to complete his high school course before he could become an air cadet.

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HINSHAW. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. KILDAY. Formerly a man was required to have 2 years of college or its equivalent, but the regulations have been revised, and he is now subjected to a screening test which has no educational requirement attached to it. There is no provision that he shall have had any certain number of years of education, but he must be able to pass the screening test which he is given.

Mr. HINSHAW. I thank the gentleman for that information.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment. But I shall support this bill on final passage and now so record my position.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to make a few observations somewhat relating to the comments of the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH], and the gentleman from California [Mr. COSTELLO].

We are here considering the moving into the armed forces of several million young men. Considering the remarks of Mr. WADSWORTH, of New York, about the crucial situation which will prevail in 1943, what concerns me primarily is how our men are to be successfully transported to the military fronts and properly supplied with the necessary equipment, food, and so forth. In 1936 and 1937 I had a few things to say about the merchant marine. I think that at the beginning of this war we had about 8,000,000 tons of shipping. Then we proceeded to take over ships at our ports, along with the production of new ships, which carried that tonnage up to about 11,000,000 tons. Since then we have lost perhaps 400 ships of our own, with an average tonnage of about 6,000, or let us say roughly 2,500,000 tons. I understand from the Maritime Commission that in the year ending September 27, last, we built about 5,400,000 tons of shipping, so we have approximately 13,900,000 tons of shipping at the present time.

The responsibility for building and operating these ships on which the goods of war and the men must move is directly up to the Maritime Commission. I understand that one of the officials of that Commission, Admiral Wiley, made the statement while a member of that Commission that neither he nor any of the Navy people are familiar with the building or handling of merchant ships. These experts indicate, based on information I have obtained, that it takes about 17 tons of deadweight shipping to move a man 3,500 miles and about 3.4 tons to maintain him. Multiply that by 5,000,000 men being moved and maintained and see what you have. You probably have a shortage of around 75,000,000 tons of shipping if you are to do the job on such a grand scale as is often talked and at such distances as are involved to reach the military fronts where our men are now located and are to be sent.

The question I raise here is, How can you build a merchant marine that will do the job under the leadership of naval men who are accustomed to dealing with Bethlehem Steel and such companies as

that on strictly naval equipment? I think it is about time that this country came to a full realization that we are not building the ships and that those ships will not be built and successfully operated under Admiral Land and his direct assistants.

I congratulate the American Federation of Labor on carrying out the investigation it is now carrying out in connection with the cancelation or the prevention of the building of ships on a streamline basis by the Higgins shipbuilding yard down in the South. I think this House and this country and these men who are now in the service and are to be moved into the service are entitled to know the full facts, which have not been divulged in connection with that.

If we are to have these men on the battle front we will have them massacred unless the Maritime Commission and the merchant marine move the goods and the men in sequence and in a way that will support the whole operation, including the Navy as well as the Army. That may perhaps be one of our great troubles down in the Solomon Islands at the present time, as so well pointed out by the gentleman from California [Mr. COSTELLO].

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. BELL. The gentleman stated that it takes 17 tons of deadweight shipping to move a soldier.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Yes; let us say about 3,500 miles.

Mr. BELL. For how long a period?

Mr. CRAWFORD. To transfer him 3,500 miles.

Mr. BELL. For how long a period, for a year or for 2 years?

Mr. CRAWFORD. No; that is to move him. Then you have to have an average of 3.4 tons to maintain him after he gets there.

Mr. BELL. For how long a period?

Mr. CRAWFORD. As long as you keep him there.

Mr. BELL. Does the gentleman mean 3 or 4 tons a month, or a year?

Mr. CRAWFORD. No. Let us say that you move 5,000,000 men. Multiply that by 3.4 tons of shipping that you have to keep ready to serve and in service constantly, going and coming. In this general connection let me quote from an October 16 New York News Press report of a statement made before the National Council of American Shipbuilders by Admiral Woodward, United States Navy, retired—

told the conference that the season is now approaching when a new outbreak of Axis undersea-raider activity along the Atlantic coast can be expected.

And further, the New York Journal of Commerce of October 17 points out that Admiral Land informed the American Merchant Marine Conference—that the shipbuilding program has shaped up to a point where it is not the problem it was a year ago. Land explained that operations were the chief difficulty now. The Journal, quoting the Admiral, says, "Even a casual study of the global geography of this war and a look at some of the ports we are required to use show why



operating efficiently, turn-around loading, and other necessary operations are extremely difficult. Many ports are being used which were never utilized in peacetime except under emergency conditions. Their facilities, their stevedoring, and all else that makes for successful and efficient operations are woefully lacking.

Now, Mr. Chairman, these are warnings to those who are watching the unfolding of this general program. Unless the military goods reach the boys at the front, they have a first-class chance of being massacred. It is an operating problem involving the handling of commercial craft, not battleships or naval vessels, and the point of my statement is that we have at the head of the Maritime Commission naval talent inexperienced in operating commercial vessels—inexperienced in building on a vast scale commercial craft. This is one of the prime reasons why we are so slow in getting the ships off the ways—I mean slow as compared to the task before us, as related to the thought of moving and supplying some five or more million men, as related to the job of getting ships built rapidly and much faster than ever built by the old naval craft builders.

I repeat this question: Why have naval admirals without experience in the building and operation of merchant ships been placed in charge of the Maritime Commission upon which we must depend for our ships to carry supplies to the boys on the fronts? When Admiral Wiley, a former member of the Commission, made the statement to the effect that neither he nor any of the Navy people were familiar with the building or handling of merchant ships, he had these matters I am now discussing in mind.

Certainly I would not protest against Admiral Land and Admiral Vickery being put back in the naval operations for which they have been trained. Let them go and supervise the building and operation of the battle wagons and destroyers, and so forth, but as to the operation of the Maritime Commission—the ships thereby controlled in their commercial activities—let us put this program in the hands of experienced commercial shipbuilders and operators.

To further substantiate my position in this matter, I invite the Members of the House and those who read these remarks to closely read the report of the Comptroller General, identified as Senate Document No. 230 of the Seventy-seventh Congress, second session. There is submitted evidence which clearly shows Admiral Land and his assistants are not qualified to manage such operations, and I would further refer my listeners to a report of the Comptroller General, identified as House Document No. 840 of the Seventy-seventh Congress, second session. This report further exposes the inefficiency—and I think one is justified in saying the graft and maladministration—which seems to be rampant in the management of the Maritime Commission.

I would also refer those who are interested to the testimony of Mr. Donald Nelson, of Mr. Mordecai Ezekiel, and others before the American Federation of Labor investigating committee and as

it all relates to the prevention, by the Maritime Commission, of the building of commercial ships by the Higgins shipyard in New Orleans. Let me repeat that the American Federation of Labor is rendering the American people a very great service by getting at the bottom of this whole mess of maladministration in connection with the action of the Commission against the Higgins shipyard. As badly as we now need ships, and as we shall need them more to keep these young men involved in this bill properly supplied with military goods with which to fight, why does the Maritime Commission take such action as it did against the Higgins firm? Let us hope that when the American Federation of Labor has finished its investigation the American people will have a much more satisfactory answer to this question than it has had up to this hour. To talk about training and exporting five to ten million men and to do so without an adequate tonnage of ships is just the kind of procedure which will increase our miseries and bring death to tens of thousands of our best young men.

Along with all of this shortage of shipping facilities we are now about to be asked to enact a bill authorizing the President to advance Rear Admiral Emory S. Land to the rank of vice admiral. I ask the question, Why? Mr. Land has not yet demonstrated that he is entitled to this advancement. Let the facts be made public so that these young men and their parents may know what they are. We have now moved into a position where a slight error can involve the lives of millions of men. Unless a man can qualify, let him be cast aside, and quickly.

Mr. Chairman, in 1936, as a Member of this House, I said:

How far can Japan go? A brief glance at the accomplishments of Japan in her new state, Manchukuo, gives some indication of how far she can go and how fast she can travel in making set-ups in construction, in extraction of raw materials, building of railroads, etc. Her progress there has been phenomenal. Give Japan the raw materials of Manchuria, Mongolia, and North China, with her present organization and efficiency and coordination, plus improvements she will naturally make from time to time, and the balance of the world will take greater notice of Japan's competition than it does today.

Mr. Chairman, that hour has arrived. The boys at Guadalcanal will testify to this statement. Again in 1937 I said:

The United States has for weeks been in the midst of a new scrap-iron boom. It is becoming a national problem. The immediate phase of the problem is that the nations of Europe are competing for the output of every junk yard in America. Shipload after shipload of scrap metal leaves American shores for Europe, while our interested citizens speculate whether those old scraps from wrecked automobiles, railroad wheels, ship plates, old farm implements, broken stoves, iron beds, and a thousand-and-one other pieces commonly called junk may some day be sent back to the United States behind a blast of powder and in a cloud of smoke to wreak destruction.

And then I pointed out the part Japan was playing in the purchase of scrap from us and cited the detailed figures showing tonnage shipments for the first

4 months of 1937. Yes, Mr. Chairman, the junk is now coming back to us at Guadalcanal and other places; in Alaska; and we felt its sting at Manila and throughout the whole of the Philippines. We sold the scrap, the junk, the high-octane gas, and other vital war materials to Japan—and now she sends them back to our men who wait in the fox holes.

(Mr. CRAWFORD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word in order to ask the chairman of the committee a question.

This bill will not preclude a man from enlisting in the Army before he is inducted, as he does now?

Mr. MAY. None whatever. On the contrary, the Army is now inviting enlistments.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. With reference to enlistments in the Navy, does this change in any way voluntary enlistments in that service?

Mr. MAY. Not at all.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I regret I did not know that my friend was going to address his remarks to the subject of the merchant marine. I should have listened to him with great interest. I was busy on some other matters and only heard a part of his speech. I think, upon a careful investigation he will find out that the charge which he made in the conclusion of his speech is entirely unsupported. I do not know, but I understood him to refer to Admiral Wiley, as a member of the Maritime Commission.

Mr. CRAWFORD. At the time he made that statement.

Mr. BLAND. Admiral Wiley has not been on the Maritime Commission for a good, long time, and I doubt that the statements that were made then would be applicable to conditions now.

Perhaps it would be informative to the House to know about the progress the Maritime Commission is making on construction work. The September 1942 deliveries of the Maritime Commission were 93 new cargo vessels of 1,009,800 deadweight tons. With these ships they have now come up to the record of 3 ships a day.

American shipyards have produced 460 ships in 1942, totaling 5,101,956 tons. The program started out with an insufficient number of trained men, largely composed of men who did not know anything about the building of ships. Yet in a short time they have reached the number of 3 ships a day.

This applies to the deliveries in September, and the August deliveries were 68 new cargo carriers or 753,600 deadweight tons. July, 71 ships of 790,300 tons; June, 66 ships, 731,900 tons; May, 57 ships, 619,779 tons; April, 36 ships, 401,632 tons; March, 26 ships, 291,473 tons; February, 26 ships, 289,549 tons; and January, 16 ships, 197,628 tons. Month by month, throughout this year, there has been an increased production and increased speed in the manufacture and production of ships, to such an ex-



tent that I believe recently the Kaiser outfit brought a ship out in 10 days between the time of laying the keel and launching the ship, and 15 days from laying of the keel to delivery of the ship. Every month sees an increase and, with 3 ships a day, I feel sure the gentleman will find that the statement is unsupported.

In a later extension of remarks I shall endeavor to present the entire picture.

Mr. BEITER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last six words in order to submit an inquiry to the Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, is there any provision in this bill that would take care of future cadets for Annapolis or West Point?

Mr. MAY. No; there is no provision with reference to that subject.

Mr. BEITER. At some future date, if the requirements demand it, where are we going to get our officers?

Mr. MAY. There is nothing in the bill about that.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 3. Section 15 (a) of such act, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(a) The term 'between the ages of 18 and 45' shall refer to men who have attained the eighteenth anniversary of the day of their birth and who have not attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of their birth; and other terms designating different age groups shall be construed in a similar manner."

Mr. McGRANERY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I want to say at this time that I propose to vote for this bill and I entertain a very high regard for the distinguished Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee and its members. However, I regret that the committee brought this bill to the floor with the haste that it did and ill considered a very important item in the bill. It is agreed upon throughout the world by educators that those of the adolescent age do not mix with mature men and come out morally well. I sincerely trust that the Military Affairs Committee of this House after this bill goes to the Senate will urge there that some language will be adopted which will keep our teen-age in groups.

No one can tell at this moment what the size of this Army must be, so during this training period these teen-age boys if kept in their groups and God willing, peace comes with victory, of course, only these teen-age boys will not come back here with 45- and 50-year-old ways and manners. It is my sincere hope that the committee will do something on the Senate side about this particular question. I feel it is the most important one in this bill. Teen-age boys we must have, but for Heaven's sake, let us keep them in their own group.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

After section 3 insert:

"SEC. 4. Section 5 of such act, as amended, is amended by inserting at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(i) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person between the ages of 18 and 21 shall be discharged from service in the land or naval forces of the United States while this act is in effect because such person

entered such service without the consent of his parent or guardian."

"SEC. 5. That section 201 (a), paragraph 1 (1), of section 5 (e) of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof a proviso to read as follows: 'Provided, however, That no person who has been deferred from training and service as provided herein shall be inducted prior to the induction of all persons within the same State who have been placed in categories made subject to induction prior to the category in which such person has been placed.'

"SEC. 6. That section 5 of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof a new subsection, as follows:

"(j) No individual shall be relieved from liability for training and service under this act, or held not to be acceptable to the land or naval forces for such training and service, solely on the ground of his having been convicted of any crime which is not a felony at common law, if the local board having jurisdiction determines that such individual is, notwithstanding such conviction, morally fit for military service."

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the desk which I offer and ask the Clerk to read.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. RUSSELL: Page 4, line 13, after the word "crime", strike out the rest of the phrase to the comma, and insert in lieu thereof "Less than a capital offense."

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the amendment is not in order under the rule.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman withhold his point of order for a few minutes?

Mr. MAY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order. The question is on the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CAMP. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. CAMP: Page 4, after line 16, insert a new section to be numbered 7, as follows:

"SEC. 7. That section 5 of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof a new subsection as follows:

"(k) All persons registered for training and service under this act, who have not been called for such training and service, shall upon reaching the age of 46 years, be automatically transferred to the 45-65 age group, and subject to training and service only as provided for persons between the ages of 45 and 65 in this act as heretofore amended."

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that this is an amendment offered in violation of the provisions of the rule which provides no amendment may be considered except committee amendments.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair thinks that is not exactly the provision of the rule. The rule provides that committee amendments may be offered, also any amendments relating to age. The Chair thinks that the amendment of the gentleman

from Georgia [Mr. CAMP] relates to the age limit. The Chair overrules the point of order and recognizes the gentleman from Georgia for 5 minutes.

[Mr. CAMP addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I do this to call to the attention of the House and of the Military Affairs Committee a matter which may be taken care of in conference later on. Perhaps the matter may be clarified in the Senate. I think there is a very unjust and unfair provision in the bill. I wanted to offer an amendment in respect to it but under what I consider a rather drastic rule which I did not approve, I am prohibited from offering it. This bill provides that these boys who happen to be in high school or college may be deferred until the end of the scholastic year or until July 1, 1943. That may be done upon the boy's request. I contend that that should be stricken out. That burden should not be placed upon a boy of tender age to make that decision. He is immature and he is not capable of making a decision. Here are boys all around him in school who are either volunteering or who are not asking for a deferment, and he is placed in the unenviable position of being designated by his fellow students as a shirker or slacker if he goes in and asks for that deferment. I think that ought to be left out. It ought either to be mandatory that they be deferred until the scholastic year has expired, or the whole thing ought to be stricken out and all boys placed upon the same basis. I say it is unfair to the individual, unfair to those boys who cannot make that decision. I wish that the committee of its own motion would agree to it. I raised this question in the Rules Committee yesterday and it seemed to get quite a bit of support, but after the rule was adopted bringing it in here there was not anything that could be done about it. I merely wanted to call the attention of the House to the situation so that if it gets into conference the conferees can give it their attention.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. CAMP].

Mr. Chairman, I merely want to say that under section 5 (e) 2 of the existing selective-service law there is specific authority to do the same thing the amendment proposes. There is, however, an additional objection to the adoption of such an amendment at this time and it is this: The House has very decisively voted to induct 18- and 19-year-old boys into the Army of the United States. If after going down into the barrel to get these youngsters out of the schools we should provide that men around 40 years of age would escape military service I think it would be an ugly looking picture. I ask that the amendment be voted down.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Georgia.

The amendment was rejected.



Mr. CRAVENS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. CRAVENS: At the end of the bill add a new section to be designated as section 7, as follows:

"On each local draft board where there is under the jurisdiction of said board a substantial number engaged in agricultural activities there shall be appointed and maintained on said board at least one member who is engaged in agriculture."

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the point of order against the amendment that it is contrary to the rule under which the Committee is operating.

Mr. CRAVENS. Mr. Chairman, a great deal of the objection I have received lately—and I am sure it has also been the experience of the other Members—is that agriculture does not feel that in designating and making selections they are receiving a fair deal.

I have no quarrel with any local draft board, but in no case that I know of is there anyone on the draft board representing agriculture. Constantly farmers and farm labor are being drafted to the Army who are essential to agriculture, drafted without any consideration at all being given to the essential character of the work they are performing. This disrupts farm production. The purpose of this amendment is to attempt to secure representation for that large group of people engaged in this essential activity so that they may remain where they are for the purpose of making their contribution to the national defense effort where they are best fitted to make it, and to make sure there is someone on these draft boards who knows their problems and who are competent to say whether these people should be taken from the work they are doing and placed in the military service or left on the farms to accomplish a much greater service.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I insist upon a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FISH: At the end of the bill add a new section, as follows: "SECTION 7. No person over the age of 40 shall be called for induction into the land or naval forces after the passage of this act."

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, the President of the United States has declared that it was a military necessity to lower the age limit to 18, and in this he has the support of the Chief of Staff, George Marshall, in urging the same view upon the Congress of the United States as a matter of military necessity. I shall vote for this bill on that basis and that basis alone. I do so reluctantly, but if it is a military necessity we have to support it as a war measure, and if it is necessary to win the war it will go through Congress by almost a unanimous vote. I am sorry the rule precluded an amendment being offered to assure a year's military training for these boys of 18 and 19 before they could be sent overseas to battlefields all over the world. I opposed the rule to give the House that opportunity and believe such an amendment would have carried.

I hope General Marshall will, in accordance with the assurances contained in his letter, make sure that these American boys are given a year of training before being ordered to foreign battlefields. I have purposely introduced this amendment in view of the fact that the bill will be passed almost unanimously reducing the age limit to 18. Unless we reduce the top brackets from 45 to 40 the draft boards will be compelled to classify under 1A the men who are not married between ages 40 and 45. The testimony of the Chief of Staff, General Marshall, shows very clearly that taking these men over 40 years of age out of useful occupations and putting them into the armed forces is doing a disservice and adding a burden and a hardship to our armed forces. I realize, Mr. Chairman, that this amendment will not pass, but I think it is unfair to the draft boards to call upon them to include men between 40 and 45; that it is unfair to the armed forces of the United States to force men of this age upon them by law when they do not want them or need them. General Marshall has clearly shown in his testimony before the Military Affairs Committee that soldiers over 40 break down under the strain, go into the hospitals and become hospitalized. It is a needless waste of time and money in the war effort of our country. For these reasons I think the amendment should be adopted. I doubt very much that it will be discussed on its merits but I want to take this occasion to read what General Marshall had to say about the burden to the Army of soldiers over 40 years of age when he appeared before the committee on Wednesday of this week:

Sunday before last I was down in North Carolina, and I went through the hospitals down there containing about 3,500 beds. I was shocked at what I found, in particular in the surgical wards. The majority of the men seemed to be over 35, and a very large number, comparatively speaking, over 40. Most of them had not been there at Fort Bragg more than 2 weeks, many of them only 3 or 4 days.

Then he goes on at length about these men over 40 years of age. He says further:

What was still more important, I thought, in one sense, was that these men were being taken from useful jobs. I found—I recall at the moment talking to one man who was 43. He was running a complicated machine in the Dodge factory in Detroit. At Fort Bragg he was using the services of the Hospital Corps, the Medical Corps, and he was not adding anything to the Army, and even though he was going to be enlisted for limited service, even there it was quite evident that he and others like him are going to increase our hospital rate, increase construction necessity, increase the burden of overhead, whereas, where he came from he was running a very useful service.

Further on he says:

If we put them overseas we would have to bring them back. We would have to care for them over there, even though it was limited service, even though it was the Quartermaster detachment or something of that sort.

Yet under the law the draft boards have to induct these men over 40 years of age. There are two pages of this testimony by General Marshall depicting the trials and tribulations of the Army in con-

nection with service of these older men. He goes on to say further:

So I want to find out how quickly we can process those men to go back and relieve us of the burden of looking after them. We want to get them back to where they came from, where they are performing useful jobs. And as I say, I want to find out how much of an increased burden that has placed on hospitalization, and what they think will happen when we get into the winter and more difficult cases, because it is very hard, it is exceedingly hard to make a certain type of man fit into a place that he should not be in. The principle of putting a round peg into a round hole is everywhere accepted. Its application is an exceedingly difficult thing.

Mr. Chairman, in justice to the Army, to the draft boards, and particularly to these older men over 40 years of age and employed in useful occupations the law should be changed.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish].

Mr. Chairman, this amendment would be tying the hands of those in command of the Army. They can decide whether or not they want to use these men. If you do not like the high command, if you feel they are doing a bad job for us in winning the war, demand their removal, get them out, but while they are there, follow their suggestions and their advice.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fish].

The amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rise.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and, the Speaker having resumed the Chair, Mr. WOODRUM, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 7528) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, pursuant to House Resolution 554, he reported the same back to the House with sundry amendments agreed to in the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered on the bill and amendments to final passage.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gross.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, on that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 345, nays 16, not voting 66, as follows:

[Roll No. 119]

YEAS—345

Allen, Ill.	Andresen,	Beckworth
Allen, La.	August H.	Belter
Andersen,	Andrews	Bell
H. Carl	Arends	Bender
Anderson, Calif.	Baldwin	Bennett
Anderson,	Bates, Mass.	Bishop
N. Mex.	Beam	Blackney



Bland  
Boehre  
Boggs  
Bolton  
Bonner  
Boykin  
Bradley, Mich.  
Bradley, Pa.  
Brooks  
Brown, Ga.  
Bryson  
Buckley, N. Y.  
Bulwinkle  
Burch  
Burgin  
Butler  
Byrne  
Byron  
Camp  
Canfield  
Cannon, Fla.  
Cannon, Mo.  
Capozzoli  
Carlson  
Carter  
Cartwright  
Case, S. Dak.  
Casey, Mass.  
Celler  
Chapman  
Chenoweth  
Chiperfield  
Clark  
Clason  
Claypool  
Clevenger  
Cluett  
Coffee, Wash.  
Cole, Md.  
Cole, N. Y.  
Colmer  
Cooper  
Copeland  
Costello  
Courtney  
Cox  
Cravens  
Culkin  
Cunningham  
Curtis  
D'Alesandro  
Davis, Ohio  
Davis, Tenn.  
Day  
Delaney  
Dewey  
Dickstein  
Dingell  
Dirksen  
Disney  
Ditter  
Domengeaux  
Dondero  
Downs  
Drewry  
Durham  
Dworshak  
Eaton  
Eberharter  
Edmiston  
Eliot, Mass.  
Elliot, Calif.  
Elston  
Engel  
Englebright  
Faddis  
Fenton  
Fish  
Fitzgerald  
Fitzpatrick  
Flaherty  
Fiannagan  
Fogarty  
Folger  
Forand  
Ford, Miss.  
Ford, Thomas F.  
Fulmer  
Gale  
Gamble  
Gathings  
Gavagan  
Gearhart  
Gehrmann  
Gerlach  
Gibson  
Gifford  
Gillette  
Gillie  
Gore  
Gossett  
Graham  
Grant, Ala.  
Grant, Ind.  
Gregory

Guyon  
Gwynne  
Haines  
Hall  
Hall, Edwin Arthur  
Hall, Leonard W.  
Halleck  
Hare  
Harness  
Harris, Ark.  
Harris, Va.  
Hart  
Harter  
Hartley  
Hébert  
Heffernan  
Heldinger  
Hendricks  
Hess  
Hill, Colo.  
Hill, Wash.  
Hinshaw  
Hobbs  
Hoffman  
Hollbrock  
Holland  
Holmes  
Hook  
Hope  
Howell  
Hunter  
Imhoff  
Izac  
Jackson  
Jacobsen  
Jarman  
Jenkins, Ohio  
Jenks, N. H.  
Jennings  
Johnson, Calif.  
Johnson, Ill.  
Johnson, Ind.  
Johnson, Pa.  
Luther A.  
Johnson, Pa.  
Lyndon B.  
Johnson, Okla.  
Johnson, W. Va.  
Jones  
Jonkman  
Kean  
Kee  
Kefauver  
Kelley, Pa.  
Kelly, Ill.  
Kennedy  
Michael J.  
Keogh  
Kilburn  
Kilday  
King  
Kinzer  
Kirwan  
Kleberg  
Klein  
Knutson  
Kopplemann  
Kunkel  
Landis  
Lane  
Lanham  
Lea  
LeCompte  
Lesinski  
Lewis  
Ludlow  
Lynch  
McCormack  
McGehee  
McGranery  
McGregor  
McLaughlin  
McLean  
McMillan  
Maciejewski  
Maciora  
Magnuson  
Mahon  
Manasco  
Mansfield  
Marcantonio  
Martin, Iowa  
Martin, Mass.  
May  
Merritt  
Meyer, Md.  
Michener  
Miller  
Mills, Ark.  
Monroney  
Mott  
Mundt  
Murdock

Myers, Pa.  
Nelson  
Nichols  
Norrell  
O'Brien, Mich.  
O'Brien, N. Y.  
O'Leary  
O'Neal  
Osmer  
O'Toole  
Pace  
Paddock  
Patman  
Patrick  
Patton  
Pearson  
Peterson, Ga.  
Pfeifer  
Joseph L.  
Pheiffer  
William T.  
Pittenger  
Plauché  
Flores  
Plumley  
Poage  
Powers  
Priest  
Rabaut  
Ramsay  
Ramspeck  
Rankin, Miss.  
Reece, Tenn.  
Reed, Ill.  
Reed, N. Y.  
Rees, Kans.  
Rich  
Richards  
Rivers  
Rizley  
Robertson, Va.  
Robinson, Utah  
Robison, Ky.  
Rockefeller  
Rodgers, Pa.  
Rogers, Mass.  
Rogers, Okla.  
Rolph  
Russell  
Sabath  
Sacks  
Sasser  
Scanlon  
Schuetz  
Schulte  
Scott  
Shafer, Mich.  
Shanley  
Sheridan  
Short  
Sikes  
Simpson  
Smith, Maine  
Smith, Ohio  
Smith, Pa.  
Smith, Va.  
Smith, W. Va.  
Smith, Wis.  
Snyder  
Somers, N. Y.  
Sparkman  
Spence  
Stearns, N. H.  
Stevenson  
Stratton  
Sullivan  
Sumner, Ill.  
Sumners, Tex.  
Sutphin  
Taber  
Talbot  
Talle  
Tarver  
Terry  
Thom  
Thomas, N. J.  
Thomas, Tex.  
Thomason  
Tibbott  
Tolan  
Traynor  
Treadway  
Van Zandt  
Vincent, Ky.  
Vinson, Ga.  
Voorhis, Calif.  
Vorys, Ohio  
Vreeland  
Wadsworth  
Walter  
Ward  
Wasielewski  
Weaver  
Weiss  
Welch

Wene  
Wheat  
White  
Whitten  
Whittington  
Wickersham  
Wigglesworth

Wilson  
Winter  
Wolcott  
Wolfenden, Pa.  
Wolverton, N. J.  
Woodruff, Mich.  
Woodrum, Va.

Worley  
Wright  
Young  
Youngdahl  
Zimmerman

## NAYS—16

Barden  
Bates, Ky.  
Boren  
Burdick  
Coffee, Nebr.  
Cooley

Doughton  
Fellows  
Kennedy  
Martin J.  
Larrabee  
Moser

O'Hara  
Springer  
Steagall  
Tenerowicz  
Whelchel

## NOT VOTING—66

Angell  
Arnold  
Barnes  
Barry  
Bloom  
Brown, Ohio  
Buckler, Minn.  
Cochran  
Collins  
Crawford  
Creal  
Cresser  
Crowther  
Cullen  
Dies  
Douglas  
Duncan  
Ellis  
Ford, Leland M.  
Gilchrist  
Granger  
Green  
Hancock

Houston  
Hull  
Jarrett  
Johns  
Keefe  
Kerr  
Kialkowski  
Kramer  
Lambertson  
McIntyre  
McKeough  
Maas  
Mason  
Mills, La.  
Mitchell  
Murray  
Norton  
O'Connor  
O'Day  
Oliver  
Peterson, Fla.  
Pierce  
Randolph

Rankin, Mont.  
Robertson, N. Dak.  
Rockwell  
Romjue  
Sanders  
Satterfield  
Sauthoff  
Schaefer, Ill.  
Scruggam  
Shannon  
Sheppard  
Smith, Wash.  
South  
Starnes, Ala.  
Stefan  
Sweeney  
Thill  
Tinkham  
West  
Williams

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On the vote:

Mr. Douglas for, with Mr. Mason against.  
Mr. Satterfield for, with Mr. Oliver against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Barry with Mr. Angell.  
Mr. Ellis with Mr. Brown of Ohio.  
Mr. Randolph with Mr. Rockwell.  
Mr. O'Connor with Mr. Gilchrist.  
Mr. McIntyre with Mr. Stefan.  
Mr. Sheppard with Mr. Hancock.  
Mr. Kramer with Mr. Thill.  
Mr. Smith of Washington with Mr. Keefe.  
Mr. Pierce with Mr. Lambertson.  
Mr. Bloom with Mr. Leland M. Ford.  
Mr. Arnold with Mr. Crawford.  
Mr. Cochran with Mr. Maas.  
Mr. West with Mr. Robertson of North Dakota.

Mr. Cullen with Mr. Johns.  
Mr. Starnes of Alabama with Mr. Crowther.  
Mrs. Norton with Mr. Murray.  
Mr. Barnes with Mr. Sauthoff.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, I was called out of the Chamber and was not here when my name was called. Therefore, I cannot qualify. Had I been here, I would have voted for the bill.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members of the House may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their own remarks in the RECORD on the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

## MEMBERS DETAINED BECAUSE OF FLOOD

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware that in the last several days there has been a very severe storm throughout the country, particularly east of the Mississippi.

A number of Members who are not recorded on the bill to lower the draft-age limit passed today were on their way to Washington and were unable to complete the journey due to the storm. I have just received the following telegram:

ROCKVILLE, IND., October 17, 1942.

Hon. JOHN McCORMACK,  
Majority Leader, the Capitol:

If you were not able to make statement on floor concerning McKEOUGH, BARNES, and DUNCAN will you insert this wire in RECORD. Plane grounded at Indianapolis, impossible to get to Washington. If possible to have been present would have voted "aye."

RAY McKEOUGH.  
JIM BARNES.  
R. M. DUNCAN.

I feel that in justice to the Members who made an effort to get here this information should appear in the RECORD.

## PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. KLEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next, at the conclusion of the legislative program of the day and following any special orders heretofore entered, I may be permitted to address the House for 1 hour.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on account of the flood I was delayed 3 hours in getting here this morning and was therefore unable to answer the quorum call.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein a press report on the disposition of our troops.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Idaho?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein some letters and statements.



# Appendix

## Drafting of 18- and 19-Year-Olds

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. NOBLE J. JOHNSON**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 17, 1942*

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, the bill before us, which provides for the drafting of those of 18 and 19 years of age, which comes before us at this time because of the President's insistence that the Draft Act be amended to include 18- and 19-year-old boys raises a most serious question, and one in which I am deeply interested.

Previous to December 7, 1941, I was one of those who had hoped that our country would be kept out of war, and I did everything in my power to keep us out of war.

I supported the bills to provide for our national defense and have favored a national defense so strong that no nation or combination of nations would dare attack us. However, there is no need now to discuss what might have been; the fact is that we are in a most cruel war and an all-out war which we will either win or lose. If we should lose, life would not be worth living. Therefore, it is necessary that we win the war and I have every confidence that we will win.

The President is Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy. He has made positive statements that in order to win the war it is necessary to draft those boys 18 and 19 years of age, and has asked Congress to enact such a law.

Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson, the Chief of Staff, General Marshall and, in fact, all the heads of both the Army and Navy have advised Congress that it is absolutely necessary and imperative that this law be passed without delay. I have been of the opinion that the drafting of 18- and 19-year-old boys was not necessary, especially at this time.

Also, most serious consideration should be given to the effect this legislation would have on the lives of these young men—whether being drafted into the military service will prevent them from getting an education, scientific training, learning a trade, and fitting themselves to properly carry on after victory is gained.

The military and naval authorities say that our need for this legislation is so great that there is a great probability, if this bill is not passed, that there may not be any colleges and universities which young men may attend to secure an education. These military and naval authorities say if we are to be successful in the war it is imperative that this legislation be enacted at once. This certainly

presents real food for our most serious thought.

When the Commander in Chief and the heads of our Military and Naval Establishments call upon Congress for legislation which they claim is imperative for our success in winning the war, there is little that Congress can do other than grant the legislation. And, while I did everything I could to keep us out of the war, now that we are in war I feel it my duty to do everything in my power to see that we win this war so as to be able to continue our form of government in the future. And, while it has been my personal opinion that those boys of 18 and 19 years of age are not now needed, I realize that I am not a military or naval strategist or an authority upon the matter and feel that I must depend upon the statements and the judgment of the military and naval authorities, who are charged with the responsibility of winning the war.

This presents one of the most serious questions I have ever been called to act upon. The Military and Naval Establishments have the responsibility of successfully directing our war efforts, and our whole future security rests in their hands. They are considered experts in their field of endeavor and we must depend upon them and their judgment to carry us safely through this crisis. If Congress should refuse to provide that which they say is absolutely imperative in order to win the war and if by any chance the war should go against us, then it would always be claimed that the blame should be placed upon the Congress.

Both before and since our entrance into the war, Congress has provided the President and the Military and Naval Establishments with everything they have said they needed, and with the present insistence of the heads of our military and naval forces that legislation lowering the draft age should be passed at once, I do not feel that I should let my individual opinion prevail against the opinion of the military and naval authorities who have the responsibility of winning the war; and I therefore see nothing to do except support the bill.

It is my hope and prayer that the President and the military authorities will not send these young men into combat until they have received adequate and wholesome training and until they have reached a more mature age. The gag rule under which we are forced to consider this bill prevents Members from offering amendments to provide for the above safeguards but it is hoped that due consideration will be given to them by the authorities.

I have a letter from a constituent asking how I am going to vote upon this matter so that he will know how to vote for Congressman on November 3. Of

course, I have never permitted, and will never permit, mere political considerations or political expediencies to influence my vote. I have answered my correspondent to this effect and have advised him that there certainly could be no political issue raised on this matter because my opponent is on record as favoring the enactment of the bill to draft those of 18 and 19 years of age.

## An Expanded General Accounting Office as an Aid to Congress

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 17, 1942*

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Speaker, in submitting a revised Budget on yesterday, the President recognized widespread interest in governmental economy to match the sacrifices of the people. The people who willingly surrender sons for combat, buy bonds, save scrap, gather grease and patiently meet every war burden are entitled to complete partnership by Government in sacrifice.

While there has been progress in the reduction of nonwar expenditures there can be even greater progress. Nor must the war effort become an excuse for prodigality and extravagance in war expenditures.

To what extent greater efficiency and consequent savings can be effected cannot be adequately determined unless and until Congress is weaponed to cope with the sprawling structure of Government.

Since March 4, 1933, more than 283 agencies and authorities, boards and bureaus, councils and commissions, functions, and offices have been abolished, consolidated, transferred, terminated, or regrouped. There still remain 10 departments, 31 independent offices, 11 Government corporations, 8 regulatory agencies, 38 advisory or administrative committees, and 30 or more miscellaneous establishments, 22 or more of which are war agencies. This vast organization is staffed with more than 2,400,000 civilian employees, and Congress cannot deal adequately therewith until it patterns the executive technique and establishes fact-finding tools and equipment with which to obtain accurate and up-to-date information of the operations of this huge structure as the basis for legislation and funds which are from time to time requested.

When conflict ends, the situation will be even more complex. Already explo-



rations are under way in 64 different fields of planning activity by 157 agencies of Government and 377 private agencies. These figures include duplications where an agency is operating in more than one field, but the net number is large and suggests the lively interest in a field of endeavor with which Congress must ultimately contend. This statistical picture is persuasive enough that Congress imperatively needs an agency staffed with experts to make constant and continuous explorations of Federal activity to make recommendations for the improvement of public service.

Legislative efficiency is progressive and evolutionary. Enactment of the Budget and Accounting Act in 1921 and the lodging of exclusive jurisdiction over appropriations in a single committee of the Congress was a long step in the right direction. When the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation was created and armed with experts to survey the revenue system and make recommendations for its improvement, it was eloquent testimony to the need for unified effort and the need for constant research and study.

Excellent as these improvements have been, they still lack an operations check-up and a constant review of the application of funds which Congress provides from the revenues and borrowings obtained from the public. Not until Congress has devised a mechanism for the surveillance of every tax dollar and every borrowed dollar and can report to the people that each dollar has been applied to a useful and necessary purpose and that it has earned its equivalent of goods and services, can we say that our job has been properly performed. Democracy is not incompatible with efficient and economical operation of the public service.

Today I am introducing a measure for the expansion of the powers and the facilities of the General Accounting Office and for the establishment therein of a Federal Efficiency Service, so staffed, equipped, and powered as to render expert and continuous service to Congress and the committees of the Congress as to make possible the highest quality of public service at the lowest possible cost.

The Comptroller General is an independent officer of government, removable only by the Congress, and his office is especially fitted for making surveys, investigations, and reports that will be exceptionally useful to the Congress in the discharge of its duties. I conceive of this proposal as the natural and logical step in making more effective the budgetary system which was created 21 years ago.

### Anti-Poll-Tax Bill

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS J. CAPOZZOLI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 13, 1942

Mr. CAPOZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, it is significant that the motion to discharge

the Committee on Rules from the consideration of House Joint Resolution 110, providing for the consideration of H. R. 1024, the bill against poll taxes, should have been adopted on October 12, Columbus Day. It would seem as if fate had picked this date in order that Americans throughout our country might be impressed with the necessity of a reexamination of the fundamentals of our American democracy, and to take a step in the direction of eliminating certain unfair practices which directly interfere with the exercise of a free franchise.

By reason of the position taken by our country with respect to the many intolerable acts of oppression throughout the world, we have become the prayer and the hope of all oppressed people wherever they may be. We have stood for the free exercise by people all over the world of their right to decide the form and kind of government under which they would live. We have claimed to be an outstanding example of a free republic, where citizens, rich and poor, have the right to raise their voices in an election of our governmental officials.

Unfortunately, all that we and our Allies are fighting for is being denied in some quarters of our very own United States. The poll tax is an unfair condition to the right to vote. It is wrong in principle, because a free suffrage cannot require payment of any money by a citizen as a condition to his right to vote. It cannot be justified on the theory that the amount required to be paid is small. If a small amount can be properly required to be paid as a condition to voting, then why cannot a large amount eventually be required? It would seem that the only protection that a citizen could have would be the discretion of the agency imposing the tax. If that agency could impose a tax of \$1 or \$2, why not \$100, \$500, or greater? It is not the amount which one is concerned with; it is the fact that it violates a fundamental principle of fairness and equality of all citizens. It is bad in practice, because it has been shown, time and again, that many persons who would otherwise like to exercise their right of suffrage cannot afford to pay the poll tax and are thereby prevented from voting in the election.

I believe that, with regard to this particular question, the eyes of many of the oppressed people of the world are upon us. This is a proper time to remove this inexcusable condition from our body politic and, if we do so, there can be no question in the minds of these other people as to whether we mean what we say when we speak of equal rights to all, rich or poor, and irrespective of race, color, or creed.

I am in favor of the enactment of this bill, and I am convinced that, with its enactment, we shall add to the respect in which we are now regarded by the oppressed people of the world. It will also act as a refreshing tonic to those boys in our armed forces who ever experienced the disappointment of not being able to vote because of their inability to pay a poll tax.

I am, therefore, pleased to vote for this bill.

### Should the 18- and 19-Year-Olds Be Drafted?

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 17, 1942

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following radio address on the subject Should the 18- and 19-Year-Olds Be Drafted? delivered by me on the World Peaceways Forum over station WQXR on October 11, 1942:

Our boys should not be taken for active combatant service under the present age of 20 unless the national peril is such as to demand such sacrifice. I believe that the Selective Service Act should be amended so as to require all from 17 up to 65 to register. Boys between 17 and 19, inclusive, should, however, have their lives reasonably, but not absolutely, regulated and directed by the Government, so as to prepare them not only for the service of the war but for the peace to come.

Young men in our schools and colleges consistent with the national peril and need for their drafting for battle service, should be permitted to finish their academic and university courses. There should be inaugurated immediately in those institutions a set-up very much like the Student Army Training Corps of the last war.

A portion of the time of all these young men from 17 upward should be given to military, naval, or aircraft activities. Certain courses in the interest of the war effort should be mandatory. Young men should be carefully selected and their aptitudes, inclinations, and talents carefully appraised. Those fitted for engineering, Morse code, and radio, should be induced and encouraged to take such training as would best fit them for specialized services in the Army, such as the Ordnance, Engineers, and Signal Corps. Boys mathematically inclined might well be schooled in gunnery and noncelestial navigation so that when they reach the age of 20, they can be drafted for duty on battleships, corvettes, PT boats, and Coast Artillery. Those boys who are air minded and who are perfectly sound in body might be trained to become aviation pilots, bombardiers, and navigators.

The United States, with roughly 7 percent of the world's area and population, has pledged itself to become the arsenal of democracy, for 72 percent of the world's area and for 64 percent of its people.

Where are the harbingers of such tidings, the militant protectors of that democracy, the priests to spread the creed of the Four Freedoms to come from, if not from our universities? Siphon off from these institutions the cream of its manhood and you deal a stunning blow to our ability to breed and develop the necessary heralds and leaders.

Remember, the ages of 18 to 21 include 95 percent of all college and university students. Lower draft combatant age to 18 and you force all colleges to close. Preserve as much and as long as possible our college educational facilities.

I wish to earmark all college students (there are 160,000 graduates each year), until they reach the age of 20. They would be in a deferred classification by taking the training as aforesaid. In addition, there are some 400,000 high-school graduates. Most of them do not go to college because they cannot afford to do so. I would take part of the



appropriations for the Army and the Navy and furnish many of these youths with a means of continuing their education in the colleges. Thus the Army and Navy would be enabled to tap a great reservoir of youth for 50,000 excellent officers.

President Conant, of Harvard, says this procedure would restore, and I quote, "an essential element in our democracy—the birthright of opportunity—which, in an earlier age, was the gift of the American frontier."

A boy leaves high school at the age of 18. If he is drafted and goes to war and comes out of the Army at the age of 21 or 22, he comes back into civilian life without knowing a trade or occupation. This is bad. You will have an army of young men unfit and untrained to hold jobs.

We know what happened in Germany after World War No. 1. There was an army of young people who had guns, revolutionary ideas but no trades, no callings.

The tragedy in Germany in 1933 and the collapse of France in 1940 can be in a measure traced to the cessation of the training of youths of 16, 17, 18, and 19 during those terrible years, 1914 to 1919.

In this connection we can well look to China for enlightenment. When Japan invaded China in 1937, the Jap Zeros and bombers deliberately sought to destroy something like 108 Chinese universities. But Chiang-Kai-shek frustrated Japan's efforts. He actually discouraged students from joining the armed forces and arranged a mass migration of faculties, students, and equipments to the far western provinces so that they would be immune to bombardment in the interior. In 1941 the Chinese Government appropriated \$5,000,000 to subsidize 30,000 students in these interim universities, some of which Mr. Wendell Willkie recently visited, and which he termed "refugee" institutions, whose school buildings are temporary structures of mud.

During the first World War most of the officers were college men. To the extent that you force into battle service boys below 20 proportionately you destroy good officer material.

Before I would draft youths of 18 and 19, I would invoke a modified "work or fight" rule similar to that promulgated during the last war prior to the armistice in 1918. That would add many men to our forces.

I would force into the armed services, whether married or single, all idlers and those who unreasonably refuse work in essential industries.

I would not extend the protection of deferred classification to those registrants who may be employees of race tracks, golf clubs, and gambling joints. I would include as persons in a nonproductive enterprise, passenger elevator operators and attendants, doormen and attendants in clubs, stores, apartment houses, office buildings, bath-houses, bellboys and porters. Such a list is not inclusive. It gives typical nonessential employees.

During the last war we did not induct boys of 18. The act of September 1918, passed just before the armistice, embraced those of 18 to 45 inclusive, but no one was drafted under that act.

I am aware of the need for more men in our expanding armies. To that end, I would scrutinize carefully our deferred selectee lists and reclassify in 1-A malingers, shirkers, and fakers. I would attempt to uncover scores of thousands who are not really entitled to dependency and physical-defect classifications.

We recognize the principle of deferment from draft for education that would fit youth for military and naval services. There has just been established the United States Merchant Marine Academy at Great Neck, Long Island, which gives courses in classroom and on training ship covering a period of 18 months leading to the rank of ensign in

the Navy, Merchant Marine Reserve. Similar deferment courses and rank are given students of the five State merchant marine academies of New York, California, Massachusetts, Maine, and Pennsylvania.

Similarly, an appointee to Annapolis or West Point is deferred for 3 years pending his studies at those institutions.

I would make the colleges adjuncts of our armed forces and have them train boys in the interest of the war effort, especially in order to increase the number of much-needed doctors, dentists, engineers, experts in government and administration, mathematicians, physicists, chemists, statisticians, and the like.

Finally, in a word, my position is this: Draft down to 18 years, depending upon the national peril. I would accept the word of the President as to such a national crisis. He is possessed of information without range of and denied to us. His word as Commander in Chief must be final. Meanwhile, I would draft these young men for such compulsory military, naval, and economic college training as would best fit them to become war officers and post-war leaders.

### H. R. 7528—To Amend the Selective Service Act

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. JOHN H. FOLGER**

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 17, 1942*

Mr. FOLGER. Mr. Speaker, viewing the possibilities of this war as I do, and though I would prefer to paint a more pleasing picture, I conclude that the question of amending the selective-service law, so as to include young men of 18 and 19 years of age within the law's provisions, is simply a question whether you will take this action now and provide time and means for their training or postpone action and find yourselves required to force them into combat service with slight or no training. If I view the situation with any degree of logic or common sense, I must conclude that this war, as the President in the beginning warned us, will be a long, hard war, and all of us physically capable will find ourselves under the necessity of entering actually into the combat. Will we sit supinely by and wait until our boys will have to be thrown into this awful war without adequate training or will we undertake to foresee the likely needs that confront us and prepare now by beginning their training at once, so that they may be able to take care of themselves in the combat which is so nearly inevitable?

Of course, there is no one with one spark of sympathy or fellow feeling who does not almost shudder at the thought of our boys having to go into battle, but I am unwilling to have these boys say: "Why did you sit idly by and allow me to have to enter this war with so little or no preparation? You must have had sense enough to see the trends, to envision the danger. Why did you not tell me and why did you not give me a chance to cope with the highly trained soldiers of Germany and Japan?"

What would my answer be? If it develops, through some unforeseen development, that they shall not be needed, I can tell them that I voted to prepare them if the worst comes. If I fail to do this, and they ask me why, I can offer no answer, and must plead a dense ignorance and inability to foresee events that are next to inevitable. Mr. Speaker, when I vote for this bill I shall be voting to protect these boys as well as our country.

### With Faith We Will Win

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. LEON SACKS**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 17, 1942*

Mr. SACKS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following sermon by Rabbi Louis Wolsey, D. D., Congregation Rodeph Shalom, Philadelphia, Pa., broadcast over the National Broadcasting Co. network, October 3, 1942:

Some listen to a sermon to see whether they agree or disagree, whether to be pleased or displeased, whether the speaker tells an unpleasant truth or pollyannaizes grim and distasteful realities, whether he talks straight forwardly about actual events or anesthetizes his people into a happy unconsciousness of painful experiences. The latter may even object to this whole statement, for to them a religious service is an anodyne that lulls people to sleep. The priest who yields to that mood is as unworthy as the physician who prescribes what his patient asks for rather than what he needs.

Belshazzar, in the midst of revelry, sees a handwriting upon the wall: "Thou hast been weighed in the balances and found wanting." It was an unhappy warning, but it was God's handwriting on the wall. The Bible never would have been written if its authors had asked its readers what they wanted to hear.

#### THE FOURTEENTH PSALM

The fool says in his heart: "There is no God: Depraved, corrupt are the lives of men: All have strayed from the path. Their souls are rotted: Not a man does right—not one."

"Verily these evildoers shall all be made to suffer, who devour, eat up my people, and ignore God. Then shall they be struck with a terror never known before, for God is with the righteous race. They shall be thwarted in their scheme against the wretched people who have God for their refuge. Oh that deliverance might come for Israel out of Zion. When God brings about a change of fortune for his people, then shall Jacob exult, then shall Israel be glad."

He who complains of or whines about his misfortune is unworthy of emerging from it—for he has neither faith nor fortitude.

We stand in the presence of a catastrophe undreamed of by any of the former prophets. We have read from time to time of the sufferings of the people in ages past, of poverty, famine, pestilence, bloodshed, hatred, war—but we never dreamt that we would ever live to see the world loaded down with a curse of agony that beggars the poor words of the halting tongues and the restricted visions of men. I wonder who is the better off, we who live, or the fathers whom God has called to rest; we who writhe in our comfort or the soldier who has walked the last mile. I



sometimes wonder whether the dead are not better off. Life and the dignity of the personality and idealism are so cheap these days, that I think one is almost tempted not to blame the wretched Athenians of the Macedonian wars who said: "Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die." "Depraved and corrupt are the lives of men, all have strayed from the path. Their souls are rotted. They eat up my people and ignore God." Unrighteousness has won. The workers against God and His word are on the soil of the wretched, and they eat up the people of the land. They hold them as hostages and shoot them. They deport them to slave labor among people of strange tongues. They vilify our morals and say that that only is right which ministers to the advantage of the conqueror. They lie and cheat and rob and murder, and they breathe death and destruction everywhere, while the workers for the right and the free give their all, their wealth, their strength, and their precious sons, that they might stem the tide of bestiality and wickedness. How long, O Lord, how long! The three most agonizing years in the history of the world!

It is easy to be discouraged these days. If everything seems to be shipwrecked, why not cry doom to every value we have ascribed to life. Verily it is the end of the world. We are afraid even to live. We are afraid to bring up children. We are afraid there may be no food. We are afraid of penury in old age. We are afraid of insecurity. We are afraid righteousness will lose the war to unrighteousness. And all of us have a son, a brother, yes, a husband or a daughter at the front—and we are afraid, afraid—and we are afraid to say we are afraid, for we know not what the morrow may bring forth. No wonder the President named freedom from fear as one of his four freedoms, for fear is the mood of the people of the black-out, the siren, and the disaster unit.

And here we are wondering, arguing, and trembling.

In the Midrash we have the quaint comment of the Rabbis upon the situation in which the fleeing children of Israel found themselves at the Red Sea. With the raging waters in front of them, the impenetrable wilderness on either side of them, and the pursuing Egyptians at their back, the children of Israel divided into four parties, the one of which said: "Let us drown ourselves in the sea"; the second of which said: "Let us fight the Egyptians"; the third said: "Let us go back to Egypt"; and the fourth said: "Let us make a great noise and intimidate the Egyptians;" to all of which Moses said: "Keep silence, and ye shall see the salvation of the Lord." Then came the word of God saying: "Speak unto the children of Israel, that they shall go forward."

What can be worthwhile if an unbreakable and effective faith that has endured for ages should break down in the presence of a difficulty? It is not the faith that is wrong. It is the people who have but little faith in their faith that are wrong. If you believe intensely in divine Providence, if you believe that the reign of wrong is but for a moment, if you believe that is a God-governed world, if you believe your immortal cause is just, if you believe that suffering is the way in which God educates every human soul, if you are tempted pessimistically to believe that truth is forever on the scaffold, and wrong forever on the throne, only to emerge with the triumphant faith of Lowell that that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own—then all the devils of Deutschland can never avail against the halting, sometimes the backward and heavy—but inevitably the onward, resistless march of truth into the birthright of your children and children's children.

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide  
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for  
the good or evil side;  
Some great case, God's new Messiah, offering  
each the bloom or blight.  
Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the  
sheep upon the right,  
And the choice goes by forever twixt that  
darkness and that light.

Hast thou chosen, O my people, on whose  
party thou shalt stand,  
Ere the Doom from its worn sandals shakes  
the dust against our land?  
Though the cause of Evil prosper, yet 'tis  
Truth alone is strong,  
And, albeit she wander outcast now, I see  
around her throng  
Troops of beautiful, tall angels, to enshield  
her from all wrong."

"If only I could have faith," say the weak-kneed, whom every misfortune crushes into a craven submission, when all one needs is a firm and undiscourageable conviction of the resistlessness of the right. "Faith is so unreasonable," say the sophisticated, "because it seems to deal with unreality. It is unscientific. It does not square with the material facts of sensory experience." "Faith is visionary," says the man who believes only what he sees. "Faith never made a dollar," say the hard-boiled men of trade. "Faith is just a word to name an impossible mysticism," says the sensual pleasure lover. "Faith is the stupidity of crackpots," says the miser who hoards his gold and, Scroogelike, caresses his unopened money bag.

And yet I make bold to say that nothing was ever accomplished in the world save through faith. The Pilgrim Fathers would never have reached Plymouth Rock if they had cowardly turned aside from the bleak and raging waters of the ocean in their frail ship. If through the wretched cold of Valley Forge, Washington had had no faith in the sublimity of his cause, there never would have been an America. If there had not been faith in the great soul of Jefferson, we might never have heard and been benefited by those solemnly true words written on Market Street: "We hold these truths to be self-evident." If Columbus had no faith in his truth, there might never have been a new epoch in the history of civilization. And if Moses had been deterred by the cowards whom he led and by the impossibility of the sea, the whole history of the world would have been changed.

And so I say to our generation, engulfed in a catastrophe of its own making—its own making because it ignored God—we must believe in the humanness of our humanity, in the freedom of the soul, in the unalienable rights with which we are endowed by our Creator, in the democracy which guarantees equal opportunity, freedom, and dignity—to rich and to poor, to employer and employee, to white and black, to Christian and Jew, to stranger and home born alike—if we are to win. The survivals of the pre-Dark Ages have no faith save that the race is to the swift and the battle to the strong, when the swift have been beaten by the patient, and the strong have been defeated by the determined. He who runs may read the unconquerable lessons of total history.

One does not find certainty merely by rule of thumb. One does not find truth just by reason or feeling or cognition. Already Zeno showed us the paradoxes of reason, as for example a moving arrow does not move, for so long as anything is one and at the same place it is at rest, but a moving arrow is at each moment in one place alone; therefore it is at rest at the moment and at every moment in its flight—or that Achilles could never overtake the tortoise. Tennyson tells us in his In Memoriam that he did not find God through rational experience:

"I found Him not in world or sun  
Or eagle's wing, or insect's eye;  
Nor through the questions men may try  
The petty cobwebs we have spun.

A warmth within the breast would melt  
The freezing reason's colder part  
And like a man in wrath the heart  
Stood up and answer'd 'I have felt.'"

Oh how fatuous is our belief in reality. You cannot even define it. Your tooth aches. Anesthetize the nerve and the tooth aches no more. Was it the tooth that ached or only the brain? Take away from the world all the qualities you put into it by your thinking and nothing whatever remains.

The Psalmist was right. Reason often fails, for we do not live in a rational world. Faith is the one attribute that never, never fails.

God is with the righteous generation, and despite all the changes of history, the beatings of fools and the savageries of the gangsters of Central Europe, there can be but one end. Assyria and Rome conquered the Near East—and they are dead, while the word spoken on the conquered soil is deathless.

Napoleon conquered Europe and devastated its soil, and he died an exile on a bleak and desolate isle. Lincoln was scorned and beaten as no martyr ever was. They called him a baboon, ignorant, a comet of Satan. Lincoln wrote to Greeley: "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and not to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that." He saved his Nation by faith in his cause, and he is an immortal saint. And so runs the tale of history from age to age. This day can be no exception if there be a God in the heavens—and there is.

We stand, as it were, behind a mountain watching for the sun to arise and shine. No one knows what a day may bring forth. The pessimist sees no hope. The military strategist tells us the war will last for years, and the hopeless believe them. Some have said we might lose, and some have said we have already lost. Aside from propaganda, the vaticinations are born of uncertainty and lack of faith—and sometimes of knowledge. What age has been without its Nebuchadnezzars, its Sargons, its Caesars, its Xerxes, its Genghis Khans, its Atilas, its Napoleons? So long as nations are based on treachery and territorial aggressions, so long as they have no moral idealisms, so long as the prophets are scoffed at and scourged, so long as the spirit of true religion is absent from history, so long will these accursed murderers arise to mock at our own lack of faith in our spiritual platforms.

But given an America with moral outlook, with righteous indignation, with patriotic faith in the inevitability of righteousness—and no mastodon from out the cavern of hell can ever triumph over us. The end of our trial is soon to come, because the faith of an honest, God-inspired, freedom-loving people will win.

Your son is in the service. He is the most precious treasure of your home. You have put all your hope in his future. You have hung on every motion of his heart and life. You worked and amassed for him. You dreamed of what would be his birthright in achievement, honor, and character. You built up your own hopes of happiness on his happiness. You saw him climbing the hill. And now you give him to the mercies of battle. Some have already fought their last heroic fight. What is to be your son's fate is the load with which you go to your bed at night. But if he goes not, if others go not, if the Nation has nurtured no bravery



and no love of country, then life will not be worth the living anywhere. God has called him to country's duty and civilization's cause. The rest is in His hands. If you have faith, our millions of boys will win. For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken.

### Selective Service and Training Act

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. GEORGE M. GRANT

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 17, 1942*

Mr. GRANT of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I have read the report from the Committee on Military Affairs on amending the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability to those young men of 18 and 19 years of age. I have also listened attentively to the debate.

This legislation is requested by the President, the Secretary of War, and the Director of the Selective Service System. The amendment provides that:

Any person who, while pursuing a course of instruction at a high school or similar institution of learning is ordered to report for induction under this act during the last half of the academic year at such school or institution, shall, upon his request, have his induction under this act postponed until the end of such academic year.

I am glad that this deferment is to be granted those in school. At the same time those engaged in necessary agricultural production should also be deferred. I realize that the deferment of necessary agricultural workers is largely within the discretion of the local draft board. These local boards are composed of patriotic citizens who are giving a lot of their time without compensation. In my opinion, they are doing a good job. Some may criticize their actions in particular cases, but under our system of democratic government the set-up of local boards is the proper and right way to handle the matter. I hope that the Director of the Selective Service System will work out some fair and equitable basis for those engaged in agriculture.

I am sure that this body would lower the draft age even below 18 if it was convinced that this was necessary to the successful prosecution of this war. We all know that a person cannot be given too much military training. These boys covered by this amendment should be given a minimum of 12 months' intensive training. We cannot spend too much money for the necessary equipment for their protection and welfare.

The War Department has signified its intention of giving those within this new age group this training before they are moved out of this continent. We all hope, and sincerely trust, that the war will have ended before any person covered by this new legislation has to be placed in combat duty.

During the last World War many men were sent abroad who had not had sufficient military training. I am hopeful

that this legislation will prevent the necessity of such actions being taken in this war. War today is far different from what it was years ago. A man can no longer grab his gun and be off to war. If he is to have any chance with the enemy he must be well trained and equipped. The War Department states that it will be its policy to see that these new selectees are given this training.

No one knows what tomorrow will bring forth. The youth of this Nation has already responded in large measure to their country's call. Many 18- and 19-year-olds are now in service. They will meet this challenge to their country's liberty.

This bill is far from perfect. This House has not discharged its full responsibility. We must not stop here. Other legislation throwing protection around these boys must be enacted.

### Selective Service and Training Act

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 17, 1942*

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Speaker, I and all other Members of the House are greatly disturbed over the demand for the drafting of 18- and 19-year-old young men into the Army. The President, who is Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, and the ranking officials in the War Department claim that young men of this age are necessary to win the war. From the meager information placed before us, we know that our country is not meeting with success in the war effort. As far as we in Congress are concerned, we cannot permit such a situation to continue. We must and will do our part to win.

Speaking for myself, I definitely feel that boys of 18 and 19, if called into service, should be given at least 12 months' training before being called for combat duty. Frankly, I do not favor calling this age group unless there is extreme urgency. The President and Secretary of War seriously advise us that there is such an emergency at the present time, and that it is urgent. Irrespective of our personal views, we are compelled to rely upon the opinions expressed by those in charge of the prosecution of the war.

While the Chief of Staff has definitely stated that 1 year's training will be given the boys in this age class, I would prefer to have such a provision in the law placed there by Congress. However, the gag rule provided by the majority party will preclude the consideration of such an amendment. A gag rule should not be resorted to when it comes to dealing with the lives of American citizens.

Under the circumstances we are forced to rely upon and trust War Department officials and the President that they will stand by their promise that no American boy or man will be used for combat duty

if not properly trained, unless in an extreme emergency.

I recognize that this bill will become a law, but in all fairness to the mothers and fathers of the 18- and 19-year-old young men, and the young men themselves, the chairman of the committee should offer a committee amendment giving the House the right to vote on the question of 12 months' training, at least, before these boys are placed on active combat duty.

### Italians Not Enemies

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ALFRED F. BEITER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 17, 1942*

Mr. BEITER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include herein editorials from recent issues of the Buffalo Evening News and the Buffalo Courier Express, Buffalo, N. Y., commenting on the Government's decision to remove from the classification of enemy aliens the 600,000 unnaturalized Italians in this country. The Attorney General's decision has met with widespread approval, and his statement was a great compliment to the Italian-American people. Surely their loyalty to America cannot be questioned when one considers the nearly 500,000 Italian-American boys who are fighting shoulder to shoulder with our own boys, carrying out their traditional enterprise and courage, effectively meeting every force that the enemy has hurled at them.

The editorials follow:

[From the Buffalo Evening News]

#### ITALIANS NOT ENEMIES

The Government's decision to remove the 600,000 unnaturalized Italians in this country from the classification of "enemy aliens" is at once a recognition of the loyalty of this group and a resounding slap in the face of Mussolini and his Fascist banditti. It is, of course, technically a fact that the United States is at war with Italy, but there is no such war in the hearts of the great majority of the Italian and American peoples whose cultural traditions and libertarian aspirations have mingled throughout their common history. For more than a century America has been a land of economic promise to millions of Italian immigrants and the loyal American citizens who are their descendants. In the first World War Americans and Italians were comrades in arms against the same enemies of freedom who today would destroy civilization in their grasp for world power.

It may be that at one time many Italians in America were impressed by Mussolini's glittering pretensions to have created a modern renaissance of Italy—with trains running on time, the Pontine marshes drained, and an empire won in Africa. But that time has long since past. Revealed as an empty braggart, a toady for Nazi terrorism, and a betrayer of Italy's honor, he inspires only loathing among true Italians, whether in America or their homeland. As for American citizens of Italian descent and naturalized Italian-Americans, their loyalty to this country is unquestioned. Even among the 600,000 unnaturalized Italians, it has been found



necessary to intern only 228 for suspected disloyalty. No doubt the authorities will maintain vigilance, but in the circumstances the branding of a group so palpably assimilated to Americanism as enemies was in the nature of an anomaly.

[From the Buffalo Courier-Express of October 14, 1942]

#### ITALIAN ALIENS LOYAL

In announcing recently that effective next Monday Italian aliens would no longer "be classed as alien enemies because from that time on the exoneration which they have so well earned will be granted them," the Attorney General of the United States, Francis Biddle, presented some figures demonstrating the loyalty of Italian aliens to this Nation.

Under the unprecedented exercise of war-time vigilance, Biddle said, his office had investigated all Italian aliens residing in the United States. "We find," he added, "that out of a total of 600,000 persons there has been cause to intern only 228, or fewer than one-twentieth of 1 percent."

Through the action of the Attorney General, there has been recommended to Congress the enactment of a bill which would grant citizenship to an alien, otherwise eligible, without the taking of the literacy test, provided he is 50 years old or older and provided he came to the United States before July 1, 1924, and has lived in this country continuously since. This removes, Biddle said, the greatest stumbling block in the way of citizenship for a large number of the older generations of Italians. He estimated that some 200,000 would be affected by the new law.

It is not likely that many Americans ever considered Italian aliens as otherwise than loyal to this Nation, but in the event that there were any lingering doubts in the minds of some, the facts and figures presented by the Attorney General, who is in a position to know whereof he speaks, should serve to dispel them.

The average American is cognizant of the love of freedom that resides in the hearts of Italians everywhere. Americans have long known that a great number of the people of Italy have never been enthusiastic about fascism, since fascism entails rigid control of the lives of the people by the state and even seeks to mold the minds of the youth of the land with the purpose of making them puppets of the state.

The action of the Attorney General, taken after due investigation proper to a government engaged in war, demonstrates anew the inherent sense of justice residing in this Government, and its desire to free from any stigma those who have shown their loyalty to this Nation. When the news of this action becomes known in Italy, it should serve to impress the freedom-loving people of that nation.

### A Tribute to the Merchant Marines

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS R. SMITH

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 17, 1942

Mr. SMITH of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it was with inexpressible satisfaction that I read in the newspapers that the President, on October 8, 1942, decorated a merchant marine "in recognition of a form of valor that is just as important as that evinced by the men on fighting ships."

I am very proud of the fact that it was a young man of my own State of Pennsylvania who thus received the Nation's first Merchant Marine Distinguished Service Medal for heroism. He is only one of thousands of these seamen who deserve medals, for such harrowing experiences are being encountered daily by these brave men who sail the perilous, submarine-infested seas. Yet they keep 'em sailing. Every seaman who signs on a ship today knows he is looking death in the face. He may be blown to bits when his vessel is hit, or he may die in a flaming sea of oil. If he survives torpedoing he must spend days or weeks in a flimsy lifeboat, ridden with hunger and thirst, finally to be tossed up on some distant island or in a foreign port, his nerves shattered, his body wounded, emaciated. Thousands have been wounded or reported missing, and many are known to have lost their lives; other thousands have been stranded all over the world. Those who come back sign on again.

Our merchant marines are contributing to our Nation's war effort their proportionate share in manpower and skill. Their records show that they are demonstrating selfless patriotism equal to that of any branch of our armed forces. They are rendering a service to the United States and her Allies without which there could be no hope of the final and complete victory that will be ours; for it is their job to deliver the vital supplies—food, medicine, and ammunition, to the far-flung fields of battle. Without these supplies our fighting forces could not survive. These seamen constitute the lifeline between our industrial front and our fighting front. They risk their lives hourly to carry on. The morale of our merchant marines is an indispensable tool of victory.

Yet in the exigency of the hour we have neglected until very recently to give due recognition to this group of men who form the most important link in our fight for the preservation of freedom. They have been aptly referred to as "the unsung heroes of the war." To cite an instance: The father of a merchant marine, Mr. Daniel Haagensen, of 754 East Madison Street, Philadelphia, recently told me that his son, Daniel Haagensen, Jr., was on a merchant ship en route to the port of Murmansk, Russia. The ship was torpedoed and this young seaman was seriously injured. The family, not hearing from him for more than 2 months, had given their son up as lost. However, he has since returned home and is recuperating so that he may return to duty. At a flag-raising ceremony honoring the men in the armed services young Haagensen, having no badge of identification, was called a "slacker" by someone in the audience. I am glad to state that due to the aroused interest of the public such incidents will not recur because, upon making an investigation, I have found that as a result of growing public sentiment an organization known as the United Seamen's Service has just been formed. The service is a nonprofit corporation sponsored by the Government and dedicated to the provision of health and recreational facilities for merchant

seamen here and abroad. In addition to the many benefits provided through the establishment of reception centers, the United Seamen's Service is providing badges bearing the letters "U. S. S.," which will be a means of identifying the merchant marines throughout the world.

Let us salute the valiant merchant marines.

### Drafting 18- and 19-Year-Old Men for the Service

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 17, 1942

Mr. WOLVERTON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, there is no one in this House who does not recognize the sacrifice involved in this measure. War cannot be fought in these days without great sacrifice. It is a matter of deep concern to those who will be affected by it. It is likewise of tremendous and overwhelming concern to the future and the security of the Nation.

The need for this legislation was forcibly pointed out to the country by the President in his recent address on last Monday night. He said in that address that the lowering of the draft age was necessary for the safety and security of the country. Immediately thereafter this legislation was introduced to meet that existing necessity.

The Committee on Military Affairs met promptly and commenced consideration of the matter. The highest-ranking officers in the Army appeared before the committee. They presented the facts and figures that proved the necessity. No one can doubt their patriotism, their knowledge of all the existing conditions, nor their desire to wage a successful war. The viewpoint they expressed had supporting data. It was overwhelming. There was no partisan or other division in the committee. To a man, Republicans as well as Democrats, the committee reported the bill to the House with a recommendation that it pass. This unanimous action not only indicates the unquestioned need but also the unanimity among Republicans and Democrats to win the war and make our victory complete and decisive.

The primary responsibility for initiating legislation of this character rests with the President, as Commander in Chief of our armies and his military advisers. They have facts and knowledge of conditions that we do not have. We look to them to lead us to victory. That is their heavy responsibility. It is our duty in an hour such as this to support and sustain them whenever and in whatever way it is in our power.

Likewise, the responsibility of training these young men is upon the Commander in Chief and his military leaders. It will be done wisely and with due regard to all the necessary elements to be considered.



They have given assurance that these young men will be properly and adequately equipped for the service of their country. The gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] has made plain that they have given assurance that they will observe the requirements of the responsibility placed upon them as a result of the calling of these young men, and that they will faithfully discharge their obligation to the Nation, the people, and these boys in the manner we have a right to expect them to do.

With full appreciation of the sacrifice that it means there is no other action this House can take under the circumstances, we must respond to the call that comes from the Commander in Chief based upon the opinions and knowledge of the military leaders. I am confident that they know the need far better than any of us. Furthermore, we can readily assume that they also have many facts and knowledge of conditions that they cannot give in detail at this time. To do so would give help to the enemy that no patriotic American would expect.

We must win the war. We cannot do it by withholding any help that our leaders say is absolutely necessary. I hope and pray that this terrible conflict will be ended with victory for our cause before it is necessary for any of these young men to be called into combat. But by no act or vote of mine would be willing to weaken or handicap our leaders in waging a successful war. Our freedom is at stake. To retain it we must all be willing to make necessary sacrifices.

I shall cast my vote in favor of the bill believing that thereby I am strengthening and making more certain and secure our national safety.

### Nelson A. Rockefeller—A Reportorial Job That Was Well Done

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

HON. SOL BLOOM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 17, 1942*

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article about Nelson A. Rockefeller, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, by Arthur Krock, which appeared in the New York Times of October 16, 1942, entitled "A Reportorial Job That Was Well Done":

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER—A REPORTORIAL JOB THAT WAS WELL DONE  
(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, October 15.—Accounts that have been trickling into the United States of the recent activities of Nelson A. Rockefeller in South America express the opinion that the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs performed a most useful function to the satisfaction of officials, industrial and labor leaders, and the generality of the plain people he met in the countries visited. This function was not explained in the press dispatches or in any public reports Mr. Rockefeller has made since his return.

What the Coordinator appears to have done was to give to the South Americans the clearest explanation they have had of the war economy in the United States and its present and probable relation to the problem of supply to our friends and Allies on the southern continent. He also furnished them with counsel on their own problems of industrial conversion, which offer a threat of widespread unemployment and a heavy depression element in a boom situation.

The boom in South America springs from the same causes that have encouraged it in the United States and calls for regulation and adjustment through high taxes, forced savings, price control, and other anti-inflation measures. But here unemployment has not seriously threatened because of the heavy degree of industrial conversion from peace to war, the size of the Army and Navy, and the huge civilian Government pay roll. In Latin America lack of imported materials and shortages in shipping from the United States have been among a number of factors which have made the problem harder to solve. Also the southern nations came to an emergency status much later than we did.

One report reaching here relates how, at Sao Paulo, in Brazil, Mr. Rockefeller took up the conversion problem. He found industry there properly proud over a record of one new house every 4 minutes, but disturbed over inability to import steel plates for a vital unit of the armament program. He inquired whether they were still turning out bathtubs and lighting fixtures and they said "yes." He then remarked that a lighting fixture probably could not even be bought by a private citizen in the United States, and told how William L. Batt, vice chairman of the War Production Board, had to shop for a week before he could buy a bicycle pump.

This was a tactful sermon on conversion and the strict limitation of ordinary civilian goods. And it is said to have been taken in good part. And at Sao Paulo and elsewhere, Mr. Rockefeller is reported to have defined the North American war production and allocations problem in a way to assure the South Americans that they were not being denied any supplies that could be sent to them without imperiling the general defense and belligerent power of the entire hemisphere.

"The promises we made you," he is quoted by one Brazilian auditor as having said, "were made sincerely and in complete good faith. We are not able at the moment to fulfill them wholly. A rapid succession of grave events has moved the war too swiftly in a scope that could not be anticipated when the promises were made. But we will do our best. And whatever we must reserve for ourselves will be used in your defense as well as our own."

That is straight talk, and also true. No longer can a military strategist or political thinker be found in Washington who believes the United States can afford, for the sake of our immediate security, to lose to the Axis a fraction of popular support or a foot of land in South America.

Censorship of outgoing dispatches, considered necessary in these times because of the Axis grapevines in the southern continent, has had the unavoidable effect of sending to Latin America an incomplete picture of matters here, which naturally has produced confusion. Interpretation, particularly on the radio, has been restricted, and Government propaganda, however truthful, will never carry the same conviction as news and comment independently conceived. Therefore the appearance of a good and well-informed reporter, which seems to have been Mr. Rockefeller's role during his journey, was especially serviceable at the present time.

In these same accounts of his wanderings, which have just reached Washington, the statement is general that the Coordinator found in South America the most intense

popular enthusiasm for the cause of the United Nations, especially in Brazil, which had declared war only a few days before. This can be in part attributed to the Latin temperament, which goes into anything with fervor, in part to a physical love of the native soil. But insofar as this enthusiasm extends to association with the North American ally, much of it must be credited to the superb achievements in good-neighbor policy of the President, Secretary Hull, and Under Secretary Welles. The comity for which they long have labored is proving itself in a severe test.

While he was in Brazil Mr. Rockefeller may have heard of a condition existing in the great naval shipyard at Rio de Janeiro, which illustrates how devotedly the people have gone to war. The management is actually having very great difficulty in preventing the workmen from exhausting themselves with long hours—sometimes 18 a day—so eager are they to get on with the job.

### Operations of the F. B. I. in Wartime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

HON. FRED BRADLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 17, 1942*

Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following radio address to be delivered by me in company with Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, over Station WSOO, Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., Sunday, October 18, 1942:

Mr. BRADLEY. The week before last it was my pleasure to discuss the outstanding work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in outwitting the German Gestapo. It is my happy privilege to have with me at this time Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, whose career has been devoted to making America more secure. Mr. Hoover has consented to answer a few questions concerning the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation during the war which I am sure the people of Michigan will find most interesting. One of the few native Washingtonians—for he was born, reared, and educated in the District of Columbia—Edgar Hoover has become a symbol of quiet efficiency and law and order to the Nation. He entered the Department of Justice as a clerk in 1917 and with proven ability he has served creditably as a Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Assistant Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and in 1924 was appointed as the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation by Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone, who then was the Attorney General of the United States. The crook, foreign spy, and would-be saboteur fear the G-men—the loyal, patriotic American citizens respect and back them. Thus it is a pleasure to ask my friend of many years to tell the citizens of Michigan and the Soo just what the Federal Bureau of Investigation is doing in this hour of emergency.

Mr. HOOVER. I am proud to join you in this program, Congressman BRADLEY. I want you to know that I read a copy of your very able talk of 2 weeks ago, with a great deal of interest, for we are all united in one common aim—to protect our democracy against the ever-present onslaught of the criminal elements and foreign spies and saboteurs, who



would break down the structure which we believe in, and will fight and die to preserve. America has a tremendous job to do. It calls for absolute unity, constant vigilance, determined industry, and deepest integrity throughout our great Nation. Three years ago our President, sensing the conditions which we have today, wisely commissioned the Federal Bureau of Investigation, a civilian bureau, as the coordinating agency and clearinghouse of internal security matters. Since that time the Federal Bureau of Investigation has worked with the Army and Navy Intelligence Services and all law enforcement agencies in a smooth-running co-operation of effort toward assuring internal security to the Nation. As hostilities broke out abroad in 1939—the Federal Bureau of Investigation's mobilization plan for law-enforcement officers was placed into action. The result—America today has a civilian army of over 155,000 law-enforcing officers unified in spirit, thoroughly trained, and ready for any eventuality.

Mr. BRADLEY. While Members of Congress must be well informed in law enforcement matters and that is our chief means of maintaining the internal security of the Nation, our job is easier when we can call upon a man like you, Mr. Hoover, who has given his life to the study and improvement of peace methods. I know that there is not a police department or sheriff's office in Michigan that has not been aided by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. And I—Hoover has informed me that there is not a law-enforcement body in Michigan that is not cooperating 100 percent with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In recent years we have heard much of the efficiency of national police in other lands, the Gestapo of Germany, the O. V. R. A. of Italy, and the intelligence systems of the Japanese, and whenever we have heard them mentioned we think of cruelty, torture, and oppression. They might be efficient but we want none of their kind in America and thanks to the Federal Bureau of Investigation we have no fear. I have quietly watched the development of our wartime program of law enforcement, led by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and I have been happy to observe that we have all the advantages of a national police perfectly coordinated with State law enforcement and none of the objectional phases of the Gestapo and other Axis police. Of course, there are "behind the line" critics who are always ready to malign, tear down, and belittle. Their usual argument is a nebulous one—they say that the police of the Nation are a menace to civil liberty. This is not true. The Federal Bureau of Investigation and law enforcement are a menace, however, to the license of foreign agents, would-be saboteurs, and dangerous alien enemies. If they weren't they would be unworthy of their trust. I think the efficiency and wisdom of the American way is reflected best in the manner in which the Federal Bureau of Investigation functioned on the night of December 7, after the dastardly Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Will you tell us something, Mr. Hoover, concerning the enemy alien program of the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. Hoover. As you pointed out several weeks ago, within 24 hours after Pearl Harbor over 1,000 of the more dangerous enemy aliens were taken into custody by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and local law-enforcement officers. At the present time over 11,000 enemy aliens considered dangerous have been apprehended. In our searches of the premises of alien enemies we have uncovered thousands of guns, ammunition, dynamite, short-wave radio receiving sets, and a multitude of other contraband articles which will never be used against the American cause.

Mr. BRADLEY. The United States is now at war, and, in my opinion, the best defense is an offense. We should take the offensive

against our foes. Fortunately for the country, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has been on the offensive against the enemies within for the past several years. Now it is time for every citizen to increase his vigilance and for us all to really bear down and drive our enemies out. Right here, Mr. Hoover, I would like to ask what the Federal Bureau of Investigation has done to prevent sabotage.

Mr. Hoover. In 1939, at the request of the Army and Navy, the Federal Bureau of Investigation launched a program of sabotage prevention by surveying the protective facilities of the principal industries supplying war materials for the Army and Navy. Trained special agents very carefully surveyed each plant and then pointed out the spots of vulnerability. Recommendations as to the most effective methods to protect the plant were then made. We also distributed confidential plant-protection manuals to thousands of concerns throughout the country. Industry responded wholeheartedly to our suggestions, and at great expense plant officials have made improvements in their protective systems. Their cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation without a doubt has lessened the danger of sabotage in the United States.

Mr. BRADLEY. Has there been a great deal of sabotage during the emergency?

Mr. Hoover. I think our listeners would be interested in knowing that our investigations have indicated that the majority of the acts of destruction which have occurred were caused by careless, malicious, or disgruntled employees and not by foreign agents. There was only one instance where it could be said that the sabotage was committed on behalf of the people of a foreign country. This case involved Michael William Etzel who committed 34 acts of sabotage on 24 bombers of the Glenn L. Martin Co. in Maryland during the summer of 1941. On one occasion a small printed sign was found on a damaged ship which read in part: "B-26, Martin's Death Trap—Hell Hitler." At the outset this case had all the earmarks of being the work of a German agent. Our investigation, however, identified Etzel, a young man of German descent as the destructionist. Upon interview he frankly admitted causing the damage and stated that while he had no sympathy with the present German Government, he did not want the United States to harm the German people because of the policies of the German high officials. Etzel was later sentenced in Federal court to 15 years in prison.

Mr. BRADLEY. I suppose there is a little of the hunter instinct in all of us. We would all like to catch a spy. So it is with the average patriotic citizen; however, I have marveled at the splendid manner in which citizens generally have conducted themselves. The mere fact that there has not been a wave of hysteria and an outbreak of mob violence and vigilantism is a tribute to the confidence citizens have in the Federal Bureau of Investigation and all law-enforcing agencies. Right here I would like to say to my friends in Michigan that when you hear disturbing rumors, don't pass them on. You know how easy it is to keep building up a story as it is passed from person to person. The thing to do is notify the responsible authorities.

Mr. Hoover. I am glad you brought that up, Congressman BRADLEY. If one is confronted with the necessity of undergoing an operation, naturally he secures the best available surgeon. Maintaining internal security demands that same prompt attention and professional skill.

Mr. BRADLEY. Mr. Hoover, I would like to ask what is the most effective way of combating espionage?

Mr. Hoover. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has operated on the premise that we should first find out who the spies are who are working against our national welfare and

then, carefully keeping them under scrutiny, ascertain their sources of information, the identity of their associates, their methods of communication, and finally actually taking over the supervision of the spy ring until the time comes to take them into custody. In other words, we have followed the practice of counterespionage, namely spying on the spies. For instance, in the case involving Kurt Frederick Ludwig, we kept Ludwig and his eight conspirators under constant surveillance for 9 months, recording their every move and gathering evidence to prove they were espionage agents of the German Government. The ring was particularly interested in obtaining information concerning the military preparations of the United States. Finally, when sufficient evidence had been uncovered the nine persons involved were apprehended and later sentenced to a total of 132 years in prison where they are now reflecting upon their ill-directed lives.

Mr. BRADLEY. Although the Federal Bureau of Investigation is doing a splendid job in its wartime activities, I know that you are still carrying on with your regular investigations of crime in this country. Will you tell our listeners about the crime situation today?

Mr. Hoover. Crime is very definitely on the increase. Statistics compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation reflect that rape and manslaughter increased more than 9 percent during the first 6 months of 1942, as compared with the same period in 1941. Robbery, assault, larceny, and burglary all showed an increase of more than 4 percent. Juvenile delinquency is also mounting rapidly, and unless serious attention is given to the matter of crime prevention we can expect another era of lawlessness such as swept the country during the last war. I want to particularly warn our listeners against persons who falsely claim to represent a Federal agency. Numerous cases have arisen where unauthorized persons have boldly posed as special agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation or officers of our armed forces and secured information and privileges which they would not normally have received. Only a short time ago an adventurer posing as a Federal Bureau of Investigation agent secured several sums of money and an expensive ring from a young woman. From another victim he obtained \$3,200. To substantiate his false assertions that he was a Federal Bureau of Investigation agent this man displayed a gold badge which he took pains not to allow his victim to see too closely. We soon put an end to his impersonations, however, and he was sentenced to 4 years in prison. If you are approached by a person who purports to be a representative of the Federal Government, ask to see his credentials. For your information, the official credential card of the Federal Bureau of Investigation contains the signature and photograph of the special agent and the seal of the Department of Justice, as well as the signature of the Attorney General and my signature.

Mr. BRADLEY. I would like to ask you to say a few words about the general organization and operation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Michigan.

Mr. Hoover. Briefly, the Federal Bureau of Investigation operates throughout a medium of 56 field offices with our offices located at strategic points throughout the United States, Alaska, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii. We have two offices in the State of Michigan.

Mr. BRADLEY. Where are they located, Mr. Hoover?

Mr. Hoover. The Michigan offices are in Detroit and Grand Rapids. Any citizen having any information of violations of Federal laws coming within our jurisdiction or who suspects anyone of engaging in acts detrimental to our national security should contact the nearest Federal Bureau of Investigation office. In case of grave emergency, such as kidnapping, they can call me direct in Washing-



ton. The emergency number is National 7117, Washington, D. C.

Mr. BRADLEY. What are the qualifications for appointment as a special agent?

Mr. HOOVER. Applicants to be eligible for appointment must be between 23 to 35 years of age, graduates of recognized law schools or accounting schools, or college-trained with a fluent working knowledge of a foreign language or have had investigative experience. The entrance salary is \$3,200 a year.

Mr. BRADLEY. How many graduates of Michigan colleges and universities are now in the Bureau?

Mr. HOOVER. We have a total of 166 special agents and 13 clerks who have attended one of 13 Michigan educational institutions. Many of the key men in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, are native sons of your State of Michigan. While we are on the subject of personnel, I want to take the opportunity to express my heartfelt appreciation for the splendid cooperation we have always received from the law enforcement officers in Michigan. The men of the Federal Bureau of Investigation join me in highly commending to you, Congressman BRADLEY, the splendid character of your officers. The job of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and of all law enforcement at the present time is a difficult one but with the aid of patriotic citizens, we will see it through. I want to express my appreciation to you also, Congressman BRADLEY, for your fine interest in discussing the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, so that the people of Michigan might have the opportunity to obtain a clear picture of what we are doing for their protection.

Mr. BRADLEY. I thank you, Mr. Hoover, for your courtesy in appearing on this broadcast with me. I know our audience has listened with a great deal of interest.

## Amendment of Selective Service Act

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL J. KILDAY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 17, 1942*

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include the following editorial from the Baltimore Sun. This editorial voices my concern of the effects of lowering the draft ages without any program to provide for the disruptions it will create.

EDUCATION MUST NOT BE CRIPPLED BY THE DRAFT

Perhaps the most disturbing result of the necessary lowering of the draft age to 18 is its impact upon education. It will strike down through all college levels and, indeed, reach many students in the high schools. There is evidence that this aspect of the new draft measure is recognized in Washington. But there is also a danger that in the rush to push the bill through as rapidly as possible a hurried and summary decision will be made which may later be regretted.

All this is not a question of protection of the schools and colleges as such. It is not a question of whether tender treatment should be accorded students themselves. It is simply and solely a question of the most effective use, in terms of the national welfare, of the young men in the lower-age bracket.

There are certain principles which should underlie all thinking in the matter. Adequate provision must be made to guarantee

a regular and dependable supply of educated men for the military services, for essential industries, and for civilian life. Not only wartime needs but, to the extent possible, those of the post-war period must be considered. And while the imperative demand for technical and scientific training for war purposes must be met, the cultural subjects, those usually summed as the humanities, cannot be wholly neglected. These are, after all, what give substance and meaning to civilization itself and are intimately associated with the very values we are fighting this war to defend.

Set against these principles, the proposals now pending can be seen to be inadequate. The Kilday amendment, which would exempt young men now in school until the end of the academic year, is a temporary expedient. It would take care of the immediate situation by freezing students in their present status until about the middle of next year. But it would establish no orderly procedure to be followed after that time.

The Army's alternative, as outlined by Brig. Gen. M. G. White, of the General Staff, would be to go ahead with the induction of all physically qualified young men, then to release the most capable for technical training at various colleges under military supervision. Doubtless this would satisfy the Army's need for a continuing supply of trained men. But it would not cover the corresponding need of the civilian services and would place all its emphasis upon technical education alone. Since it would entail considerable military control of educational institutions, it is a proposal whose implications should be accorded careful study.

The plain fact is that no inclusive plan has yet been prepared. The Kilday amendment, approved by the House Military Affairs Committee, is no plan at all. The Army's scheme, General White admits, will not be completely worked out for some 6 weeks. Under the circumstances would not the sensible course be to establish the new draft-age limit now with the understanding that it will be modified in the near future, after we have developed a reasoned educational policy as part of the over-all manpower program which we must have soon?

## Mothers

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Saturday, October 17, 1942*

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, as I listened through the hours of debate today on the drafting of the teen-age youth of the land, the thought that continuously returned to my mind was that someone in this Chamber should lift his voice in consolation to the mothers of America, and in a particular manner to the mothers of the boys affected by the power of this legislation.

Before Pearl Harbor, as the record will show, I refused approval to proposals so far reaching in their effect upon the life and tranquility of the people as that which we are forced by circumstances beyond our control to support today. The anxiety of American mothers was ever before me. Differences in emotions affecting a mother's love would take vol-

umes to explain, and with it all a mother's hope for fairness for her son and pride in achievement for her own. I thought particularly of those mothers who not once but several times went down into the valley of death that a man might be born into the world. Those mothers who spurned the laissez-faire doctrines of the birth-control radicals remembered the words, "Suffer the little children to come unto Me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

True it is that their loyalty to their virtue has placed upon many of them a triple and even a multiple cross. But through the tears of anguish today, just as 18 and 19 years ago through their tears of suffering, they have the consolation of faith to principle, first for the honor and glory of God, and now for the country they love.

Through those tears a resplendent flag is haloed, for she sees it punctiliously protected and diligently defended by her very own sons inheriting her spirit of sacrifice.

In times of war when nations wax serious, when manpower problems are involved, it is not difficult to take a reminiscent and introspective glance to the peacetime days of erroneous tolerance, and then select with ease the No. 1 saboteur of the manpower problem of this Nation. Birth-control advocates please take notice.

## The Navy's Challenge for Service

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. RODGERS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, October 15, 1942*

Mr. RODGERS of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks I include a radio address which I recently made in connection with the recruiting campaign of the United States Navy.

The address follows:

Ladies and gentlemen, and especially young men who may be listening in, our Navy Department has requested Representatives in Congress to prepare and, by transcription, to deliver to the people of their respective districts a brief address on the subject, The Navy's Challenge for Service.

It is generally known that the United States Navy, from its very beginning, has been manned by enlisted men. There has never been resort to drafting or selective service to provide the needed personnel for our naval forces. Northwestern Pennsylvania, in general, and the city of Erie in particular, has always furnished, relatively speaking, a high percentage of men for our Navy, both in times of war and in times of peace.

Naval warfare of the United States is replete with the courage and successful daring of our naval heroes and which form a part of our local history. Many instances could be cited, but owing to limited time I will refer to only two.

During the War of 1812-14 the control of the Great Lakes, including Lake Erie, also



meant the control of the great Northwest Territory, out of which later came 7 of our 48 States. To gain this control for the United States was the task assigned to Admiral Perry. Every school child is familiar with the results and with the words of the message sent by Perry following the engagement: "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

Now our second reference. On that memorable May morning, 1898, in Manila Bay, when Admiral Dewey gave the order from his flagship, "You may fire, Gridley, when you are ready," he signaled to an Erie man, Capt. Charles V. Gridley. And Gridley was ready, and Gridley fired. The enemy fleet was destroyed, and the shore batteries were silenced without the loss of a ship, a gun, or a man.

Today our Navy is again in service, in service to defend our freedom, our form of government, and our American way of life. Perry's victory on Lake Erie gave answer to the question whether the people of that day and of generations to come were to be citizens of a free republic or subjects of a foreign power. Today, while circumstances have changed, yet the question is much the same: Shall we, the people, remain citizens of a free republic or become subjects of a foreign power, or a combination of foreign totalitarian powers who have shown themselves to be the most ruthless and the most brutal of all time in their effort to bring the entire world under their subjection.

Our enemies are strong. They have been planning and building for years. But in comparison our task to defeat the enemy is not as great as was the task assigned to Admiral Perry.

On Sunday, December 7, while negotiations were under way between our Government and representatives of a foreign power that peaceful relations might continue between these two nations, that same foreign power saw fit to fire on our flag, to destroy our property, to kill and wound our people—men, women, and children—those who wore the uniform of their country and those who did not—all without warning and without respect. We were in World War No. 2 from that very hour.

Our Navy, even while considered the best navy in the world, was a one-ocean navy. It was inadequate to successfully combat our enemies on the seven seas, defend our shores, and protect our shipping lanes. But immediate steps were taken to increase our naval strength. Our tremendous resources and industrial might were marshaled to the construction, outfitting, and manning of the mightiest navy that the world has ever seen. Your representatives in Congress appropriated all the funds requested to speed up the program.

Now every day new ships are going down the ways. Planes and tanks and guns are rolling off the production line. Arsenal are turning out munitions and materials of war in vast quantities.

As each new ship or plane is ready for service, new opportunities are at the same time offered to the young men of America to serve their country in our naval forces.

The press and the radio have told of many things already accomplished by our naval forces and have recited many deeds of valor and heroism—at Bataan, Corregidor, Midway, Wake, the Coral Seas, the Aleutians, and elsewhere. These naval heroes have maintained well the traditions of John Paul Jones, who, when called upon to surrender, said, "I have just begun to fight"; of Admiral Perry when some of his officers tried to persuade him from engaging the enemy because of contrary winds, he replied, "There is the enemy, and windward or leeward we fight today"; of Admiral Farragut, who was informed of the dangers of torpedoes, and said,

"Damn the torpedoes; full steam ahead"; of Captain Gridley, who was ready when the moment came; of scores of others and hundreds of naval heroes of World War No. 1. I say the men in our naval service today are maintaining well the heroic action of the men of former days. These are the kind of men who will be your shipmates should you enlist in the Navy, Naval Air Force, Coast Guard, or the Marines.

The Navy needs skilled men, but it also needs men who may be trained to become skilled men. Those of high-school or college age may serve and at the same time become skilled in certain trades or lines of endeavor that will be an asset to them in later years in civilian life.

The Navy is a highly technical organization and offers opportunities of many kinds. There are radiomen, machinists, carpenters, painters, aviation pilots, cooks, bakers, metal-smiths, firemen, and scores of others. Whatever has been your job in civilian life, or whatever may be your ambition as to your life work, you may feel almost certain that you will find its counterpart in the Navy.

The Navy is placing young men in trade schools where they are trained in the work for which they are best fitted and which most appeals to their inclination. The value of such training is hard to measure in dollars. In providing this training they have the use of the best equipment possible in all of the several branches of our naval forces and they earn while they learn.

We may think of the Air Service of the Navy largely in connection with actual piloting of aircraft, but this is only one of the many opportunities. There are scores of other jobs, such as aviation machinist, photographer, gunner, observer, parachute rigger, bomber—ground service as well as flight service. Those who receive flight-service orders, whether as pilot or any other capacity, automatically receive a 50-percent increase in pay.

The requirements for officer pilots are not rigid—physical fitness, of course, and then a high-school diploma, and age limitations of 18 to 27.

Those qualifying for naval aviation cadets are paid \$75 a month. Enlistment as apprentice seamen begins with a salary of \$50 a month. A short time later there is automatic promotion and raise in pay and opportunities for further advancement according to ability and progress. The Navy makes advancement as easy as possible. It is largely up to the individuals themselves. A matter of 50 percent of the men in the Navy today are petty officers.

Enlistment in the Regular Navy is for 6 years, in the Naval Reserve for 2, 3, or 4 years. Pay and promotions are the same in both branches of the service, age limitations from 17 to 50.

For those who are interested and who desire further information, I will here advise that there is a recruiting station in Erie, in the United States Court Building, State Street at Perry Square. The recruiting officer will be glad to be of service to you.

Many young men from our district have already answered the Navy's challenge for service, and I am informed by the Navy Department that the number of enlistments has been steadily increasing.

As your Representative in Congress, I am proud of this response made by our young men to the challenge. I am proud of the record they are establishing in the service. The country will owe them an everlasting debt of gratitude. They will be a credit to their community, to the Navy, to the flag, and the country they serve.

May the day soon come when they will say to us, to our Nation, and to the world, "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

## Language and Peace

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 17, 1942

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, on December 4, 1941, after the return of a subcommittee on appropriations, of which I am chairman, from an official trip of examination of Federal activities in South and Central America, a report was issued from which the following are extracts:

One of the greatest deterrents to world peace has been the inability of peoples throughout the world to exchange ideas through the medium of a common language. Fortunately our citizens are beginning to awaken to this fact with the result that today Spanish and Portuguese courses are being given in ever-increasing numbers throughout the entire country. The committee feels so strongly on this subject that if it had it in its power it would insist that either Spanish or Portuguese be made a compulsory subject in all of our elementary schools throughout the United States.

And again:

On the long-range basis we feel that the matter of a common language denominator should be placed A-1 on the list of priorities. It is not as important as to whether the medium of conversation is English, Spanish, or Portuguese, as it is that some understandable means of transmitting thought be had.

That these observations have received consideration, not only in our own country but in our sister republics south of the Rio Grande, is evidenced in a letter addressed to me by Mr. Charles A. Thomson, Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State, for which I have asked permission to include in these remarks:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
October 14, 1942.

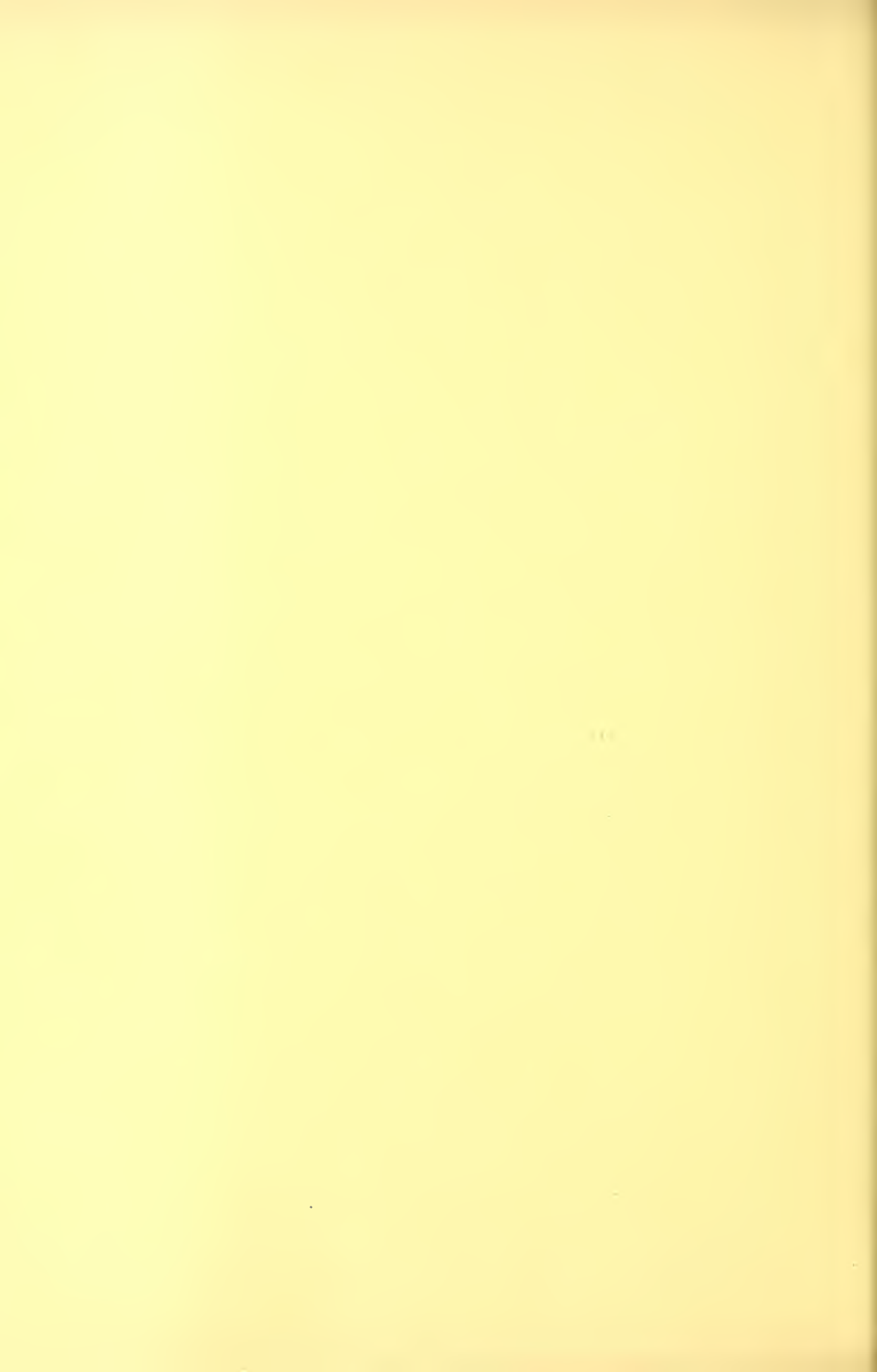
The Honorable LOUIS C. RABAUT,  
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. RABAUT: In the report of the congressional committee which you headed on a visit to South and Central America during the summer of 1941, you pointed out that in the program for inter-American cooperation, the matter of a common language denominator should be placed A-1 on the list of priorities. You wisely stressed the importance of extending English teaching among the people of the other American republics.

I take pleasure in reporting that your words are already bearing fruit. The increase of interest in English in the countries to the south is truly remarkable. Crowded classes have greeted all English courses given at the cultural institutes, situated in the principal cities of the neighboring republics. For example, the cultural institute at Florianópolis, Brazil, where a large German element has stimulated the use of the German language, enrolled, within the first 3 weeks, 200 students in its English classes, including a special group of Army, Navy, and aviation officers; 150 persons were turned away for lack of room. One of the Americans teaching English at the cultural institute at Rio de Janeiro is giving lessons to three groups of Brazilian Army officers with a total enroll-

62/19





Calendar No. 1698

77TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

# H. R. 7528

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 19 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942

Read twice and ordered to be placed on the calendar

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## AN ACT

To amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2       *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
3       That so much of the first sentence of section 3 (a) of the  
4       Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended,  
5       as precedes the first proviso is hereby amended to read as  
6       follows:

7       “SEC. 3. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this Act,  
8       every male citizen of the United States, and every other male  
9       person residing in the United States, who is between the  
10      ages of eighteen and forty-five at the time fixed for his regis-

1 tration, shall be liable for training and service in the land  
2 or naval forces of the United States.”

3 SEC. 2. Any person who, during the year 1942, entered  
4 upon attendance for the academic year 1942-1943—

5 (1) at any high school (or similar institution) ; or

6 (2) at any college or university which grants a de-  
7 gree in arts or science, to pursue a course of instruction  
8 satisfactory completion of which is prescribed by such  
9 college or university as a prerequisite to either of such  
10 degrees ; or

11 (3) at any university described in paragraph (2),  
12 to pursue a course of instruction to the pursuit of which  
13 a degree in arts or science is prescribed by such uni-  
14 versity as a prerequisite ;

15 and who, while pursuing such course of instruction at such  
16 high school (or similar institution), college, or university is  
17 selected for training and service under this Act prior to the  
18 end of such academic year, or prior to July 1, 1943, which  
19 ever occurs first, shall, upon his request, be deferred from  
20 induction into the land and naval forces for such training  
21 and service until the end of such academic year, but in no  
22 event later than July 1, 1943.

23 SEC. 3. Section 15 (a) of such Act, as amended, is  
24 hereby amended to read as follows :

25 “ (a) The term ‘between the ages of eighteen and forty-



1 five' shall refer to men who have attained the eighteenth  
2 anniversary of the day of their birth and who have not  
3 attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of their birth;  
4 and other terms designating different age groups shall be  
5 construed in a similar manner."

6 SEC. 4. Section 5 of such Act, as amended, is amended  
7 by inserting at the end thereof the following new subsection:

8 "(i) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no per-  
9 son between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one shall be dis-  
10 charged from service in the land or naval forces of the  
11 United States while this Act is in effect because such person  
12 entered such service without the consent of his parent or  
13 guardian."

14 SEC. 5. That Section 201 (a), Paragraph One (1),  
15 of section 5 (e) of the Selective Training and Service Act  
16 of 1940, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof  
17 a proviso to read as follows: "*Provided, however,* That no  
18 person who has been deferred from training and service as  
19 provided herein shall be inducted prior to the induction of  
20 all persons within the same State who have been placed in  
21 categories made subject to induction prior to the category  
22 in which such person has been placed."

23 SEC. 6. That section 5 of the Selective Training and  
24 Service Act of 1940, as amended, is amended by adding at  
25 the end thereof a new subsection as follows:

1       “(j) No individual shall be relieved from liability for  
2 training and service under this Act, or held not to be ac-  
3 ceptable to the land or naval forces for such training and  
4 service, solely on the ground of his having been convicted of  
5 any crime which is not a felony at common law, if the local  
6 board having jurisdiction determines that such individual is,  
7 notwithstanding such conviction, morally fit for military  
8 service.”

Passed the House of Representatives October 17, 1942.

Attest:

SOUTH TRIMBLE,

*Clerk.*





Calendar No. 1698

77<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS  
2<sup>D</sup> Session

H. R. 7528

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## AN ACT

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To amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

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OCTOBER 19 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942

Read twice and ordered to be placed on the calendar

## LOWERING THE DRAFT AGE TO 18 YEARS

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OCTOBER 19 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942.—Ordered to be printed

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Mr. GURNEY, from the Committee on Military Affairs, submitted the following

## REPORT

[To accompany S. 2748]

The Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, by providing for the extension of liability, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with an amendment, and recommend that the bill, as amended, do pass.

This bill makes certain amendments to the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940. Its principal purpose is to lower the age limit of persons who shall be liable for training and service in the land or naval forces of the United States under the act. In particular, the bill reduces the present minimum age for such training and service from 20 years of age to 18 years of age at the time fixed for registration. It does not alter the present maximum age for such training and service, namely 45 years of age.

This report contains an amendment, comprising two subsections, to the bill as introduced: (a) No person between the ages of 18 and 21 shall be discharged from service in the land or naval forces of the United States while this act is in effect because such person entered such service without the consent of his parent or guardian; and (b) no individual shall be relieved from liability for training and service under this act, or held not to be acceptable to the land or naval forces for such training and service, solely on the ground that he has been convicted of any crime which is not a felony at common law, if the local board having jurisdiction determines that such individual is, notwithstanding such conviction, morally fit for military service.

For historical purposes the committee desire to make of record in this report the sequence of action on S. 2748. This measure was introduced on September 3, 1942, and reports were requested on September 5 from the Director of Selective Service, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy. In a radio address on October 12, 1942, the President of the United States spoke of the inevitability of lowering

the present age limit, for training and service under the Selective Service Act, from 20 years to 18 years, because of the necessity of developing combat units composed of young, resilient men who have had thorough training. The day following the President's address, October 13, reports were received from the Director of Selective Service and the Secretary of War, whose reports are made a part hereof. The following day, October 14, your committee commenced hearings on the bill. Hearings were concluded the following day.

The committee, in consideration of this legislation, received testimony from the Chief of Staff, Gen. George C. Marshall, the Deputy Chief of Staff, Lt. Gen. J. T. McNarney, the Director of the Selective Service System, Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, the Commander in Chief of the United States Fleet and Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral E. J. King, and the Chief of Naval Personnel, Rear Admiral Randall Jacobs, and, after a very careful consideration of their testimony, submits this report.

In their testimony our military leaders urgently requested that our young men of 18 and 19 years of age be made liable for training and service in our land and naval forces at the earliest practicable date. These officers stated, as did the President in his radio address, that a division that has an average age of 23 to 24 years is a more effective fighting unit than one whose average age is from 5 to 10 years older, and that the sooner we place young combat units in the field, the sooner the war will be won and the smaller will be our casualty list. The War Department is greatly concerned over the steady rise of the average age of a division, which is the essential ground combat unit. This rise is due to the increase in the average age of men inducted under the act. In February 1942 the average age of men inducted was less than 25 years, whereas in July the average age had increased to slightly less than 28 years. Indications are that under the present law the average age of individuals inducted will continue to increase.

The committee was impressed by the strong testimony of our military leaders that our Army, if it is to be a victorious one, must utilize the special military qualifications of 18- and 19-year-old men. Members of these age groups are peculiarly fitted for military training and for combat. Their response to leadership, their quick recovery from fatigue, their aggressiveness, their enthusiasm, and their "flair for soldiering" far exceed such qualities in other age groups. The simple fact is that they make better soldiers than persons of other age groups and that America cannot win unless full use is made of their military capabilities. Our armed forces must have the qualities that belong to youth. Modern warfare, with its unprecedented use of machines, of air, tank, parachute, and amphibious forces, and its relentless demands upon the time and energy of the soldier, requires an age limit lower than 20 years in order to secure the stamina necessary to man its weapons and to stand its grueling pace. In Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany the young soldier provides the principal element of elite forces, which are chosen troops employed when a key position must be captured.

According to the evidence presented to the committee, the strength of the Army will be approximately 5,000,000 men by the end of 1942. The military authorities consider that the strength of the Army at the end of 1943 must be 7,500,000. (The strength of the naval forces will be in addition thereto.) The committee were informed that the



planned strength of 7,500,000 will be allocated within the Army as follows: The Air Forces will total approximately 2,200,000 men; approximately 1,000,000 men will be either undergoing training or will be employed in training others for the expansion of the ground forces and the services of supply; approximately 1,000,000 men will be absorbed in the services of supply and service units in the continental United States and overseas bases; approximately 3,300,000 men will be organized into armored and air-borne divisions and other ground combat units, such as tank battalions, tank-destroyer battalions, and antiaircraft units of the ground forces.

The ground units of the German Army are estimated to be something over 8,000,000 men. In addition it is believed that Japan maintains somewhere between 70 and 90 divisions, of about 16,000 men each, and that Italy, Rumania, and Hungary and other Axis countries total about 160 divisions. Accordingly, an American Army of 7,500,000 men by December 31, 1943, is, in the opinion of the committee, necessary in view of the military strength of our enemies.

While the main purpose of this legislation is to make available for our armed forces, especially the Army, the young men of 18 and 19 years of age whose vigor and enthusiasm are prerequisite to the successful conduct of modern war, this legislation will minimize the effects of mobilization upon industry and society. The Director of Selective Service, who favored the enactment of this bill with the exception of section 2, which provides that the high-school student ordered to report for induction during the last half of the academic year may be deferred until the end of his academic year, advised your committee that the prompt enactment of this bill will probably result in the deferment of married men with children until the end of 1943.

The committee was profoundly impressed, as a result of the testimony of our highest military leaders, that not only the success of our armed forces depends upon the employment of our 18- and 19-year-old young men as soldiers and sailors, but that our very national existence is dependent upon their use. As one of our outstanding military leaders has said of this war: "We shall win or we shall die." If America is to survive, if it is to continue to be the home of democracy and liberty, the induction of our 18- and 19-year-old men can no longer be delayed. We have fought and won our previous wars with the help of such men. With their help we shall win this war.

The first section of the bill amends the first sentence of section 3 (a) of the present law so as to reduce the minimum age for liability for training and service in the land and naval forces of the United States from 20 years of age to 18 years of age.

The second section of the bill amends section 5 (f) of the present law so as to provide that any person who, while pursuing a course of instruction at a high school or similar institution of learning, is ordered to report for induction under this act during the last half of the academic year shall, upon his request, have his induction postponed until the end of such academic year. The Director of Selective Service was opposed in principle to this provision because it provides for group deferment of students as a class. The War Department did not, however, interpose objection to this proposed deferment. While section 5 (f) of the basic act may be said to have established the policy that deferments of this nature should not be operative beyond

the end of the academic year in which the statute was enacted, the committee feel that the deferment provided by section 2, namely, for the last half of the academic year, without regard to the relation of that period to the date of the enactment of this bill, is justified. It should be noted that this deferment is not automatic but is granted only upon the request of a student.

Section 3 of the bill amends section 15 (a) of the present act so as to define the term "between the ages of 18 and 45" as referring to men who have attained the eighteenth anniversary of the day of their birth and who have not attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of their birth.

The bill, as reported by the committee, contains two amendments. Those amendments, which have been added to the bill as subsections (i) and (j) of section 4, are summarized in the second paragraph of this report.

Section 4 (i) makes inoperative while this act is in effect the provisions of existing law which require the discharge of men who are less than 21 years of age and who have enlisted without their parent's consent. Such provisions are incompatible with the provisions of this bill.

Section 4 (j) has for its purpose the utilization of this source of manpower.

General Hershey stated that, by reducing the minimum selective-service age from 20 to 18 at this time, approximately 800,000 or 900,000 men of that age would be available for induction into the Army commencing December 1, 1942, after allowing for physical rejections and enlistments into the armed forces, particularly the Navy and Marine Corps. He stated that this estimate of 800,000 to 900,000 would, of course, be reduced if the Navy and Marine Corps recruiting services enlisted more than 1 out of every 3 of the physically qualified men who are 18 or 19 years of age. He explained that by reducing the minimum selective-service age limit and inducting a percentage of the men 18 and 19 years of age, the number of married men who would otherwise have been inducted would be reduced by the number of 18- and 19-year-olds who are to be inducted. He also stated that by inducting such 18- and 19-year-olds the time when certain married men would normally have been inducted will be postponed, depending upon the rate of inductions and the net number of 18- or 19-year-olds that will be available. He also pointed out that the total number of married men who would otherwise be inducted would of course be reduced by the number of 18- and 19-year-olds who are inducted.

As the number of 17-year-olds who attain the age of 18 each month is approximately the same as the number of 19-year-olds who attain the age of 20 each month, the monthly net increase to the total number of men liable for service would remain the same after taking into consideration the estimated 800,000 to 900,000 18- and 19-year-olds who would be added to the pool of those liable for military service.

General Hershey stated that although there were some single men left between the ages of 20 and 45, including men already in class 1-A waiting for physical examination and induction, certain men from class 1-B who are being accepted for limited service, certain men who can't read and write but a percentage of whom are being accepted each month, some of the young men now deferred in class 2 by reason of

occupation who are being withdrawn from that classification when satisfactory replacements are made available, and certain men deferred because of collateral dependency where the dependency has been removed by the allotment and allowance payments, it would be next to impossible to complete the classification and processing of every last one of those men and arrange for their induction before taking any married men. He stated that under the best possible administration there might be as much as 3 months' difference between local boards with respect to the types of men who were being inducted at any one time. It therefore must be recognized that, even though this bill is passed, some married men will be taken between now and the time that the 18- and 19-year-olds are made available, and that thereafter some married men will have to be taken.

General Hershey also stated that the lowering of the age limit would be another step in providing for the democratic, orderly, and impartial method of procuring manpower. He further stated that such methods of procurement would thereby be extended to young men 18 and 19 years of age, many of whom are already being solicited by, and taken into, the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps.

War Department letter follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
Washington, October 13, 1942.

Hon. ROBERT R. REYNOLDS,  
*Chairman, Committee on Military Affairs,  
United States Senate.*

DEAR SENATOR REYNOLDS: The War Department favors the enactment of S. 2748, a bill to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

The purpose of S. 2748 is to reduce from 20 to 18 years the age at which male citizens of the United States, and other male persons residing therein, who are not relieved from liability for training and service under other provisions of law, shall be subject to induction into the land or naval forces of the United States under the provisions of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940. Section 1 of the bill effects the proposed extension of liability; section 2 provides deferment from induction until the end of the academic year for a student ordered to report for induction while pursuing a course of instruction during the last half of that year at a high school or similar institution of learning; and section 3 defines the age limits for liability for training and service.

Although the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended by the act of December 20, 1941 (55 Stat. 844, 845; U. S. C., title 50, App. secs. 302, 303), requires the registration of male citizens and residents aged 18 or 19 years, it does not now render such persons liable to induction. Consequently, the War Department has long considered the need for submitting to the Congress legislation similar to S. 2748. Indeed, in my letter of December 13, 1941, responding to the request of the Hon. Andrew J. May, chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, for a statement concerning the then pending H. R. 6215, from which the act of December 20, 1941, was derived, I remarked that "the traditional age for liability for military service in this country is 18 to 45," although I then noted that it had been deemed wise at that time to place the lower limit at a later age (H. Rept. 1508, 77th Cong., at p. 6). In that letter I invited attention to the need to make available, if and when necessary, a great pool of men to meet all contingencies then foreseeable. It is my considered opinion, as well as that of my chief military advisors, that contingencies now foreseeable make it imperative that the pool of available military manpower be still further widened.

The War Department supports S. 2748 for reasons which are manifest in this critical period. The harsh fact is that we have a high responsibility to our generation, and to those to come—an urgent, immediate responsibility to develop, with the minimum delay, the finest army in the world, not only armed with the best and most plentiful implements of war, but composed of superlative fighting men who, man for man, surpass in ingenuity, in self-reliance, in determination, and in stamina the best soldiers available to our enemies. The urgency of



this task cannot be overemphasized; our own survival is in the balance. Its accomplishment demands the substitution of current necessity for our peacetime preferences, and the necessity is this: That our Army be animated by the youthful enthusiasm and resilience of spirit which has surged through all earlier American armies; that in our human desire to protect the youth of our land we remember the terrific pace of modern war; that we realize, above every consideration the imperative necessity of creating an army, as quickly as possible, more efficient, more determined, more ardent than Europe and Asia can produce after 10 years of concentrated training and indoctrination.

Youth zealous for power and the destruction of liberty is the strength of our enemies' armies; American youth is our strength and, despite our wishful thinking or the dictates of our hearts, the virility of our effort must take precedence. We must face this truth; I should be derelict in my responsibility to this country and its heritage should I fail to voice it.

Members of 18- and 19-age groups are peculiarly well adapted to military training. This is military axiom. Their response to leadership, their recovery from fatigue, their enthusiasm or "flair for soldiering" are exceptional as compared with older-age groups. The simple fact is they are better soldiers, and never before in its history has the American Nation more urgently needed exceptional soldiers.

Not only do 18- and 19-year-olds represent a relatively untapped source of manpower for increasing military needs, but medical records also reveal that they have a higher percentage physically fit for service than any other age groups. Furthermore, it is patent that the induction of young men between the ages of 18 and 20 would be less disruptive of industry and agriculture, other essential wartime civil pursuits, and domestic relationships than that of any other age groups. However, even these facts must remain subordinate to the fundamentals charting our course—we are fighting against slavery, our survival or defeat will save or destroy the freedom of our children and that of millions in the world. These stakes are in the balance against our preferences. The War Department is convinced that our goal must be paramount, and that individual and national preferences must be secondary to the exigencies of war.

The War Department does not, however, interpose objection to the proposed deferment, under section 2 of S. 2748, of high-school or other students during the second half of an academic year. The question of deferment is necessarily one of broad, national policy. In that regard, attention is invited to the fact that the Congress, by section 5 (f) of the basic act of September 16, 1940, established the policy that deferments of the nature now proposed should not be operative beyond the end of the academic year in which the statute was enacted.

It is, of course, apparent that the essential data to support the foregoing views may not adversely be set forth in this letter. However, War Department representatives will be readily available to discuss these matters with your Committee on Military Affairs meeting in executive session.

The Bureau of the Budget advises that there is no objection to the submission of this report.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY L. STIMSON,  
*Secretary of War.*

Letter from the Selective Service System follows:

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS,  
SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM,  
Washington, D. C., October 13, 1942.

Hon. ROBERT R. REYNOLDS,  
*Chairman, Committee on Military Affairs,  
United States Senate.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of September 5, 1942, requesting the views of the Selective Service System regarding S. 2748, a bill to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

The Selective Service System favors the enactment of sections 1 and 3 of S. 2748, believing that such legislation is necessary in the best interest of the war effort.

Inasmuch as the supply of 1-A men is rapidly nearing depletion, it will be necessary, in order to meet the requirements of the armed forces, to provide for the induction of the men between 18 and 20 years of age or begin to induct men with family relationships.

The Selective Service System also is convinced that such legislation would merely be another step in providing for the orderly, democratic, and impartial method of procuring manpower for the armed forces. As a great many of these younger men are now being solicited for the armed forces, the Selective Service System recommends that the democratic, impartial, and orderly method of procuring and allocating manpower be extended to the lower age group.

The Selective Service System has continually taken the position that deferments should in no way be based upon the economic status of registrants and consequently has repeatedly opposed proposals for granting group deferment to students as a class. For this reason the Selective Service System does not favor the enactment of section 2 of S. 2748.

We have been advised by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection to our submission of this report to your committee.

Sincerely yours,

LEWIS B. HERSHEY, *Director.*







Calendar No. 1697

77TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

**S. 2748**

[Report No. 1644]

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

SEPTEMBER 3, 1942

Mr. GURNEY introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs

OCTOBER 19 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942

Reported by Mr. GURNEY, with an amendment

[Insert the part printed in *italic*]

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**A BILL**

To amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2       *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
3       That so much of the first sentence of section 3 (a) of the  
4       Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, as  
5       precedes the first proviso is hereby amended to read as  
6       follows:

7       “SEC. 3. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this Act,  
8       every male citizen of the United States, and every other male  
9       person residing in the United States, who is between the  
10      ages of eighteen and forty-five at the time fixed for his regis-

1 tration, shall be liable for training and service in the land or  
2 naval forces of the United States.”

3 SEC. 2. Section 5 (f) of such Act, as amended, is hereby  
4 amended to read as follows:

5 “(f) Any person who, while pursuing a course of in-  
6 struction at a high school or similar institution of learning,  
7 is ordered to report for induction under this Act during the  
8 last half of the academic year at such school or institution,  
9 shall, upon his request, have his induction under this Act  
10 postponed until the end of such academic year.”

11 SEC. 3. Section 15 (a) of such Act, as amended, is  
12 hereby amended to read as follows:

13 “(a) The term ‘between the ages of eighteen and forty-  
14 five’ shall refer to men who have attained the eighteenth  
15 anniversary of the day of their birth and who have not  
16 attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of their birth;  
17 and other terms designating different age groups shall be  
18 construed in a similar manner.”

19 SEC. 4. Section 5 of such Act, as amended, is amended  
20 by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

21 “(i) Notwithstanding any other provisions of law, no  
22 person between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one shall be  
23 discharged from service in the land or naval forces of the  
24 United States while this Act is in effect because such person

1 entered such service without the consent of his parent or  
2 guardian.

3       “(j) No individual shall be relieved from liability for  
4 training and service under this Act, or held not to be accept-  
5 able to the land or naval forces for such training and service,  
6 solely on the ground of his having been convicted of any  
7 crime which is not a felony at common law, if the local board  
8 having jurisdiction determines that such individuals, notwith-  
9 standing such conviction, are morally fit for military service.”



77<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS  
2<sup>D</sup> SESSION

**S. 2748**

[Report No. 1644]

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**A BILL**

To amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

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By Mr. GURNEY

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SEPTEMBER 3, 1942

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs

OCTOBER 19 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942

Reported with an amendment

# S. 2748

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 19 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

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## AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. WILEY to the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, viz: At the end of the bill add the following new section:

1        SEC.    . Section 8 of such Act, as amended, is amended  
2    by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:  
3        “(j) The Congress hereby recommends and requests  
4    that the several States take such action as may be necessary  
5    to prevent any person who is liable under the provisions of  
6    this Act for training and service in the land or naval forces  
7    of the United States from being denied the right to vote on  
8    account of his age.”

77<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS  
2<sup>D</sup> Session

## S. 2748

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### AMENDMENT

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Intended to be proposed by Mr. Wiley to the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, by providing for the extension of liability.

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OCTOBER 19 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942  
Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed







For general appropriations, Quartermaster Corps, \$7.93.

For Organized Reserves, \$1.36.

For Reserve Officers' Training Corps, \$11.52.

For expenses, camps of instruction, and so forth, National Guard, \$15.75.

For medical and hospital department, Army, \$70.

For travel of the Army, \$85.28.

For subsistence of the Army, \$42.12.

For pay of the Army, \$206.70.

For pay, and so forth, of the Army, \$58.93.

For National Guard, \$35.41.

For clothing and equipage, Army, \$316.18.

For barracks and quarters, Army, \$176.26.

For increase of compensation, Military Establishment, \$41.37.

For Signal Service of the Army, \$33,651.82.

For Army transportation, \$1,288.19.

For travel, military and civil personnel, War Department, \$153.73.

For medical and hospital department, \$17.63.

For Civilian Conservation Corps (transfer to War), \$10,070.36.

For emergency conservation work (transfer to War, Act June 22, 1936), \$10.26.

For cemetery expenses, War Department, \$17.70.

Post Office Department—Postal Service (out of the postal revenues): For clerks, first- and second-class post offices, \$430.02.

For indemnities, domestic mail, \$244.14.

For transportation of equipment and supplies, \$3.83.

Total, audited claims, section 304, \$632,301.58, together with such additional sum due to increases in rates of exchange as may be necessary to pay claims in the foreign currency and interest as specified in certain of the settlements of the General Accounting Office.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The next amendment reported by the committee will be stated.

The next amendment was, on page 45, after line 18, to insert:

SEC. 305 For the payment of claims allowed by the General Accounting Office pursuant to the act entitled "An act for the relief of officers and soldiers of the Volunteer Service of the United States mustered into service for the War with Spain, and who were held in service in the Philippines Islands after the ratification of the treaty of peace, April 11, 1899", approved May 2, 1940 (Public Act No. 505, 76th Cong.), and which have been certified to Congress under section 2 of the act of July 7, 1884 (U. S. C., title 5, sec. 266), under the War Department in Senate Documents Nos. 257 and 266 of the Seventy-seventh Congress, \$19,999.34.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 46, after line 6, to insert:

SEC. 306 For payment of the claim allowed by the General Accounting Office for payment of prize money to captors, Spanish War, provided under sections 3689, 4613, and 4652 of the Revised Statutes, as amended by the Permanent Appropriation Repeal Act, June 26, 1934 (31 U. S. C. 725f), and which has been certified to Congress in Senate Document No. 256 of the Seventy-seventh Congress, \$3.85.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 46, after line 14, to insert:

SEC. 307. This act may be cited as the "Second Supplemental National Defense Appropriation Act, 1943."

The amendment was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That completes the committee amendments.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I am authorized by the committee to offer sundry amendments. I have given notice

for the consideration of these amendments, as required by the rule. I send the first one to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 14, after line 7, it is proposed to insert:

#### OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION

The second proviso clause under the head "Office of Price Administration" in the First Supplemental National Defense Appropriation Act, 1943, is hereby amended by deleting therefrom the words: "shall be so administered during the fiscal year 1943 as to constitute the total amount that will be furnished to such Administration during such fiscal year for the purposes set forth in this paragraph and."

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, what is the purpose of the amendment?

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, in the appropriation bill for the Office of Price Administration there was a provision which limited to \$120,000,000 the amount to be spent until next July. Since that time Congress has passed several bills which add to the duties and require additional compensation. The amendment merely removes the inhibition, so that hereafter they may ask for appropriations to perform the additional duties which have devolved upon them from the Congress itself. For that reason, we offer the amendment, which is legislation, repealing the provision referred to.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. It has nothing to do with the question of subsidy, has it?

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, no.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR].

The amendment was agreed to.

#### REDUCTION OF DRAFT-AGE LIMIT

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. At this time I wish to announce that it is proposed that the first thing on Thursday the Senate will take up the bill proposing modification of the draft law. I desire to obtain an agreement to make that bill the unfinished business following the disposition of the pending appropriation bill, and if we finish consideration of the pending bill within the next few minutes, which I hope will be the case, I propose that the Senate recess until Thursday.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, a few days ago I conferred with the Senator from Kentucky. Personally I favor the proposition the Senator has stated.

Mr. BARKLEY. I appreciate that. The Senator from Oregon was very cooperative in arranging about the matter, and in fairness to him and to his colleagues it should be said that while some Senators wished to take up the bill at once, in view of what occurred on the floor of the Senate 2 or 3 weeks ago, I thought it would be only fair to give Senators who are absent an opportunity to return.

Therefore, if the Senator will further yield to me, I ask unanimous consent

that, following conclusion of the consideration of the appropriation bill now before the Senate, the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for extension of liability, reported by the Committee on Military Affairs, modifying the draft law by reducing the limit to 18 years of age, be made the unfinished business, to be taken up on Thursday next.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

#### AUTHORIZATION FOR SIGNING TAX BILL, ETC.

Mr. BARKLEY. If the Senator will further yield to me, while I am on my feet I ask unanimous consent that during recess of the Senate following today's session the Vice President be authorized to affix his signature to the tax bill or to any other bill ready for his signature.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### SUPPLEMENTAL NATIONAL DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 7672) making supplemental appropriations for the national defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943, and for other purposes.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I send to the desk another amendment, which I offer and ask to have stated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 24, after line 15, it is proposed to insert:

#### UNITED STATES MARITIME COMMISSION

On and after November 1, 1942, section 2 of the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1943, approved June 27, 1942, shall not apply to the position of Vice Chairman of the United States Maritime Commission so long as the office is held by the present incumbent.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, the amendment was proposed by the Senator from Oregon, and the committee has authorized me to offer it. I ask that the amendment be agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. McKELLAR. I send to the desk another amendment, which I offer and ask to have stated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 27, after line 25, it is proposed to insert:

#### BUREAU OF MINES

Construction and equipment of helium plants: For an additional amount, fiscal years 1943 and 1944, for "Construction and equipment of helium plants", to constitute one fund with the appropriation under this head in the Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1943, such fund to be available for all the objects for which said appropriation is available, including transportation of personnel engaged in work authorized thereunder between helium plants and related facilities and communities that provide adequate living accommodations when specifically authorized by the Secretary of the Interior after a determination by the Office of Defense Transportation that existing private and



other facilities are not and cannot be rendered adequate by other means and that the exercise of this authority will result in the most efficient method of supplying transportation to the personnel concerned, and the purchase and exchange of passenger-carrying trucks, trailers, and busses used for such purposes without charge against the limitation on the purchase of passenger-carrying automobiles hereinafter specified, \$11,000,000: *Provided*, That the limitation of \$16,600 on expenditures for purchase (including exchange) of passenger-carrying automobiles is hereby increased to \$33,250, and the limitation of \$30,000 on expenditures for personal services in the District of Columbia is hereby increased to \$80,000.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. McKELLAR. I send to the desk another amendment, which I offer and ask to have stated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 27, after line 25, it is proposed to insert:

The authority granted by the Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1943, to the Secretary of the Interior, or any official to whom he may delegate such authority, for the duration of the war and 6 months thereafter, to appoint skilled and unskilled laborers, mechanics, and other persons engaged in a recognized trade or craft, including foremen of such groups, employed at experimental plants and laboratories of the Bureau of Mines without regard to the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, is hereby extended to include appointment of such employees at helium plants and properties related thereto.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. McKELLAR. I send to the desk another amendment, which I offer and ask to have stated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 33, after line 20, it is proposed to insert:

Sec. 201. The limitation of \$925 specified in section 405 of the Sixth Supplemental National Defense Appropriation Act, 1942, and any similar limitation specified in any other appropriation act for the fiscal year 1943 may be exceeded by such amount as the Secretary of War, in the case of the War Department, the Secretary of the Navy, in the case of the Navy Department, the Commissioners, in the case of the government of the District of Columbia, and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, in the case of other essential governmental needs, may determine necessary to obtain satisfactory light-weight and medium-weight motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles, but in no event shall the price so paid for any such vehicle exceed the maximum price for such vehicle established by the Office of Price Administration and in no event more than \$1,500.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I ask for an explanation of the amendment.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I shall be very glad to give the Senator an explanation. The present limitation on the amount which may be spent for the purchase of automobiles is \$925. The committee provided in the amendment, as submitted to the Senate, that the

amount shall not exceed the maximum price established by the Office of Price Administration—in no event more than \$1,500. I desire to amend the amendment by adding the words—

which amount shall be in addition to amounts allowed for transportation.

When the original limitation of \$925 was imposed the price referred to was the price at the factory. The cars which are to be purchased are located in various parts of the country, where they must be purchased from dealers. For that reason the amount of the limitation is proposed to be increased, and of course the dealers must be compensated for the freight paid on the cars. On the Pacific coast it amounts to at least \$150.

Therefore, Mr. President, I send to the desk the amendment, which I offer to the amendment, and ask to have it stated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. At the end of the amendment on page 33, after line 20, submitted by Mr. McKELLAR, it is proposed to insert "which amount shall be in addition to amounts allowed for transportation."

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, let me ask where that language is to be inserted. Can the Senator from Arizona give me the information?

Mr. HAYDEN. On page 33, after line 20, at the end of the proposed section 201.

Mr. DANAHER. How does the limitation relate in amount to the \$1,250 limitation which we have already placed on the Bureau of Yards and Docks with reference to their acquisition of 2,000 automobiles?

Mr. HAYDEN. They can buy the automobiles for that price. The Army buys them from dealers all over the country. So we put a double limitation: First, the price shall not be higher than the price established by the Office of Price Administration; and, second, in no event shall it be more than \$1,500 plus the freight.

The idea was that we did not want the Army to be buying Cadillacs and Packards and other high-priced cars; therefore, those limitations were proposed.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. DANAHER. When we were considering the amendment on page 4, lines 16 to 19, I asked the Senator from Tennessee why the \$925 limitation contained in existing law was being raised to \$1,250. He then told us precisely what we are being told by the Senator from Arizona is the basis for an increase in price for yet another type of automobile, apparently, to \$1,500, plus transportation costs. The Senator from Tennessee told us that we had to increase the amount paid per car \$325 in order to take care of all the extra costs, to take care of dealers' carrying charges and the 1-percent-a-month increase in cost over and above the frozen price, if I may use the term, fixed by the Office of Price Administration. I should like to reconcile the two amendments.

Mr. HAYDEN. The first amendment referred to related to a few cars to be

purchased by the Navy. The pending amendment relates to a large number of cars to be purchased at locations all over the country by the Army.

Mr. DANAHER. How many automobiles?

Mr. HAYDEN. I should say at least 2,000.

Mr. DANAHER. On page 4, the purchase of 2,000 automobiles is provided for. We are talking about 2,000 additional motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles, to be purchased at a price not to exceed \$1,250. I do not see how we reconcile the 2 amendments.

Mr. HAYDEN. In the bill itself we are simply placing a limitation on the total price which may be paid for the automobiles which the Army can buy; we are not limiting the number, but we are placing a limitation on the price.

Mr. DANAHER. But the proposed limit is \$250 higher than the limit which previously existed, which had been increased by \$325.

Mr. HAYDEN. As was explained in great detail the other day, that is because the automobiles have passed from the ownership of the factories into the hands of dealers. The dealer is allowed by the Office of Price Administration to add to the price of the car the amount allowed each month for carrying charges, and in addition to that we have to allow for the freight charges incurred in hauling the cars all over the country.

The maximum of \$1,500 is proposed simply to make sure that no Army officers will ride around in Packards, Cadillacs, or Rolls-Royces.

Mr. DANAHER. That does not follow at all; that is a non sequitur if there ever was one. I was passed this morning by a Packard 160, in which there were some Army officers, and I envied them. But that is not the point. Let me digress to say to the Vice President, who smiled as I spoke, that I have noticed that he gave up his beautiful Packard in recognition of the situation, for which I applauded him.

On page 4, lines 16 to 19, the bill provides that the Navy may buy 2,000 automobiles, at a cost per unit of \$1,250. We were told that the increase of \$325 was to take care of the very items which the Senator from Arizona now says justify an increase to \$1,500 a unit. Does the Senator try to reconcile the two matters, or is the Senator amending the general, all-over unit price for a car, and raising it to \$1,500 a car?

Mr. HAYDEN. We are trying to comply in each case with the request of the department affected. In one case the Navy Department wanted the price fixed at \$1,250. They can get along with that limit. The Army said they could not. We have to provide them with the cars, and they cannot get them except from dealers.

Mr. DANAHER. I see. So that, as the Senator from Massachusetts explained when he told us that if we were going to transport workers to yards and docks, the Navy can get along with a \$925 car, increased by \$325, but the Army cannot, and therefore the Senator from Arizona would increase the allowance to \$1,500.

# S. 2748

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 20 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

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## AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. THOMAS of Idaho to the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability. viz: At the end of the bill add the following new section:

1     SEC. . Section 3 (a) of such Act, as amended, is hereby  
2 amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and  
3 inserting in lieu thereof a colon and the following: "*And*  
4 *provided further*, That no man under twenty years of age  
5 who is inducted into the land or naval forces under the pro-  
6 visions of this Act shall be ordered into actual combat serv-  
7 ice until after he has been given at least twelve months of  
8 military training."

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## AMENDMENT

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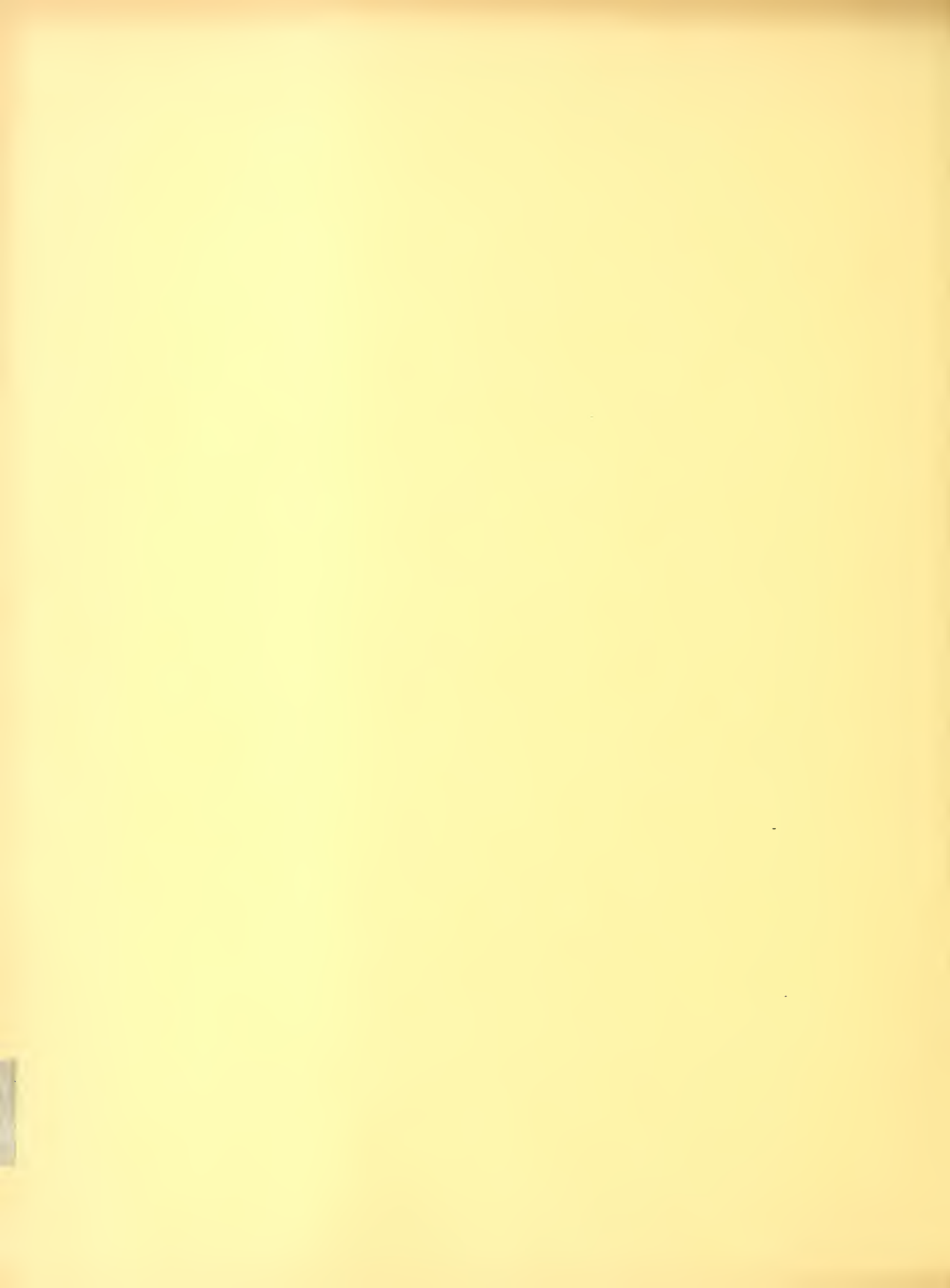
Intended to be proposed by Mr. THOMAS of Idaho to the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

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OCTOBER 20 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942  
Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed







**STIMULATION OF THE PRODUCTION OF PETROLEUM AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS AND UTILIZATION OF MINERAL RESOURCES (PT. 3 OF S. REPT. NO. 838)**

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to submit a report from the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys containing the recommendations of that committee to meet a possible oil shortage.

It is a summary of a study made by a subcommittee of the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys of the whole petroleum situation pursuant to Senate Resolution 53, agreed to May 1, 1941, and under Senate bill 2239. It reviews the condition in the field and in Washington and points out methods by which to avoid with respect to oil the critical confusion the country has experienced with respect to steel and rubber.

In view of the fact that the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. GURNEY], who was a member of the subcommittee dealing with this subject, is about to open the debate on the pending business, I do not intend to impose upon his time, but I wish to call attention to the fact that yesterday the War Production Board announced the approval of the application of the Republic Steel Corporation for permission to build what is known as a sponge-iron plant.

The development of sponge iron as a substitute for scrap is an objective which the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys has had before it for the past 7 months. I feel that it is only proper, in connection with the report I am now submitting, that an expression of appreciation be made to the War Production Board for the action it has now taken. It was impeded for months by representatives of the steel industry, who, against the advice of many experts, persisted in contending that these new processes for reducing iron ore should not be utilized.

As long ago as last May I offered and the Senate approved an amendment appropriating \$600,000 to enable the Bureau of Mines to test the sponge-iron processes. Within a week after Secretary Ickes announced that the project would be undertaken, Republic Steel made the application to W. P. B. which has now been approved.

The manufacture of more steel is essential to the maintenance of oil production.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the report submitted by the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY] will be received and printed.

**BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED**

A bill and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. KILGORE (for himself and Mr. PEPPER):

S. 2871. A bill to establish an office of war mobilization, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. McNARY (for Mr. BROOKS):

S. J. Res. 167. Joint resolution requesting the President to declare November 10, 1942, a day for the observance of the creation of the United States Marine Corps; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

**REDUCTION OF DRAFT-AGE LIMIT—AMENDMENTS**

Mr. BILBO, Mr. BURTON, Mr. CAPPER, Mr. DANAHER (for Mr. TAFT), Mr. NYE, and Mr. TYDINGS each submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by them, respectively, to the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, which were severally ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

**MINERAL RESOURCES OF THE PUBLIC LANDS**

Mr. O'MAHONEY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 310), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, authorized by Senate Resolution 53, agreed to May 1, 1941, to investigate the mineral resources of the public lands of the United States, hereby is authorized to expend from the contingent fund of the Senate \$3,000 in addition to the amount heretofore authorized for such purpose.

**MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE**

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Calloway, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 2693) to provide for the instruction of meteorological students in weather forecasting, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 7672) making supplemental appropriations for the national defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 7356. An act to amend section 75 (a) of the act entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," approved July 1, 1898, as amended;

H. R. 7370. An act to authorize, during time of war, waiver of compliance with or modification or suspension of the operation of certain provisions of the Communications Act of 1934; and

H. R. 7568. An act to discharge more effectively the obligations of the United States under certain treaties relating to the manufacture and distribution of narcotic drugs, by providing for domestic control of the production and distribution of the opium poppy and its products, and for other purposes.

**ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED**

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the Vice President:

S. 2381. An act to provide that certain provisions of law relating to the Navy shall be held applicable to the personnel of the Coast Guard when that service is operating as a part of the Navy; and

H. R. 7455. An act to amend the Coast Guard Auxiliary and Reserve Act of 1941, as amended, so as to enable Filipinos to qualify for service thereunder.

**HOUSE BILLS REFERRED**

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred as indicated:

H. R. 7356. An act to amend section 75 (a) of the act entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," approved July 1, 1898, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 7370. An act to authorize, during time of war, waiver of compliance with or modification or suspension of the operation of certain provisions of the Communications Act of 1934; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

H. R. 7568. An act to discharge more effectively the obligations of the United States under certain treaties relating to the manufacture and distribution of narcotic drugs, by providing for domestic control of the production and distribution of the opium poppy and its products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

**THE EFFECT OF WAR ON TRADE IN THE AMERICAS—ADDRESS BY EDGAR B. BROSSARD**

[Mr. THOMAS of Utah asked and obtained leave to have inserted in the RECORD a radio address on the effect of the war on trade in the Americas, delivered on October 11, 1942, by Edgar B. Brossard, member of the United States Tariff Commission, which appears in the Appendix.]

**WAR RECORD OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA**

[Mr. KILGORE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a tabulation showing the record of the United Mine Workers of America in connection with the war effort, which appears in the Appendix.]

**ADMISSION TO THE AMERICAN LEGION OF VETERANS OF WORLD WAR NO. 2**

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1699, House bill 7675, a bill to amend the charter of the American Legion by making eligible to membership in the Legion men who serve honorably in the present war. I may say that the bill passed the House of Representatives unanimously, and has been unanimously reported by the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the bill (H. R. 7675) to amend the act entitled "An act to incorporate the American Legion," approved September 16, 1919, so as to extend membership eligibility therein to certain American citizens, honorably discharged from the active military or naval forces of the United States, or of some country allied with the United States during World War No. 2 was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

**REDUCTION OF DRAFT-AGE LIMIT**

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, which had been reported from the Committee on Military Affairs with an amendment on page 2, after line 18, to insert the following new section:



SEC. 4. Section 5 of such act, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(i) Notwithstanding any other provisions of law, no person between the ages of 18 and 21 shall be discharged from service in the land or naval forces of the United States while this act is in effect because such person entered such service without the consent of his parent or guardian.

"(j) No individual shall be relieved from liability for training and service under this act, or held not to be acceptable to the land or naval forces for such training and service, solely on the ground of his having been convicted of any crime which is not a felony at common law, if the local board having jurisdiction determines that such individuals, notwithstanding such conviction, are morally fit for military service."

So as to make the bill read:

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That so much of the first sentence of section 3 (a) of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, as precedes the first proviso is hereby amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 3. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this act, every male citizen of the United States, and every other male person residing in the United States, who is between the ages of 18 and 45 at the time fixed for his registration, shall be liable for training and service in the land or naval forces of the United States."

SEC. 2. Section 5 (f) of such act, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(f) Any person who, while pursuing a course of instruction at a high school or similar institution of learning, is ordered to report for induction under this act during the last half of the academic year at such school or institution, shall, upon his request, have his induction under this act postponed until the end of such academic year."

SEC. 3. Section 15 (a) of such act, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(a) The term 'between the ages of 18 and 45' shall refer to men who have attained the eighteenth anniversary of the day of their birth and who have not attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of their birth; and other terms designating different age groups shall be construed in a similar manner."

SEC. 4. Section 5 of such act, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(i) Notwithstanding any other provisions of law, no person between the ages of 18 and 21 shall be discharged from service in the land or naval forces of the United States while this act is in effect because such person entered such service without the consent of his parent or guardian.

"(j) No individual shall be relieved from liability for training and service under this act, or held not to be acceptable to the land or naval forces for such training and service, solely on the ground of his having been convicted of any crime which is not a felony at common law, if the local board having jurisdiction determines that such individuals, notwithstanding such conviction, are morally fit for military service."

Mr. BARKLEY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Barkley	Burton
Andrews	Bilbo	Butler
Austin	Bone	Byrd
Bailey	Brewster	Capper
Ball	Bulow	Caraway
Barbour	Bunker	Chavez

Clark, Idaho	Langer	Rosier
Clark, Mo.	Lee	Russell
Connally	Lodge	Shipstead
Danaher	Lucas	Smathers
Davis	McFarland	Smith
Downey	McKellar	Spencer
Doxey	McNary	Thomas, Idaho
Ellender	Maloney	Thomas, Okla.
George	Maybank	Thomas, Utah
Gerry	Mead	Tobey
Gillette	Murdock	Tunnell
Green	Norris	Tydings
Guffey	Nye	Vandenberg
Gurney	O'Daniel	Van Nuys
Hatch	O'Mahoney	Wagner
Hayden	Overton	Wallgren
Hill	Pepper	Walsh
Johnson, Calif.	Radcliffe	Wheeler
Kilgore	Reed	White
La Follette	Reynolds	Wiley

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HUGHES] are absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. BROWN], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HERRING], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. MCCARRAN], the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SCHWARTZ], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. STEWART], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. TRUMAN] are necessarily absent.

Mr. McNARY. The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BARBOUR], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. BROOKS], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HOLMAN], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKIN], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. WILLIS] are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SMATHERS in the chair). Seventy-eight Senators have answered to their names. There is a quorum present.

Mr. GURNEY obtained the floor.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from South Dakota yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield for a question or a short statement.

Mr. LEE. A parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. LEE. What is the pending business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Senate bill 2748 is the pending business.

Mr. LEE. I wish to offer an amendment to the committee amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from South Dakota yield for that purpose?

Mr. GURNEY. Not for the present. I believe the committee amendment should be considered first.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, before starting on my preliminary remarks, which will be brief, probably not over 10 or 15 minutes, I wish to express the hope that I may conclude my statement without interruption, after which I plan to go thoroughly into the committee report, and at that time I shall be glad to yield for questions or interruptions from any

Senator seeking information which I or others may be able to furnish.

Mr. President, today I am presenting to the Senate Senate bill 2748, with the complete backing of the Committee on Military Affairs. The final vote for committee approval was unanimous. I am sure that at the time I introduced this bill, on September 3, 7 weeks ago, every Member of Congress and a great majority of the people of the United States had become convinced that this war in which our country is engaged was an all-out war, a war in which the enemy, prepared long before us, had a good start in their fight to impose their will and their ideas of dictatorial government on the entire world, including the United States of America. With each succeeding day since our declaration of war last December, while our armies were being increased by leaps and bounds, while our production was reaching proportions heretofore thought impossible, there has been a more complete realization by all citizens of the United States that the conflict we are now in is a battle not only for our firesides and our kind of government, but a battle for our very lives.

All of us today, I think, will concede that the powers fighting for individual freedom and self rule are on the side which is surely right. Therefore, we have just reason to believe that Omnipotent Power is on our side. Certainly we must also agree, being practical men, that the Lord helps those who help themselves. We place our trust in Him. Secondly, we look to our armed forces, for in a life-and-death struggle we must place our faith, so far as humans go, in the strength of our arms and in the intelligence and sincerity of our high command.

Our Commander in Chief has spoken, saying now is the time. Delay cannot be countenanced in bringing to our armed forces the strength, virility, agility, and stick-to-itiveness of our younger men. The Secretary of War in a statement concurred in by the Navy, has said that immediate passage of this bill is imperative. Our Chief of Staff in answer to a question put by me in committee hearings has stated simply, "The Army requests immediate passage."

Our enemies' best divisions are made up of their younger men; they are the elite troops, the panzer divisions, if you please. To oppose them we can and will present better troops, better clothed, better fed, and better trained. When I say better trained, we must realize—and I hope Senators will remember this—that each day while this bill is being considered in Congress a day's training is lost for those who must, of necessity, come into the armed forces of our country in this time of need. It is my firm opinion that if there is complacency anywhere in the United States, it is and has been here in Washington. The people are ready and willing to make all necessary sacrifices. They will send their sons to the armed forces in ever-increasing numbers; they will continue to carry on at home. All that is necessary is that they know what is necessary. The Commander in Chief and the heads of the



Army and Navy have told them what is now necessary, and the people have accepted it. Witness a recent poll of public opinion, which was taken before the President's address to the Nation on October 12. Even at that time more than 70 percent of the people agreed that 18- and 19-year-olds should be given the opportunity of joining our armed forces.

Witness only a few days ago another poll of those to be actually affected by this legislation; the 18- and 19-year-olds have themselves said, by a percentage stronger than 80 percent, that they are ready and desire to serve in the armed forces. All of us who believe in the American people and have unbounded faith in the future of the United States could not have believed that our people would have acted otherwise when our country was involved in the greatest crisis in all its history.

Our system of selective service certainly has its faults, but with all its faults, it is the system which has been accepted and agreed on as the best for a free people to use in furnishing the necessary manpower with which to conduct a war. As we all know, Selective Service is now furnishing men only for the Army. The Navy, the Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard have, by custom, secured their men through voluntary enlistment. Some will argue that Selective Service should furnish men for all branches of our armed forces. They say no voluntary enlistments should be allowed. As for myself, I cannot do anything but compliment the man who volunteers his services. To stop voluntarily by law at this time would, in my opinion, be bad for the morale of the young men of our country whose patriotism knows no bounds. Be that as it may, the question before us now is to furnish to our Army a group of manpower which will immediately lower the average age in the Army. Mechanized warfare requires the strength and vigor of a younger army. The average age of our Army combat divisions is far too high. The testimony is conclusive that a division of troops with an average age of 23 or 24 years is much more effective as a fighting unit than one whose average age is 5 or 10 years older. Actual figures now prove that the average age of our troops in the Army is 7 or 8 years older than that of the men in the Navy, and the marines are even younger than that.

The people of America have a right to believe when they are making an all-out effort that the war will be won. I repeat, the present average age of our troops is far too high for an aggressive force, and with the increase in numbers it is paramount that the 18- and 19-year-olds come in. Not to bring in the younger group would compel us to bring in the older men who would have wives and even dependent children at home, with the result that the average age would rise to an alarming figure, to such an extent that our Army then, while it might be all right for defensive purposes, would certainly not be what we could call an aggressive force, and I am convinced the American people do not fight wars in that way. Americans say the

best defense is a quick overpowering offense, and that is just what our Army, Navy, and Marine Corps have assured us is their present program.

I hope each Member of the Senate during the consideration of this measure today and possibly tomorrow—I hope no longer—will keep in mind, first, that everyone in authority in a military way, from the Commander in Chief and the Chief of Staff of our Army on down, has said that the need is imperative. Second, I wish to point out, and hope that Senators will also remember, that for each young man who comes into the armed forces to make our Army better there will be deferred from immediate liability for military service an older man who may be married and has not only a wife to support but also growing children. With the immediate passage of Senate bill 2748, the direct testimony of the Director of the Selective Service System is that its passage will give deferment to married men with children for the period from December 1 well into the fall of next year. Remember, each young man who comes into the Army means one older man who will not be called.

General Marshall, the Chief of Staff, has a gigantic task. No other general in the world's history was ever given the problem of directing operations on six continents. This titanic struggle is of such huge dimensions that no man can tell when the war will end. No man can now say that even boys who are just now entering their teens will not be called on to serve in this war in years ahead. Therefore, as these boys become men, as they reach 18 years of age, let us start to give them every bit of training there is time for, not only that they may be better fitted for efficient service to their country, but also that they may be better able to protect themselves. A well-trained army has fewer casualties than an army which is not sufficiently trained. We must give them this training so that they themselves will know that they are in the pink of condition to do the job they have to do—and the job which they, themselves, want to do for the United States of America. Let us give our men a fighting chance by getting them into training now.

We are now making an army. The high command have said they have now in prospect, to be ready in 1943, an army of 7,500,000 men. Remember, that army is still in the making, and our high command knows that in making new divisions 12 months of training is vital. More than 12 months is always better. General Marshall said:

We have calculated with extreme care what we must have and the greatest speed with which we can get to it by the end of December 1943. But it should be perfectly clear in your minds that what we turn out in January 1943 is not available until January 1944, and the men who it is proposed to induct under this estimate in December 1943 will not be available in newly trained units until January 1945. This planning must be made far in advance and we must have a long period of training before units can be used in combat. New organizations must be created—they must make their own history, their own traditions, and trained to operate as complete teams.

At the conclusion of General Marshall's testimony I asked him the simple question:

General, am I to understand the Army wants this bill passed as quickly as possible?

The general answered simply:

Yes, sir.

I then asked:

Do you want it passed as it is without any restrictions?

The general's answer was:

That is right.

So in conclusion, let me say that because of the imperative need for quick passage of the bill and the necessity of keeping away from any controversial questions that will delay immediate passage, I hope that my colleagues will sincerely consider the inadvisability of offering any amendment which will, in any way, delay passage and, therefore, delay final victory for which we are all hoping, praying, and striving.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, I offer an amendment and ask that it be stated

Mr. GURNEY. I have not yielded the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota does not yield the floor.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from South Dakota a question or two if I may.

Mr. GURNEY. I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from Michigan for a question.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The first question I should like to ask the Senator is not critical, but goes to the basis of my thinking on the subject. If the need for lowering the draft age is as imperative as the Senator indicates, why was not the movement initiated by an official request to the Congress from the Commander in Chief and from the General Staffs of the Army and Navy, instead of being initiated by civilian Members of Congress?

Mr. GURNEY. Of course, the Senator knows the procedure when a committee of the Senate or of the House is endeavoring to bring a bill to the floor. The bill is first sent to the department of Government affected. In turn, it is passed on to the Bureau of the Budget. Undoubtedly the Army has had its plans in mind for a number of months, and undoubtedly it was a matter of having all those in authority agree with those plans.

Mr. VANDENBERG. My own viewpoint has always been in opposition to lowering the draft age below 20 years; but I have always said that in time of war we must depend upon our general staffs for military decisions, and that any time the Commander in Chief and the general staffs of the Army and Navy came to the Congress and officially told us that a lower draft age was indispensable to victory, I should feel the necessity of submitting to their judgment.

I now return to my question. I am sorry if I am confused about the matter; but if the need suddenly is as imperative as the Senator indicates, I do not understand why the Commander in Chief and the general staffs waited for civilian Members of Congress to initiate this movement on their own civilian responsi-



bility. That somewhat "mortgages" my feeling in respect to the imperativeness of the situation.

Mr. GURNEY. Of course, I cannot completely answer the Senator's question; but I can say that in the first World War, at the time we had in the Army approximately 4,000,000 men, which is the approximate number we reached a few months ago, Congress, after much debate, passed a bill authorizing the selection of 18- and 19-year-olds and making them liable for military service. So we could expect at about this time the proposal which now faces us, because we have brought into the Army during this war approximately the same number that was brought in during the first World War when it was proposed that the Congress do the same thing which the Senate Military Affairs Committee now proposes.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Let me put the question a little differently, and perhaps a little more bluntly. Did the Senator introduce his bill on his own initiative, or at the request of the departments?

Mr. GURNEY. I introduced the bill on September 3 on my own initiative, after having made a trip to some 12 Army cantonments, where I had an opportunity to see for myself the number of older men who were coming into the Army and the high percentage of older men who were in the hospitals in those camps because of minor ailments. After making a trip through the country and seeing the manpower which was available in the younger age group, on my return to Washington I immediately introduced the bill, without a suggestion from anyone else.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Let me ask this supplemental question: If the issue of imperativeness had not been raised at the present time by civilian Members of Congress, does the Senator believe that the issue would be here?

Mr. GURNEY. That is a question which I cannot answer, because I do not know what goes on in the several departments of Government.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am only trying to nail down the question of indispensability. If the proposed step is indispensable, all right; but I am still awaiting proof of indispensability.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield to the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. HILL. With reference to the question of the Senator from Michigan, let me say to the Senator that I had very much the same feeling in the matter that he had. I not only had that feeling, but in correspondence with my constituents I gave expression to it.

I believe that the statement of General Marshall before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, the statement of Admiral King before that committee, and the letter of the Secretary of War leave no doubt that they, as the men who are responsible for the conduct of this war on behalf of the United States, feel that it is absolutely necessary that this bill be passed at this time. I think it was only after they had received reports in July and August, and after General Mar-

shall himself had made an inspection trip a short time ago, that they realized the imperative need for this measure. In other words, the effect of the older men did not begin to show up until along about July, or perhaps August. As I recall, in July the average age of a division was about 28, whereas only 90 days previously the average age was 25. There was a very precipitate increase in the average age over a comparatively short period of three or four months. When the average age began to step up, General Marshall made an inspection trip, as did the Senator from South Dakota. He told us about being at Fort Bragg, where he went into the hospital and saw that it was crowded with older men who had been drafted, and who had shown that because of their age they could not take the training. They were in the hospital because of the fact that the training was so rigid that they simply could not stand it.

When reports came in showing that the average age was increasing precipitately, the military authorities became concerned because so many of the older men were in the hospitals. Remember that when a man goes to the hospital not only is he out of training for the period of time he is in the hospital, and of no value to the Army, but he imposes a very considerable burden on the Army, because there must be somebody to take care of men while they are being hospitalized.

From the testimony of General Marshall and Admiral King, the letter of the Secretary of War, and the other evidence we had before the committee, I think there is no question that if the Senator from South Dakota had not introduced his bill, those gentlemen, as the responsible heads of our military and naval organizations, would have been before us insisting on the passage of such a measure. That in no way takes any credit away from the Senator from South Dakota for his vision and farsightedness in introducing the bill.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. GURNEY. Let me supplement the answer which has been given by the Senator from Alabama. When the original Selective Service Act was before the Congress in 1940, every time when the leaders of our armed forces came before the Military Affairs Committee, and on every occasion when any measure was under consideration to amend the Selective Service Act, their testimony at all times was that they wanted the right to bring in the younger men. That was their original request, before we passed the bill in September 1940. There has been no change of recent date in the statements or the policy of the Army. The Army officials have held to the same opinion for more than 2 years.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I realize that the statement made by the able Senator from Alabama and the statement made by the distinguished Senator from South Dakota are totally persuasive in respect to the attitude of the Army and Navy

toward the Senator's bill. However, what disturbs me is the fact that we still lack an official request from those upon whom we have to depend for our high military command and strategy initiating the movement. That is the thing I miss. I invite the Senator's attention to the fact that even the Commander in Chief has not officially said to the Congress that he wants this legislation. He has been content to make his statement in a broadcast to the country. On a matter of this desperately fundamental importance, I respectfully submit that a broadcast to the country is not an official communication to the Congress; and it seems to me that the Commander in Chief ought to ask for such legislation if it is as indispensably imperative as the Senator indicates.

Mr. GURNEY. Of course, we have an official request from the War Department in writing, dated October 13, 1942.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That was after the Senator introduced his bill.

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Perhaps this is all beside the point; but I do not understand the imminence with which this problem is now clothed, in view of the silence of the Commander in Chief and the service departments up to the moment when civilian Members of Congress initiated the proposal for lowering the draft age. I do not know whether or not that reflects in any way upon the degree of imperativeness. That is what I wish to be reassured about; that is what the country wishes to be reassured about. The country will take this if it is indispensable to victory, but not otherwise.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. HILL. The Senator will recall that a year ago the War Department asked that the minimum age be placed at 19. The Senator will no doubt also recall that we had a very intensive debate over the question of whether or not the age should be 19. By a majority of 2 votes the Senate placed the age at 19. The Senator will recall that the bill then went to the House of Representatives. The House did not accept the 19-year age, but placed it at 21. The bill went to conference, and neither the House age of 21 years nor the Senate age of 19 was accepted. As might have been expected, a compromise was reached on an age of 20 years.

I call attention to a statement in the letter of the Secretary of War under date of October 13, in support of the pending bill. He calls attention to the fact that a year ago the War Department asked that the age limit then be 19 years. He then goes on to say—

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me to interrupt him at that point, what he has said brings me to the next question I want to ask.

Mr. HILL. I ask the Senator to permit me to read one sentence.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Very well.

Mr. HILL. In the letter the Secretary of War calls attention to the fact that he



requested the 19-year-old age limit a year ago. He then goes on to say:

It is my considered opinion, as well as that of my chief military advisors, that contingencies now foreseeable make it imperative that the pool of available military manpower be still further widened.

That is what he says in connection with the bill. Of course, the only way it could be widened would be to take the younger men. He could not go beyond the 45-year-old group. One reason for widening it by taking men from the younger groups is that the older men are not proving to be satisfactory material.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is true; but I want to refer to what the Senator just read, and to General Marshall's suggestion heretofore made that he wanted to reach down into the 19-year-old group. I desire to know whether in connection with the pending bill consideration has been given to the question whether or not it would suffice for military purposes, for the needs now foreseeable, to reduce the age limit to 19 instead of to 18.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, answering that inquiry, let me say that the testimony of both the Army and the Selective Service System—I shall get to that when I read the committee report—is that out of the 18- and 19-year-old group 1,400,000 men will be available. It will readily be seen that to provide an Army of 7,500,000 men we shall have to have a great many more than 1,400,000 men.

We must also take into consideration the fact that voluntary enlistments are now taking great numbers of the 18- and 19-year-olds, most of them going into the Navy and the Marine Corps, although quite a considerable percentage is going into the Army. It is estimated by General Hershey of the Selective Service System that one out of three available in the 18- and 19-year-old groups will volunteer before they are selected for induction.

Consequently most of them will enter the Navy and the Marine Corps. The Army will not gain strength very rapidly from volunteers who enter the armed forces between now and, let us say, December, when the machinery for inducing 18- and 19-year-olds will be ready to bring them in. In other words, if 1 out of 3 volunteer, we shall have left about 800,000 or 900,000 men who, commencing December 1, 1942, will be available for the Army. Eight or nine hundred thousand men added to our present Army would not bring it up to a total strength of 7,500,000 men. Therefore, if that will not do it, half that number would be much further away from bringing in the necessary manpower.

Mr. VANDENBERG. When are we to have an army of 7,500,000 men?

Mr. GURNEY. At the end of 1943.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Are we correctly advised by the newspapers that the objective is to have an army of approximately 10,000,000 men if the war goes beyond the end of 1943?

Mr. GURNEY. No; that is not correct. The testimony given by General Marshall is that their plan at the present time—of course, they cannot see what may happen next year; no man

can—are for a total army in 1943 of only 7,500,000 men. We must add to that number, in order to get the total number of our citizens in the armed forces, those who are in the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, which undoubtedly will bring up the total to about 10,000,000; but the General Strategy Board at the present time does not anticipate wanting more than 7,500,000 men during 1943.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I suppose the decision as to the total number of men required is essentially a military one, and perhaps it is a matter which has to be one of military secrecy. Has the Senate Military Affairs Committee any testimony to which the Senator would feel free to advert to indicate why an army of 7,500,000 men is necessary and how in general it is to be handled?

Mr. GURNEY. Yes; I can get to that point very quickly, and much more easily by explaining the numbers as I go along with the committee report. I shall come to that subject.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I thought the Senator had concluded his presentation.

Mr. GURNEY. Oh, no; I am going to conclude the argument put forth in the Senate Military Affairs Committee report.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Perhaps the Senator then will state some of the things I am anticipating.

Mr. GURNEY. I think so.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I thank the Senator for his courtesy.

Mr. McKELLAR rose.

Mr. GURNEY. I yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I should like to know the number of young men who were obtained from the 20-year-old class. How many young men did the Army obtain from that class? As I understand the Senator, upward of 800,000 men would be obtained from the 18- and 19-year-old classes; is that correct?

Mr. GURNEY. No; not quite correct.

Mr. McKELLAR. How many would be obtained?

Mr. GURNEY. About 1,400,000 will be obtained from those two age groups.

Mr. McKELLAR. After allowing for all enlistments in the Navy and the Marine Corps?

Mr. GURNEY. No.

Mr. McKELLAR. Deducting those, as I recall the Senator said that about eight-hundred-and-some-odd-thousand men would be obtained from the two classes—the 18- and 19-year-old classes. Of course, that is an estimate. What I desire to know is how many men the Army obtained from the 20-year-old class.

Mr. GURNEY. The testimony given and the figures kept by the Selective Service System, as transmitted to us in the hearings, show that as to any age group, about 100,000 men become of that age each month.

Mr. McKELLAR. But what I am getting at is this—

Mr. GURNEY. I shall go on with the explanation, and shall answer the Senator's question.

Mr. McKELLAR. Let me make it clearer. Of course, we are now dealing with estimates as to 18- and 19-year-old

classes; but we do not have to deal with estimates as to the 20-year-old class, because we have already inducted the men from that class into the Army. What I want to know is whether the committee obtained the figures as to how many men from the 20-year-old class had been inducted into the Army?

Mr. GURNEY. Answering the question directly, let me say that when General McNarney, the Deputy Chief of Staff, was asked that question he would not give us the figures in actual numbers. All he would do was give us the percentages of each age group now in the Army—1 or 2 percent of a certain age group now in the Army, perhaps 7 or 8 percent of another age group. However, as to the actual numbers, they felt that such information should not be given out at this time. In fact, they thought it so important that they did not give the actual figures to the committee itself.

Mr. McKELLAR. I should think it would be very helpful. It would be very helpful to me to know whether their estimates were correct, and those estimates would be susceptible of proof. For instance, if from the 20-year-old class, only four-hundred-and-some-odd thousand men were obtained after allowing for the men from that group entering the Navy and the Marine Corps, then we should know what we should have to do in the case of the 18- and 19-year-old classes.

Mr. GURNEY. I realize that the information would be helpful to the Senator.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes.

Mr. GURNEY. It would be helpful to all of us; but the Army's statement was that it would also be helpful to the enemy.

In order to make as clear as possible the point regarding the 1,400,000 men who will be available when the bill is passed, let me say that from the 18- and 19-year-old age group, 1,400,000 men will be available to our armed forces. General Hershey says that one out of three will volunteer—approximately 500,000—leaving 800,000 or 900,000 to be inducted commencing December 1942.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is what I understood the Senator to say.

Mr. GURNEY. So, considering the 1,400,000 men, we see that there are not as many men in that group now as there would have been, let us say, in the group of 20- and 21-year-olds 2 or 3 years ago; because a great many of the 18- and 19-year-olds have already volunteered.

So, instead of having approximately 1,000,000 men available in each age group, we have at the present time only approximately three-quarters of a million available in the 18-year-old age group, and three-quarters of a million available in the 19-year-old age group.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President—

Mr. GURNEY. I yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska permit me to say another word about the matter; because I referred to it a minute ago in answer to a question by the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. NORRIS. Certainly.

Mr. HILL. I hold in my hand a letter, an excerpt from which I think would



be of interest in connection with the Senator's question.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Dakota yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I have yielded already to the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I desire merely to read an excerpt from the letter which General Marshall wrote last December. It is as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
OFFICES OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF,  
Washington, D. C., December 17, 1941.  
Hon. ROBERT R. REYNOLDS,  
Chairman, Committee on Military  
Affairs, United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR REYNOLDS: Urgent military demands render it impossible for me to present personally to your committee certain recommendations which I consider 't my duty to submit regarding the age limits for liability for military service provided in pending legislation to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940.

I earnestly request that the Senate fix these ages at 19 to 44 years, inclusive.

To win this war will require a maximum national effort, and it is important that we recognize from the beginning that able-bodied men of all ages must bear proper proportions of the load in the capacity for which best suited. The traditional age for liability for military service in our country is 18 to 45. The War Department, sensing the reluctance of the Congress to fix the lower age limit at 18 years, recommended 19 years originally. The Department feels that it would be unwise to make further concession in this regard. The Army needs men between the ages of 19 and 44 to insure a proper balance in our effort.

I will ask, Mr. President, that the remainder of the letter be inserted in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The remainder of the letter is as follows:

This is in line with the experience of the other principal nation engaged in this war, and we should profit by their experience.

Highly skilled technicians can be obtained only from those in the upper age brackets who have had years of experience. Young men possess the vitality, enthusiasm, and physical stamina necessary to the successful performance of certain types of duty.

The selection of men for military service from the very beginning of this war must be accomplished in a manner that will insure a continuous maximum effort in both military and industrial fields. There is sufficient manpower available to do this, but in order that it may be accomplished fairly and without waste, all men between the ages of 19 and 44 years should be notified now that they are liable for military service if and when needed.

Already a greater percentage of our people is employed in industry than was the case at the peak of production during the First World War, and this percentage is steadily increasing. Certainly, it can be assumed that our industrial effort will continue to increase at a rapid rate for some time to come, and all of our available manpower will be required in the defense of this country, either in uniform or in industry.

Faithfully yours,

GEORGE MARSHALL,  
Chief of Staff.

Mr. HILL. It will be noted that General Marshall stated last December that

the Army needed men between the ages of 19 and 44. He previously stated that the Army really needed men from the age of 18, but because of the reluctance of Congress he would not ask that the limit be reduced to 18. He uses the words:

To insure a proper balance in our effort.

The situation today is that we are not getting the younger men, 18 to 19 years of age, and the lack of a proper balance is showing up, and is becoming more aggravated all the time.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Would he have had a "proper balance" if he had had 19-year-old youngsters at that time?

Mr. HILL. He did not say that. He said what he really needed was men of 18 and 19 years of age; but, because of the reluctance of Congress, he would not ask that 18-year-olds be included. He was aware of that reluctance; he was certainly familiar with it, and it was confirmed by the fact that Congress refused even to accept his recommendation to include those 19 years of age, and put the limit at 20 years of age, and the House of Representatives at first put the figure at 21 years of age. Because of that reluctance, General Marshall said that he would yield and only ask that men 19 years of age be included. He prophesied, however, that there would not be a proper balance unless the Army had the 18- and 19-year-old men, and his prophecy has turned out to be correct. Today we see that lack of proper balance, and we see it becoming more aggravated all the time.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President—

Mr. GURNEY. I yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. NORRIS. I should like to ask the Senator a question or two in regard to the pending bill. I think the Army officials have reported to the committee that they desired the change in regard to the age limits and thought it ought to be made.

Mr. GURNEY. They say the change is now necessary; indeed, that it is imperative, and that the bill should be passed immediately.

Mr. NORRIS. I read a statement in the public press, I think, regarding the hearings before the Committee on Military Affairs, and I wanted to ask the Senator whether the impression I gained from the reading was correct. I understand that it was suggested in the committee that an amendment be offered to the effect that the men of 18 and 19 years of age should receive 1 year's training before they were actually taken into the service, and that the officials of the War Department, including the Secretary of War, objected very strenuously to any such limitation being put on the induction of these men into the service. Is that true?

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct.

Mr. NORRIS. It requires, as I understand—and the Senator I think has confirmed it—at least a year's training in order to make them really fit for actual service.

Mr. GURNEY. If I may enlarge on that point, I believe it will fully answer the Senator's inquiry.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to ask a question?

Mr. GURNEY. Let me answer first the question of the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. BONE. The Senator could probably answer my question at the same time.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, before that is done I should like—

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Tennessee, who desires to make a motion in connection with an appropriation bill.

## SECOND SUPPLEMENTAL NATIONAL DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. McKELLAR. I submit the conference report on House bill 7662 and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read.

The report was read, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 7672) making supplemental appropriations for the national defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 17, 18, 23, 24, 25, and 34.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, and 45; and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 12: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 12, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment, insert the following: "when specifically authorized or approved by the Executive Director of the Board or such other official as he may designate for the purpose, of traveling expenses of employees of the Board, including the transportation of their effects, to their first post of duty in a foreign country or when transferred from one official station in the United States or elsewhere to another in a foreign country and return to the United States; reimbursement to employees of the Board for loss of effects in case of marine or aircraft disaster; payment."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 14: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 14, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: At the end of the matter inserted by said amendment, and before the period, insert the following: "Provided, That any reapportionment of the appropriation heretofore granted to the Office of Price Administration for the fiscal year 1943 shall be made in such manner as to restrict the total obligations for such Administration for such fiscal year to not more than \$140,000,000, including expenses of administration of the Act entitled 'An Act to amend the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, to aid in preventing inflation, and for other purposes,' approved October 2, 1942 (Public Law 729), and the Act entitled 'An Act to aid in preventing inflation,



to stabilize the rents of real property, and for other purposes, approved \_\_\_\_\_, 1942."

And the Senate agree to the same.

KENNETH McKELLAR,  
CARL HAYDEN,  
M. E. TYDINGS,  
GERALD P. NYE,

*Managers on the part of the Senate.*

CLARENCE CANNON,  
LOUIS LUDLOW,  
J. BUELL SNYDER,  
GEO. W. JOHNSON,  
LOUIS C. RABAUT,  
ALBERT E. CARTER,

*Managers on the part of the House.*

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the conference report?

Mr. McNARY. I have no objection to the proposal, but I should like to have the able Senator in charge of the bill make a statement as to the result of the conference.

Mr. McKELLAR. I shall be glad to do so; it will take only a few minutes, I will say to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. GURNEY. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. McKELLAR. I thank the Senator for yielding.

I shall state the principal changes which the conferees have made in the Senate bill. The House disagreed to the portion of the Senate amendment which provided that not to exceed \$50,000 could be expended for the transportation of families and effects of employees to the posts of duty of such employees in foreign countries. The House conferees were not in favor of permitting dependents to accompany such employees. The remainder of the Senate amendment was agreed to by the House conferees.

I wish to say to the Senate that it seemed to the conferees on the part of the Senate that the dependents of foreign officers should not at this time be allowed to accompany our representatives into foreign countries. It is dangerous, in the first place; and to move their household effects and things of that kind would be inconvenient. So the Senate conferees yielded to the House contention.

The next subject related to the Office of Price Administration. There was a provision in the Senate bill doing away with the limitation of \$120,000,000 on expenditures of the Price Control Administration. It will be remembered that the House last summer allowed \$75,000,000 for the Office of the Price Administrator, although an estimate for a much larger sum had been sent in by the Budget Director.

The Senate increased that amount to \$125,000,000, and it was finally agreed in conference that \$120,000,000 should be allowed but provision was made that the allocation by the Price Administrator should be made immediately and that it should be divided on a 12-month basis. It was quite a rigid provision. Since that time new and additional duties have been added to the Price Administrator by reason of two bills which the Congress has passed. Manifestly the Price Administrator cannot carry out the provisions of those two bills with the appropriation he now has. So the Senate put a provision in the bill deleting for the present that limitation.

The Senate bill contained an amendment which removed from the current appropriation of \$120,000,000 to the Office of Price Administration the requirement that this sum should last the entire fiscal year. The House has agreed to this amendment with an amendment stipulating that any reapportionment of the current appropriation should be so made that the total obligations should not exceed \$140,000,000.

The reason for that was that an unofficial estimate had been made by the Director of the Budget of a little more than \$120,000,000 for the additional work, and that was allowed. It should have been allowed, the House has agreed to the amendment, and I hope the Senate will agree to it.

With regard to the War Manpower Commission, there was an amendment for an additional sum of \$1,000,000 for farm placement service. The House conferees were adamant about that provision, and it was deleted in conference.

With respect to the item of \$50,000 for the Thomas Jefferson Bicentennial Commission, the House conferees were adamant on that, and that \$50,000 was deleted.

Next there was an amendment removing the restriction on the salary of the vice chairman of the United States Maritime Commission. I call the specific attention of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY] to this item. The House conferees were unwilling at this time to agree to the amendment, but agreed that the House would take the matter up and go into it more carefully when the next deficiency appropriation bill came before them.

I now wish to call the attention of the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] to an item of \$30,000, not appropriated, but an amount which the Senate amendment would have permitted the Forest Service to use of an appropriation already made for the acquisition of additional land adjacent to the present laboratory at Madison, Wis.

The House conferees were adamant on this. They were adamant on a similar amendment when we offered it about 2 months ago on another bill. We had to yield at that time, and we had to yield this time. There was no way around it. I was very sorry, because I myself think it is a good provision.

The next and last item was what was known as the Florida Barge Canal proposal. The House conferees were adamant on it. We could not go a step with them about it at this time, and we were obliged to yield.

I may add that there was an amendment adopted by the Senate providing that all the employees of the Manpower Commission receiving salaries of more than \$4,500 a year should be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and that was agreed to by the House conferees.

I think this statement covers every important amendment, and I submit the report and hope the Senate will agree to it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the conference report? The Chair hears

none, and, without objection, the report is agreed to.

#### REDUCTION OF DRAFT AGE LIMIT

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President—

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, the Senator from South Dakota had already yielded to me, and I had not completed my question. If other Senators wish to get in first, I am willing to yield.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, continuing the discussion between the Senator from Nebraska and myself, I shall be glad to answer his question now. I intended to yield only so that he could have an amendment printed, but I shall answer his questions now.

The Senator made the point of the necessity of 12 months' training, and asked whether or not that question was raised in the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate. Not only was it brought up in the Senate committee, but it was also brought up in the House Committee on Military Affairs, and on the floor of the House. The provision was voted down in the House committee and on the floor of the House, and it was not a part of the bill as it came from the House. The Army objects to that idea.

Mr. NORRIS. That is the principal matter I want cleared up. What is the ground of their objection?

Mr. GURNEY. They say it would tie their hands. Their explanation is that we are now in the process of building up an Army. We started from scratch. We did not have an Army until a little over 2 years ago. We confront an enemy whose army is thoroughly trained, who has been training his troops for the last 8 or 10 years. He has completed his program of building up an army to its maximum strength. At the present time all he has to do is to train replacements. When replacements are brought into an army all that is necessary is to give them their basic training, during which they learn the fundamentals. They are built up physically, and get used to army life.

Speaking of replacements, a man who has gone through a basic-training period of 4 or 5 or 6 months can be put into an already trained outfit where there is a squad of 12 men, say. If a replacement of 1 man is needed, the man who has had only from 4 to 6 months of training can nicely fit in and work with the team. But when a new Army is being built up, it is necessary, especially in building up new divisions, that after the men complete their basic training they go to their division then as a whole new team, and it takes up to 12 months to get them in shape so that they will be a really efficient combat division.

Mr. NORRIS. As I understand, the Army claims it takes more than 12 months to train men properly, as a matter of fact, but that they must have at least 12 months. We cannot escape the conclusion, it seems to me, that if the Army officials are now opposed to requiring 12 months' training, on the theory that they might want to use the



men in actual service before the 12 months expire—and it seems to me that is the only reason which would have any validity—it must follow that if certain conditions arise they will put those men into actual fighting on the battle front where they think, while they are still green and not properly trained.

Mr. GURNEY. The men would be properly trained, if I can impart to the Senator my faith in the Army and my belief in the program which the Army is following at the present time in the training of troops for combat. Troops in combat divisions at the moment have, in the majority of cases, had more than 12 months' training. Even now, men are taken from the basic training camps after a period of 4 or 6 months and put in as replacements.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I cannot get out of my mind that the Army has alined itself behind the pending bill, and is almost demanding that it be passed immediately and without amendment. Perhaps I am prejudiced against the bill on that account. I do not think such a position should be taken by any executive officer of the Government.

It seems to me that on this question the officials are unreasonable when they say, "At least 12 months' training must be had before a soldier is fit for actual service, but we object to a provision in the law that these men shall receive 12 months' training before they are actually put into service."

While I am asking questions there is one more which I should like to propound.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Dakota yield so that I may say a few words in answer to the question of the Senator from Nebraska?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from South Dakota yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. HILL. I know that the War Department has never said that every individual soldier who is going to serve in a combat zone, or in the fighting area, must have or should have 12 months of training. What the War Department has said is that every combat division should have, and must have, 12 months of training. There is a vast difference between saying that before going into the combat area every individual must have 12 months' training, and saying that every combat division, which is a very large organization composed of 15,000 men—

Mr. NORRIS. Oh, yes; I know that.

Mr. HILL. If the Senator will allow me to finish the comment, I think I can make my point clear.

Mr. NORRIS. Very well.

Mr. HILL. There are many individuals who, when entering the Army, have been already trained for the very job which has been assigned to them. For instance, a radio operator or a mechanic may be sent to the front line. He has to be there to work on a tank, or perhaps on an airplane. There are any number of men serving in such capacities who do not require 12 months' training before being prepared to perform their duties. There might be a signal man who had

been trained in his civilian work to such an extent that he would be almost 90 percent ready to do his job. It is necessary to have the signal man or the radio operator. The same statement might apply to a man who is an engineer, we will say. I can recall that some years ago—I say some years ago because I want to be perfectly fair to the Senate—Eddie Rickenbacker, who was our star ace during the last war, testifying before the House Committee on Military Affairs, stated that the men engaged in piloting our commercial planes were 90 percent ready to become military or naval aviators. So it is not necessary in all cases that a man have 12 months' training. It is necessary that a combat division have 12 months' training. The men in the division organization within its different units have to be whipped into a great fighting machine, and that takes at least 12 months, but many of the men who may be called in, such as pilots, or mechanics, or radio operators, perhaps signal men and men in other classifications, do not require 12 months' training before they are fit to perform combat service.

Mr. GURNEY. On that point let me say that a much larger percentage of those men than any of us know get more than 12 months' training.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; and they ought to have more than 12 months' training.

Mr. GURNEY. A smaller percentage of men get less than a year's training than those who get more than a year's training.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. Would it not be very wise to limit the provision with respect to length of time of training to combat troops? Ordinarily I think all of us would agree that if we are to put young boys 18 or 19 years old on the battle line, to fight with combat troops in the front trenches, so to speak, to use an expression which we inherited from the last war, they should be allowed training of at least 10 months, anyway, so as not to put boys who have just come to the age of induction without proper training in the battle line. I can understand that exceptions could be made, or will be made in the case of those who will be in the noncombatant portions of the Army, such as enlisted men used as signalmen. But it seems that there is no real reason why the Army should not say that the combat troops should be trained before we put them into combat service.

Mr. GURNEY. I may say that it would be very difficult in the war in which we are now engaged to define a combat zone. Combat zones are not like they were in the World War, when there was stationary trench warfare. Combat zones now are thousands of miles wide, on many different fronts. They will extend from France all over England, Norway, Iceland—the entire area is a combat zone.

Mr. McKELLAR. Is not that all the more reason why with new methods of fighting the men should be trained?

Mr. NORRIS. It seems to me it is.

Mr. GURNEY. We are opposing an enemy who is prepared, and the Army is now giving each and every man who comes into the Army every bit of training it can give him. The record shows that the Army is giving the men—by far the greatest percentage of them—more than a year's training. The Army is doing a good job. In a very small percentage of cases only, the Army is sending in a few men as replacements, while combat divisions are getting from 12 to 18 months of training.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator again yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. I wanted to ask the Senator another question. I understood him to state that for every one of the 18- and 19-year-old soldiers who would be inducted into the service there would be an older one, who is now in the service, sent home. Is my understanding of the Senator's statement correct?

Mr. GURNEY. No, not quite. I stated that for every young man who comes into the service it obviates the necessity of inducting an older man.

Mr. NORRIS. Is that strictly true? Would that follow?

Mr. GURNEY. Certainly. It is a matter of arithmetic. If these young men are not brought into the service we will still have just as large an Army. We will still be fighting the same enemy.

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator means that in order to reach the number of men the Army officials say we must have—7,500,000 men, for instance?

Mr. GURNEY. That is right; yes.

Mr. NORRIS. As soon as the Army obtains them from among the younger men the Army will stop inducting the older men?

Mr. GURNEY. We want to go a little further than that. The machinery for inducting 18- and 19-year-olds will start, of course, when the bill becomes law.

Mr. NORRIS. The machinery is already in operation for inducting others above that age.

Mr. GURNEY. Yes.

Mr. NORRIS. The enactment of this measure will simply enlarge that program by lowering the age.

Mr. GURNEY. The new registrants, 18 and 19 years old, will be classified. It will still be necessary to take some older men who may not be married and some older men who have wives but no children as dependents, and that process will continue. The quotas for the remainder of this month, for November, will have to be filled, but by December the machinery of the local selective-service boards should be ready to bring in the younger group. The Board will continue bringing them in until the younger men, class 1-A, have caught up with those who are in other classes in the older age group.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. BONE. I merely wish to ask a question which was suggested by the question asked by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Norris]. I recall that when the proposal was made to extend the



time of service under the Selective Service Act from 1 year to a year and a half suggestions were made to us by Army officials that it was necessary, in order to constitute a proper army, to give a boy a training of a year and a half instead of a year. That argument was advanced with great vigor. If it took a year and a half to make a good soldier a year and a half or two years ago, it would seem to me that it would take a year and a half now. I am tempted to ask this question because I have had many inquiries from persons in my State asking how long their boys will be trained before they are sent into combat, and many of them have called attention to the arguments made on this floor and presented to us by Army officers that it required a year and a half of training to fit a soldier for combat service and to make a good soldier of him. Their thought is that if a boy of 18 goes into the Army and receives a year and a half of training he will be quite close to 20 years of age before he will be seeing actual service. Was anything said to the committee about this old showing made by the Army officers of the need for a year and a half of training?

Mr. GURNEY. Not at the recent hearings, except to restate information which had previously been given to the committee during the past 2 years. May I give the football coach as an example, and perhaps my illustration will answer the Senator's question?

Mr. BONE. The extension to a year and a half was based on that very argument. I talked with many Senators at the time, and they were convinced that it required a year and a half of training to make a good soldier. So the Senate voted to extend the time from a year to a year and a half, under the Selective Service Act. If that argument was persuasive enough to convince us then, I thought it would fit precisely the present picture.

Mr. GURNEY. I will answer that question now. It takes a year and a half to make a combat division, just as it takes a football coach more than one season to make a football team, but during that period the football coach can bring in substitutes from the sidelines and still have a good team. So we can bring into a combat division a few replacements for men who have gone to the hospital. It is necessary to fill up the places left by them in the ranks. The man who goes into an already trained team does not have to have as long a period of training as the original combat division in its entirety, did.

Mr. BONE. I may say to the Senator that that argument may be absolutely accurate. I have no way of refuting it, and I am assuming it to be true, but that was not the basis of the argument advanced in the Senate to extend the term of service from a year to a year and a half.

Mr. GURNEY. Yes, it was.

Mr. BONE. I may be in error as to that, but it is not my recollection that that was the basis of the argument.

Mr. GURNEY. Yes, I believe it was, because at that time we had to train entirely new divisions.

Mr. BONE. That is correct.

Mr. GURNEY. It was the case of a football coach bringing in an entirely new team of raw materials.

Mr. BONE. The Senator may be accurate about that.

Mr. GURNEY. After the basic training of 3 or 4 months the man is in good physical shape. Then he is given Army fundamentals for 2 or 3 more months. Then the men are brought together, signal corps men, infantry men, anti-aircraft men, and so forth, and then they must be given a year's training in order to bring such a combat division up to the point of being an efficient fighting unit.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. WALSH. Before I submit a few questions to the Senator I should like to read a sentence from a letter which I received, which I think expresses the overwhelming sentiment of the American people on the question of drafting youth. It is as follows:

If this is total war it should be fought by all the people. It should not be fought by the youth of the land alone.

That is preliminary to my inquiry. Let us assume that some Member of the Congress is asked this question: Have all available men over 20 years of age who are within the scope of the selective service law when drafted or are they about in the immediate future to be drafted? Does the evidence before the Military Affairs Committee show that has been done?

Mr. GURNEY. It does.

Mr. WALSH. It does?

Mr. GURNEY. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. So that the evidence before the Military Affairs Committee is that the Army authorities, the Selective Service System officials, have said that all men fit for military service over 20 years of age have been drafted, and it is now necessary to draft the youths of 18 and 19 years of age? Is that correct?

Mr. GURNEY. All men 20 years and over, up to and including 44 years, without dependents, have been or are about to be selected for service, and included in those who have been or are about to be selected for service are those who have not—well, shall we say, those who were not married before December 7, but have been married since December 7.

Mr. WALSH. Is it proper to ask, and is it permissible, without violating any military secret, to answer the question, What does that total number amount to?

Mr. GURNEY. Approximately 5,000,000 men are in the Army at the present time.

Mr. WALSH. Then, in view of the figures presented with reference to the drafting of 18- and 19-year-olds, is it not within the range of possibility that we shall have to go to the ages of 17 and 16?

Mr. GURNEY. I do not think so.

Mr. WALSH. Is it the Senator's opinion that in addition to the 5,000,000 who are already in the military forces, the number which would be of military age under the proposed law would be sufficient for all military purposes, so far as we can see, for the next year?

Mr. GURNEY. So far as we can see, certainly until the fall of 1943.

Mr. WALSH. If it is necessary to increase the Army after the fall of 1943, after having drafted all men between the ages of 20 and 40 years, and after those between the ages of 18 and 20 have either volunteered or been drafted, will we have to go to a lower age?

Mr. GURNEY. No.

Mr. WALSH. How are we going to get additional men?

Mr. GURNEY. We shall have to reclassify those between the ages of 18 and 44.

Mr. WALSH. Why not reclassify those between the ages of 20 and 44 now, before we go to those of 18 and 19?

Mr. GURNEY. Does the Senator mean to reclassify the older men?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; all and everyone over 20 years of age who is not legally exempt from the draft law.

Mr. GURNEY. They are not the kind of men who make the best soldiers. The records, which are unquestioned, show that when we bring in the older men they go into the hospitals, and two young men and some nurses are required to take care of such a man.

Mr. WALSH. When any American father or mother says to any Member of Congress, "I have seen boys on the streets over 20 years of age; why should you draft my boy, who is 18 years of age, before their elders are all taken?" we can say with certainty, "The boys over 20 years of age you have seen on the streets have been drafted, or will be drafted, or they are unfit for military service." Is that correct?

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct. A man may be deferred because of dependents. He may be deferred by the local board for service in an essential industry such as an airplane factory.

Mr. WALSH. It seems to me that we ought to be in the position of having combed the country for men over 20 years of age who are capable of military service before we compel fathers and mothers to give their minor sons to the military service. Frankly, I believe the general public are not convinced that a real and successful effort has been made to exhaust the manpower available for military service above the age of 20.

It would be consoling to fathers and mothers if they were relieved of all doubt that every other source to obtain military manpower had been exhausted. It would also remove from many of us the reluctance with which we shall cast our votes for this bill lowering the age limit to 18 years.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. Does the Senator have any figures, or does the committee have any figures, showing how many of the older men who are subject to the draft have been deferred? My understanding is that a great many of them have been deferred for one reason or another. I should like to have the total number of those now subject to the draft who have been deferred.

Mr. GURNEY. The Senator from Utah [Mr. Thomas] has gone into that subject thoroughly. I understand that



he is to take the floor later. He will have those figures before him, in addition to the testimony which was given before the committee, and I am sure he can answer the Senator's question better than I can at the moment. That information will be furnished a little later in the debate.

Mr. McKELLAR. I think it is very important to know, of all the men who are now subject to the draft, how many have been deferred, and for what reasons. I know that not all the men who are over 20 years of age are now in the Army, even though they may be eligible and fit for service.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator has made reference to the excessive number—I do not know that he used that expression, but I believe that was the thought in what he said—of men now in the service who are in hospitals.

Mr. GURNEY. The excessive number of older men.

Mr. WHITE. I wonder if there are any figures available as to the percentage of hospital cases due to infirmities of service origin, and the percentage of men who are suffering from disabilities of one kind or another which existed at the time they were drafted. In other words, has there been taken into the service an undue percentage of men who ought not to have been accepted? I am prompted to ask that question by a report which came to me with respect to conditions at Camp Devens, which is in my section of the country. One service man—speaking perhaps somewhat flippantly and in terms of exaggeration—said that there were now coming to Camp Devens the lame, the halt, and the blind.

Mr. GURNEY. That is the reason why the Army feels that it is so imperative to lower the draft age. With the Selective Service System now permitted to bring in only men between the ages of 20 and 44, the draft boards have reached the point where, because of the pressure of quotas given them by the Army, they have been compelled to lower the physical requirements so as to bring in more men. Those men do not have the qualifications which were demanded when we first started to bring in men by the Selective Service System.

Mr. WHITE. Is it recognized that from the necessities of the case, whatever the cause may be, men have been taken without due regard to their physical disabilities?

Mr. GURNEY. Due regard has been had for their physical disabilities. There is no question about that. However, some men have been taken in whom the Army is qualified to make fit for military service in a very short time in Army hospitals. Of course, there are some who cannot be repaired, so to speak; and a survey of the Army is being made to determine if it is not possible to release some men who have not shown the proper aptitude, or who are physically unfit. The authorities are finding out what their jobs were back home, and trying to determine whether they would not be better out of the Army than in the

Army. There will be some furloughs in such cases.

Mr. WHITE. Are there any figures available showing what percentage of the hospital cases consists of men who had physical disabilities which the Army overlooked when they were inducted into the service?

Mr. GURNEY. No testimony was given before our committee on that point.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. GILLETTE. I was very much interested a short time ago in the colloquy between the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] and the Senator from South Dakota, ably aided and abetted by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL]. The question was asked as to what was the motivating force, or the genesis of the proposed legislation. So far as I am concerned, reference was made very persuasively to the fact that a large percentage of the older men who have been inducted into the service had been hospitalized. I was astounded. I confess that the argument had great influence with me as I listened to it. However, I was surprised, in reading the letter of the Secretary of War to the chairman of the committee [Mr. REYNOLDS], giving the reasons for the support of the proposed legislation by the War Department, to find that no reference whatever is made to any such reason as that given by the Senator from South Dakota and the Senator from Alabama. Let me read from the letter of last week from the Secretary of War, in which he sets forth the reasons for his support of the bill. Speaking of the necessity for the change, he says:

The urgency of this task cannot be over-emphasized; our own survival is in the balance. Its accomplishment demands the substitution of current necessity for our peace-time preferences, and the necessity is this—

I interrupt the quotation at that point. He states what the necessity is which caused the change. This is the necessity:

That our Army be animated by the youthful enthusiasm and resilience of spirit which has surged through all earlier American armies.

The necessity which he specifically presents is not a matter of hospitalization of older men, but a necessity for the resilience of spirit in our younger men.

Mr. GURNEY. So that our armies will be as physically fit as the armies we now know they are going to confront, which are made up of young men.

Mr. GILLETTE. Due to resilience of spirit.

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct.

Mr. GILLETTE. His additional reason was:

It is my considered opinion, as well as that of my chief military advisers, that contingencies now foreseeable make it imperative that the pool of available military manpower be still further widened.

Not only do 18- and 19-year-olds represent a relatively untapped source of manpower for increasing military needs, but medical rec-

ords also reveal that they have a higher percentage physically fit for service than any other age groups.

My question is this: If the situation as to the hospitalization of the older men is such that they are not fit for service, why in the world did not the Secretary of War, in his letter of last week, refer to that very potent argument? Why does he base his argument on other grounds?

Mr. GURNEY. The matters about which the Secretary of War has written are undoubtedly very convincing to the Senator himself. The Senator will also recognize that the Chief of Staff, who is responsible for the men in our Army, is a very responsible officer. To answer the Senator, I read from page 5 of the hearings, in the next to the last paragraph, the statement of Gen. George C. Marshall:

I went through a 3,500-bed hospital at Fort Bragg last Sunday a week ago, and I was shocked at what I found in both the surgical and medical wards. They seemed to be filled with old men. I say that with apologies, because they were much younger than I am; but the point is I was looking for field soldiers, and I found men who seemed to be much older than I. Most of them had been in the service a few weeks. Some of them had been at Fort Bragg only 3 or 4 days, and already they were in the hospital. Inducting these men does not increase the Army. In fact, it reduces the Army, because a bed, a nurse, an attendant, and a doctor were now necessary where each man was involved; and, what made it worse, in questioning a specific individual I would find a man who had just been taken off a machine-tool job in a plant at Detroit. Instead of being on that important work, he finds himself in the hospital with several different complaints, including an operation for hernia. Such a man is a burden to the Army; yet he was a very valuable person where he came from. He was 43 years of age.

Let me say to the Senator that if that man—while he passed the physical requirements for the Army—had stayed in his regular avocation, his machine-tool job in Detroit, probably he would not have come down with the ailment which appeared so quickly in 2 or 3 weeks, as General Marshall says, when he had to undergo the strenuous exercise the Army gives the men, and which of course it must give them.

Does that answer the Senator's question?

Mr. GILLETTE. Partially. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for one further observation?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. GILLETTE. The case of the man referred to points to the occasion which brought me to my feet. With the condition as outlined by General Marshall, it is little less than astonishing that the Secretary of War, in his presentation, did not refer to that very persuasive and very unfortunate situation. I add this further remark to the quotation from General Marshall's testimony: If a man who has been inducted into the United States service, after physical examination, finds himself hospitalized in 3 or 4 days or within a short time, there is marked dereliction in the physical examination or there is inexcusable im-



position on the men during their first 3 or 4 days of military service. Every man who has had military training knows what I have said to be true.

I thank the Senator.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President—

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a moment, before proceeding to another subject?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. HILL. The Senator has been so generous in yielding that I do not wish to trespass further on his time. I wonder if the Senator had in mind, in connection with the proposal to require 1 year's training, that he might bring to the attention of the Senate the letter which General Marshall, as Chief of Staff, wrote Representative WADSWORTH when the bill was before the House?

Mr. GURNEY. Yes; I have the letter before me.

Mr. HILL. I do not wish to intrude too much on the Senator's time, but I think perhaps the Senate would be interested in that matter.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, at this time, in order to make the record more complete, I wish to read other portions of the report of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, portions which I think should be read into the RECORD.

I turn now to the committee report:

According to the evidence presented to the committee, the strength of the Army will be approximately 5,000,000 men by the end of 1942. The military authorities consider that the strength of the Army at the end of 1943 must be 7,500,000. (The strength of the naval forces will be in addition thereto.) The committee were informed that the planned strength of 7,500,000 will be allocated within the Army as follows: The Air Forces will total approximately 2,200,000 men; approximately 1,000,000 men will be either undergoing training or will be employed in training others.

I divert my remarks from the committee report to insert:

In building up an army it takes thousands of officers and men as instructors that are not needed in that instructive capacity after the maximum number of trained divisions has been reached. Replacements are thereafter trained by the divisions themselves.

Returning to the committee report:

Approximately 1,000,000 men will be either undergoing training or will be employed in training others for the expansion of the ground forces and the Services of Supply; approximately 1,000,000 men will be absorbed in the Services of Supply and service units in the continental United States and overseas bases; approximately 3,300,000 men will be organized into armored and air-borne divisions and other ground combat units, such as tank battalions, tank-destroyer battalions, and antiaircraft units of the ground forces.

The ground units of the German Army are estimated to be something over 8,000,000 men. In addition it is believed that Japan maintains somewhere between 70 and 90 divisions, of about 16,000 men each, and that Italy, Rumania, and Hungary and other Axis countries total about 160 divisions. Accordingly, an American Army of 7,500,000 men by December 31, 1943, is, in the opinion of the committee, necessary in view of the military strength of our enemies.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Can the Senator give me a comparative figure at present representing the British Army?

Mr. GURNEY. I cannot give the Senator the comparative figure for the British Army, except that I know that under their selective service system they have already called to the colors 18-year-old men.

Mr. VANDENBERG. An argument as to our needs, on the basis of a statement of the military strength of Germany and her associated powers, is scarcely persuasive unless we also have a comparison of that strength with the total military strength of the United Nations.

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct; but there is no need to give out information as to the total strength of England's Army or of Canada's Army or of Australia's Army if England, Canada, and Australia have not already given out the information themselves. I do not believe we should take the responsibility of informing the Axis Powers as to the number of available troops our Allies have. In fact, those figures were not quoted to the committee itself, for that very reason. We did not feel that we should take the responsibility of stating how many men were in England's Army, in Australia's Army, and in Canada's Army. However, I may say further that in relation to the total population of Canada the percentage of men who have gone into the Canadian Army is much greater than in the case of the United States. In fact if the percentage of our citizens entering the United States Army were as great as the percentage of the citizens of Canada entering the Canadian Army, we should already have an army of approximately from thirteen to fifteen million men.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator has referred to the draft status in England. What is the present draft status in Canada, both as to age and service?

Mr. GURNEY. I do not know the exact draft status in Canada; but already, in Canada, in terms of percentage of the total population, the number of men who have joined the colors is greater than will be the number of our men who will have joined our colors when we have 7,500,000 men in the service; and undoubtedly Canada will continue to send men into her army.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. BUTLER. In connection with the question which was asked by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], perhaps it would not be exactly proper, even if the Senator had the information, to divulge the actual number of men in combat duty for the United Nations. However, in that connection, would it not be interesting to remind ourselves of the remarks which have been made by those in authority among our Allies, to the effect that they do not need men; they need material?

Mr. GURNEY. I do not know that such a remark has been made recently. Undoubtedly they need material, and much of it, all the time; but I assume that when a man is in a dog fight he does not tell anyone who wants to help him, "Just stay away for a little while."

Mr. BUTLER. In connection with this point it has developed, Mr. President, that we now have probably millions of tons of material prepared for shipment abroad but not being shipped abroad.

Mr. GURNEY. For lack of shipping.

Mr. BUTLER. Lack of shipping because we are using our shipping to carry our own men, with sufficient supplies, I hope, properly to service them.

Would it not be reasonable to ask why that shipping capacity should not first have been used to transport abroad material which now is piled sky high, not on hundreds, but on perhaps thousands, of acres in emergency yards in this country at the present time?

That material, if delivered, would be saving the lives of many of our own soldiers. It would be supplying the demands which our Allies have made upon us—demands which we have agreed to service by giving them the material. They do not want men; they want material. The shipment of material, if I am properly informed, has been stopped while we are moving our own Army abroad.

Mr. GURNEY. Perhaps the Senator will remember statements which appeared in the newspapers in the last few weeks to the effect that one of the United Nations has already quite forcefully suggested that a second front would be rather helpful. So, in addition to needing goods and ordnance material, our Allies also need men.

Adverting again to the committee report:

While the main purpose of this legislation is to make available for our armed forces, especially the Army, the young men of 18 and 19 years of age whose vigor and enthusiasm are prerequisite to the successful conduct of modern war, this legislation will minimize the effects of mobilization upon industry and society. The Director of Selective Service, who favored the enactment of this bill with the exception of section 2, which provides that the high-school student ordered to report for induction during the last half of the academic year may be deferred until the end of his academic year, advised your committee that the prompt enactment of this bill will probably result in the deferment of married men with children until the end of 1943.

The committee was profoundly impressed, as a result of the testimony of our highest military leaders, that not only the success of our armed forces depends upon the employment of our 18- and 19-year-old young men as soldiers and sailors, but that our very national existence is dependent upon their use. As one of our outstanding military leaders has said of this war: "We shall win or we shall die." If America is to survive, if it is to continue to be the home of democracy and liberty, the induction of our 18- and 19-year-old men can no longer be delayed. We have fought and won our previous wars with the help of such men. With their help we shall win this war.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a further question?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. We constantly hear estimates as to two matters, and I should like to know whether there is any official information on either one. First, how many men behind the line are neces-



sary to sustain one soldier in combat service, and, second, how many tons of shipping are necessary to sustain one soldier overseas.

Mr. GURNEY. If by "overseas" Panama, for instance, is meant, it will not take nearly so much shipping as is required for a soldier overseas in Australia or India.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Of course, it is relative.

Mr. GURNEY. Distance is a big factor. A boat which can haul 10,000 tons and can make a dozen trips in a year to a place which is comparatively nearby can make only two or three trips, say, to India.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Well, let us localize the question then, in order to get some sort of a relative answer. Is there any information as to how much tonnage per combat soldier is necessary to sustain him in western Europe?

Mr. GURNEY. No exact information of that kind was presented to the committee, and I do not believe the question was even asked.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Of course, what I am wondering is, assuming that we increase the Army limits to the extent proposed, do we have the facilities either to transport them or to sustain them after we have transported them. Is the Senator satisfied that we do have?

Mr. GURNEY. I am satisfied that we do have the facilities to take them over in the first place and to supply the number taken over, as decided by the high command. I am convinced of that.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I should not want to take them over and leave them the way we did in the case of Bataan. What is the answer to the other question, if it is available? How many men behind the lines are necessary to sustain one soldier at the front?

Mr. GURNEY. It takes more men behind the lines in this war than in the last war, because in this war there is a tremendously increased fire power, and troops move quicker in mechanized vehicles.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. HILL. Yesterday Governor McNutt, Chairman of the Manpower Commission, was before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs and the question came up as to how many men it is necessary to have behind the lines in order to keep a man at the front. The figure 18 was used. Governor McNutt said, "Yes; that is the figure," but he said that figure can be cut in half by the proper and efficient use of manpower, by the grading of the workmen, and by other things that can be done. In other words, instead of 18, Mr. McNutt says the number could be reduced to about 9.

Mr. VANDENBERG. If the figure was 18, and my arithmetic is accurate, we would have to have 135,000,000 men behind the lines to sustain an Army of 7,500,000 men.

Mr. HILL. The gentleman who asked the question had in mind the very thought the Senator from Michigan has, and Governor McNutt's answer was that the figure 18 had been used but that that

figure could be cut in half down to 9. Governor McNutt went further and stated that we could supply, equip, and maintain the proposed Army of 7,500,000 men.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Then am I to understand that, at the most optimistic ratio, an army of 7,500,000 men requires 70,000,000 men behind the lines to sustain it?

Mr. GURNEY. I would say that is not the answer. In the first place, some of the 18 men behind the lines for every man at the front are already in the Army; 4 of them are already in the Army to supply No. 5 who is at the front, and Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are probably in the United States and are not as yet at a combat station in a foreign land.

Mr. VANDENBERG. In figuring the men behind the lines, what are we talking about? Are we talking about men in direct collateral Army service or are we including the employees of munitions factories, and so forth? Are they all included?

Mr. HILL. It is my understanding that it includes everyone who might be contributing in any way, whether a farmer who is raising potatoes the Army is going to use, or a man in a textile mill making underclothes the soldier is going to wear. The latest figures I have from the War Manpower Board is that by December 1943 or by the 1st of January 1944, perhaps, when we have the army of 7,500,000 men we now propose to have, we will have in our armed forces and in all industry, transport, supply, and everything else, with the exception of agriculture, some 62,500,000 people. Notice I use the word "people", not "men", because, for instance, the War Manpower Commission estimates that during the next year we are going to have to bring in some 5,000,000 new workers, and a large part of that number of 5,000,000 will be women.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I thank the Senators for their comments. Of course the thing that most disturbs me is that it seems to me the manpower problem has got to be dealt with as a whole. I am thinking about the question raised by the able Senator from Nebraska. After all, we have a 3-way obligation in this war, one to provide tools, one to provide food, and one to provide an army; and if the figures which were originally given me were even remotely correct, it would seem as though we were stressing a production of armed men to a degree which would impair, in the long run, our production of tools and foods which I had understood were the things which were supposed to be our chief contribution to the common cause, the things that were chiefly needed. It seems to me I remember we were once told that if we produced tools that would be all that was necessary, but that, of course, was merely one chapter of this progressive tale.

Mr. GURNEY. I do not think Americans ever decided that the rest of the world was going to fight their battles for them. That is not the kind of people Americans are. I think, further in answer to the Senator's question as to whether or not we have to have a certain number of men behind the lines to produce food and maintain the Army, the

question before us at the moment is to bring in the younger age group, and when they are in they will not only make us a better Army but will ease the situation and make it more stable, so that the older group will be in better condition to produce the things the younger Army needs.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I hope that progressive serial process will be the success the Senator anticipates.

Mr. GURNEY. I said it would ease the situation.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Dakota yield to me?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. HILL. The Senator will find that the seven and a half million Army we propose to have by January 1, 1944, has been integrated and based on the proposition of supplying the Army, supplying the Navy, supplying our domestic economy, and also meeting our obligations under the Lend-Lease Act.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President—

Mr. GURNEY. I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. DANAHER. In answer to the question propounded by the Senator from Michigan as to the amount of tonnage necessary, within the last 48 hours our own General Somervell in London gave out figures on that very point. The newspapers quote him as saying that it takes ten and a half shipping tons to transport each man to western Europe and it takes one and a half shipping tons a month to maintain him there. Does that answer the question of the Senator from Michigan specifically?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes, and I am obliged to the Senator. Now we can simply make our calculations after we know to what extent we are permitted to know that our troops are to be sent abroad.

Mr. DANAHER. Will the Senator from South Dakota yield further?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. DANAHER. I should like to know whether or not 19-year-old boys are being drafted for service in the Canadian provinces.

Mr. GURNEY. I am sorry that I cannot answer the question directly.

Mr. BURTON. Will the Senator yield on that question?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. BURTON. I have a report of October 16, 1942, furnished me by the Library of Congress Legislative Service, in which this statement is contained:

The latest conscription measure, for the present, is the Governor General's proclamation of July 7, 1942. According to the terms of this proclamation, men born in 1922 are called into service in Canada, provided they have reached the age of 20. The Canadian attaché states men aged 19 are now called also.

Mr. DANAHER. Does that include men also 19, does the Senator know?

Mr. BURTON. I said 19.

Mr. DANAHER. Nineteen only?

Mr. BURTON. Yes.

Mr. DANAHER. Will the Senator from South Dakota yield further?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. If the Senator from Connecticut will permit, may I ask



the Senator in respect to the figures he was good enough to give me a moment ago? Does the 1½ shipping tons a month to sustain a man abroad refer to sustaining him on the firing line, or at a Reserve camp?

Mr. DANAHER. As I understand the figure, and it seemed to me quite clear, the 10½ shipping tons necessary to take a man over included taking his equipment also, so that we get our man and his equipment there. Thereafter, necessarily, he and his equipment must be maintained, and the 1½ shipping tons a month to maintain him includes whatever it takes, whether on the line, in reserve, or simply in training. That is my understanding of the application of the figures.

I will say further to the Senator from Michigan that that is substantially accurate, since when we had the Selective Service extension measure before us a year or so ago it was testified, I am certain in my recollection, that an all-over average of 14 shipping tons per man overseas was required.

Now will the Senator from South Dakota yield further?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. DANAHER. I should like to know whether 19-year-old boys are conscripted for military service in the British Isles.

Mr. GURNEY. Again I yield to the Senator from Ohio, if he can answer the question put by the Senator from Connecticut, as to whether 19-year-old boys are subject to conscription in the British Isles.

Mr. BURTON. Referring to the same memorandum from the Library of Congress Legislative Service of October 16, the statement as to that group is as follows:

Men, 19 years old, have been called to the colors by the proclamation of January 1, 1940. Men 18 years old have been called to the colors by the proclamation of January 29, 1941.

Mr. DANAHER. I thank the Senator very much. Will the Senator from South Dakota yield further?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. DANAHER. I should like to know whether the committee had figures indicating the rate at which 18- and 19-year-old boys have been enlisting in our armed forces, particularly in the Army.

Mr. GURNEY. I do not have the exact figures, but, in my opinion, men of that age have not been volunteering in the Army in as large numbers as they have been enlisting in the Navy. General Hershey made the statement that of 1,400,000 men available in the 18- and 19-year-old age group, approximately one out of every three would volunteer ahead of induction, and of course we know, from the experience of the past, that a great number of those will go into the Navy, the Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard.

Mr. DANAHER. Has any effort been made between the War Department and the Navy Department to aggregate all the men of the 18- and 19-year-old classes to the end that the Navy itself will take its increments from the selective service?

Mr. GURNEY. No; the Selective Service System has not yet been assigned the task of getting men for any other group excepting the Army. I was told by Admiral King, of the Navy, that they have this matter well in hand and that the General Board, the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, assisted by others who are on the War Strategy Board, have told the Navy, Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard exactly how many they would be allowed to enlist for the foreseeable period of the next year.

Mr. DANAHER. So there has been some effort administratively to limit the number the Navy would accept as voluntary enrollees.

Mr. GURNEY. They told us a coordinated program had been worked out which had been put into operation.

Mr. DANAHER. The Senator—and I assume he speaks for the committee in this, too—has no apprehension that the very pendency of this bill, consequent upon the President's message, will stimulate 18- or 19-year-old boys to seek enlistment in the Navy, the Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard to the exclusion of the Army?

Mr. GURNEY. I think there will be a certain percentage selected for the Navy, probably in direct relation to the percentage of those who have previously selected the Navy as the branch in which they would volunteer their services. Undoubtedly that percentage will hold good from now on, and, of course, a large number of men will immediately volunteer. Already increased numbers have presented themselves for service since this bill was passed by the House, and increasing numbers will do so, I am sure, in the next few months.

Mr. DANAHER. Does the Senator have available figures showing the percentage of the 18- and 19-year-old boys who have seemed to prefer Navy service to Army service?

Mr. GURNEY. No; I do not have those figures.

Mr. HILL. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. HILL. In connection with the question of the Senator I think it is interesting to note that the marines enlist boys 17, 18, and 19 years of age and that today the average age of the members of the Marine Corps is under 20, about nineteen and a half.

Mr. DANAHER. The Senator does not know, however, whether perhaps two out of every three boys seek Navy and Marine Corps service rather than Army service?

Mr. HILL. I cannot answer that question, and I am not sure that anyone can answer it. I do not have those figures.

Mr. DANAHER. The thought occurred to me in question form only because the Senator from South Dakota had said that it was anticipated that one out of every three boys who would be eligible would seek to enlist.

Mr. GURNEY. General Hershey told us that estimate was based on previous experience.

Mr. DANAHER. Yes. Will the Senator further yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. DANAHER. In the necessary absence of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], and due to his desire, notwithstanding, that an amendment, which he had contemplated offering, be printed and lie on the table, he has asked that I offer it with that end in view. With the indulgence of the Senator from South Dakota, I respectfully submit in behalf of the Senator from Ohio a proposed amendment to the pending bill and ask that it be printed and lie on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be printed and lie on the table.

Mr. BURTON. I ask consent that I may likewise offer an amendment, which I send to the desk, and I ask that it be printed and lie on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received, printed, and lie on the table.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from South Dakota a question. From the testimony of General Marshall, which is set out in the committee report, it appears that the plan of the Army is to carry until 1943, and by that time, if this bill shall be enacted, there will be in training and under arms approximately seven and a half million men, if I recollect the figures correctly.

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct.

Mr. TYDINGS. In the event, which is quite likely, the Army shall be further increased in 1944, if the war is still going on, where will the increase come from?

Mr. GURNEY. We have not desired to protect our plans too far into the future; but in my opinion it will require a closer combing of the age group from 18 through 44. During the next year we will have to use our best efforts to increase the number of hours of the men at home in industrial work. We will have to increase our efforts to train women for industrial jobs. We will have to increase the training of those we want to take out of nonessential industries, so that they can be placed in essential industries.

Mr. TYDINGS. Will the Senator further yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. Without taking into consideration any casualties, I think the rounded picture shows that there will be about 1,500,000 men in the 18- and 19-year-old category. Is that not correct?

Mr. GURNEY. Between 1,400,000 and 1,500,000; yes.

Mr. TYDINGS. So it is safe to assume, as a general figure, that the following year—that is, in 1944—there will have come of age, roughly, about 750,000 men who will be eligible for service.

Mr. GURNEY. No; that is not quite correct. During the last 2 years 18- and 19-year-old boys have been allowed to enlist in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard.

Mr. TYDINGS. That is correct.

Mr. GURNEY. So a goodly portion of the number have already enlisted.

Mr. TYDINGS. What figure will represent the number of boys who will arrive at the age of 18 in 1944?

Mr. GURNEY. The direct answer given by General Hershey to that ques-



tion was that 100,000 men become 1 year older each month.

Mr. TYDINGS. That would mean 1,200,000 a year.

Mr. GURNEY. It actually figures about 1,100,000.

Mr. TYDINGS. Taking out of that number those who will not be qualified for one reason or another, such as physical defects, and so forth, how many are estimated to be available, in arriving at a net figure for the purposes of our calculation?

Mr. GURNEY. Quite close to a million men each year in the 18-year-old age group.

Mr. TYDINGS. So that adding to the 7,500,000 the million who will become eligible in 1944 through arriving at the age of 18 years would give us 8,500,000 men.

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct.

Mr. TYDINGS. That is assuming they are all drafted into the Army. I think the Navy has a strength of about 750,000 at the present time.

Mr. GURNEY. And the Navy is taking men in quite rapidly.

Mr. TYDINGS. Is the figure I have given accurate?

Mr. GURNEY. I have no information as to what is the strength of the Navy.

Mr. TYDINGS. I believe the figure to be substantially accurate. We are told that when we have a 2-ocean navy, much of which will be available in 1943, we shall finally have about 2,000,000 men in the Navy, which means that of the reservoir of 1,500,000 which now exists, and of the approximate million who will be available in 1944, the Navy must obtain, either by volunteer enlistment or by the draft, approximately from 1,000,000 to 1,250,000 in order to fill out its complement for a 2-ocean navy.

Mr. GURNEY. Between now and the next 18 months.

Mr. TYDINGS. So that means that the figure 8,500,000, which I assumed a moment ago, must be correspondingly reduced by the 1,250,000 who will join the Navy, thereby leaving a net of 7,000,000 men available to the Army, as the case now stands, without recombining.

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. McNARY. I should like to ask the Senator this question: If the bill is translated into a statute and boys 18 and 19 years old are inducted into the military service, will a corresponding number from some other category be released from the service?

Mr. GURNEY. I do not think there is any question that they will, because if we do not have the 18- and 19-year-old group to draw from we must take that many older men. So in my opening remarks I said that for each young man who comes into the Army there will be deferred one older man who would otherwise have had to join the Army.

Mr. McNARY. Is that language in the bill?

Mr. GURNEY. No.

Mr. McNARY. The Senator is speaking now of a policy which he thinks will

be carried out, but there is no language to that effect in the bill?

Mr. GURNEY. I am talking now simply of arithmetic. If we are going to have 7,500,000 men in the Army, and we cannot take 18- and 19-year-olds, then the men must all come out of the older age group. So if we bring in a million and a half younger men we certainly can leave at home a million and a half married men, because the maximum strength of the Army is set at 7,500,000 men.

Mr. McNARY. I do not want to be argumentative with the Senator, who is making a very lucid explanation of the bill, but I have seen it stated that for every boy taken in between the ages of 18 and 19, someone older, with dependents, or married, would be released from the service.

Mr. GURNEY. Does the Senator mean one man who is already in the service will be taken out of the service?

Mr. McNARY. Yes.

Mr. GURNEY. Oh, no.

Mr. McNARY. Then what was the Senator's answer made a moment ago?

Mr. GURNEY. One older man will not have to be called for service who would otherwise be called for service.

Mr. McNARY. That is a different proposition. Then there would be no release of those who are married and have dependents, who are in the service now, if these boys are taken in? The older men would still remain in the service?

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct. They might be furloughed to go home and work in essential industry, as 4,000 miners have just been furloughed to go back and work in the copper mines, or they might be furloughed because they are not physically fit. About the only chance older men who are now in the Army have of getting out of it is to be furloughed for unfitness physically or to perform some work which is extremely essential in industry.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Doxey in the chair). Does the Senator from South Dakota yield to the Senator from Maryland?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I am advised that the minimum draft age in Canada is 19 years and not 18 years. Is that correct?

Mr. GURNEY. That is the information furnished by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BURTON].

Mr. TYDINGS. I learned that yesterday from one of the attachés in General Hershey's office.

Mr. GURNEY. Let me explain to the Senator that if, according to population, the United States had the same percentage of men in the Army that Canada now has we would at the present time have an army of from 13,000,000 to 15,000,000 men.

Mr. TYDINGS. But no navy. Canada has a very small navy and a very small merchant marine.

Mr. GURNEY. What I am trying to point out—and I thought I was answering the Senator's question as to why Canada did not go down to the 18-year-olds—is that they have a larger percent-

age of the population in the armed services than we have.

Mr. TYDINGS. I think that is a good explanation. I was wondering what the situation is in Australia and South Africa.

Mr. GURNEY. My informant has left the Chamber.

Mr. TYDINGS. In various places throughout the country I am advised that notice is being served on men who are able-bodied and who are in the lower age years, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 25, who are both skilled and unskilled, that their positions will likely be filled in the not far distant future by women and others. In other words, they are being put on notice that they are about to be released for military service.

Mr. GURNEY. And at the same time employers in industry are being put on notice that they must institute a program to train women and those who are physically unfit for the armed services to take the place of the physically fit men who must go into the service rather soon.

Mr. TYDINGS. With respect to Government plants, in the Navy Department, in the War Department, in the arsenals throughout the country, and so forth, that is, in purely Government owned and operated agencies, has the Senator any figures which would show the number of men who could be made available if this policy were susceptible of complete execution.

Mr. GURNEY. No; I do not. That information was not given or requested in the hearing.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. HILL. Let me make a statement in that connection. The Senator from South Dakota is a member of the Appropriations Committee. The acting chairman of the Appropriations Committee, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKellar] is sitting here, and may know more about the matter than I do. As I understand, one reason why we appropriated \$10,000,000 for the War Manpower Commission in the bill which was passed day before yesterday, was in order that the Commission might send out into factories men who could personally investigate this matter and personally see whether or not there were men in the factories who were being deferred, whose places could be filled by older workers, or filled by women, or filled in some kind of way, so as to make the men now engaged in working there available for the armed forces.

Mr. TYDINGS. In my first question I was referring primarily to Government agencies, such as the War Department, the arsenals, and so on. I now want to ask the Senator if he has any information as to the number of persons in the defense industries of the Nation who, assuming that they are desirable for the draft, could be replaced by women or older workers?

Mr. GURNEY. I do not have any exact figures, but we all know that a great number could be.



Mr. TYDINGS. What I am leading up to is in connection with some work which a special committee of the Senate did sometime ago. We found over a thousand men under 26 years of age, most of whom were temporarily deferred from induction into the military service.

Mr. GURNEY. Who are now in Government bureaus?

Mr. TYDINGS. Who are working for the Government. A great many of them are here in Washington.

Mr. GURNEY. I may say that when the Director of the War Manpower Commission gets the money which was appropriated in the bill passed by the Senate 2 days ago, I hope he will not go too far afield in looking for men, some of whom are right here close by and could be found rather quickly.

Mr. TYDINGS. I wish to say that I called the names of these gentlemen to the attention of General Hershey. In some cases, to be fair, the deferment was perfectly justifiable, in my judgment. In others it was not. In other words, there was an abuse of the discretionary power. General Hershey made a complete survey of these cases, and as a result, about 90 percent of them went into the Army and Navy. It simply shows what can be done by using a forthright policy in not allowing certain persons to take advantage of conditions. I certainly hope that the Senator, in the drafting of any future legislation having to do with the taking of men, will try to plug those loopholes, for, in my judgment there are many thousand men throughout the country who are not indispensable, and who have forced such a situation that boys 13 years old, who have not finished their education, have to be taken, all because we have been too lenient up to now, and understandably so, in the pursuit of taking men who were over 20 years of age.

Mr. GURNEY. But I am sure the Senator from Maryland would not like to change the system. We must leave complete authority with the local draft boards which know each man individually.

Mr. TYDINGS. I am not arguing about that, but I say that we have left the door pretty wide open for men to escape, and that certainly if we are going to take boys 18 years old, as a corollary to that policy that door ought to be closed, otherwise the system will not be equitable, otherwise it will not be fair, and our position here will not be tenable. I myself want to go along with all the things which the Army and Navy want, but at the same time I think we have reached a point where there can be a revision of that policy in the interest of equity and justice.

Mr. GURNEY. I thank the Senator from Maryland, and I may say in that connection that I have thought for a long time that we should buck up the local selective-service boards, possibly by legislation, by making a matter of public record the classification of each registrant in each local draft board, and then the light of public information would be much more forceful and effective in correcting the situation which the Senator

speaks of than any compulsory legislation which might be enacted.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield in order that I may ask him a further question?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. There is apparently a misconception in the country. I have heard from many sources that 18- and 19-year-old draftees will not be eligible for officer candidates' schools. Will the Senator tell us what the fact is in that regard?

Mr. GURNEY. That conception is entirely incorrect. Any man who comes into the Army, no matter what his age, or how he comes, whether he volunteers, or is inducted, is given the opportunity to move his best foot forward. Company commanders in replacement centers and in training camps, are given a certain quota each month of men to send to officer training camps, and from personal inspection of officers' training camps I know that 18- and 19-year-old boys are now given the opportunity to take training to become officers. Those who show aptitude above others in their own particular group are given a chance not only to go to officers' training camps, but they also have a chance to say to what kind of camp they would like to go, whether Signal Corps, infantry, Air Corps, or ground school, or what not.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am familiar with the operation of the system. The answer to my question, then, is that there is no age barrier to candidates for the officers' training schools.

Mr. GURNEY. Absolutely not.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. McNARY. I wish to propound an inquiry. Perhaps I can answer it myself, because I was present in the Senate at the time. During the First World War were boys of 18 and 19 inducted into the service?

Mr. GURNEY. They were not.

Mr. McNARY. I should like to have that fact in the Record.

Mr. GURNEY. Just before the armistice permissive legislation was enacted to induct boys of 18 and 19, but the war ended before they were inducted into the service.

Mr. McNARY. In October 1918 Congress did authorize the service of 18- and 19-year-old boys, but before the law became operative the armistice was signed and the war was ended.

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct.

Mr. McNARY. So Congress did take action at that time expressing its view favorable to the service of boys 18 and 19 years of age.

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct; and at that time, during the first World War, there were fewer men in the Army than existing than are in the Army at the present time.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. HILL. The legislation providing for the induction of boys of 18 and 19 in the First World War was passed on August 31, 1918. Representative WADSWORTH,

the distinguished coauthor of the bill, a former Member of this body, and at present a distinguished Member of the House of Representatives, advises me that the date was August 31, 1918.

Mr. McNARY. Representative WADSWORTH should know. We all value and admire his great services as a Senator and as a Representative.

Let me ask the Senator from South Dakota a further question along the same line. What was the minimum age of service in the Spanish-American War and in the Civil War?

Mr. GURNEY. The records are quite clear. My study of the history reveals that most of the Civil War battles were fought by boys between 18 and 21, a goodly portion of them being boys of 18 and 19. As to the Spanish-American War, my memory is not so good, and I do not have any direct information.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. BURTON. Not long ago I examined the figures relating to the Civil War, and I was surprised to see the official statement that of 2,700,000 men on the Union side, 1,100,000 were 18 or under. I do not have the figures for the other side.

Referring again to the Senator's question about the draft in the last World War, I think it is interesting to note that even under the last draft, which reached men from 18 to 20, and from 32 to 45, the new classes after August 31, 1918, there were 120,157 inducted under the new draft; but, of course, few of the class of 18- and 19-year-olds would have been in that 120,000. However, such a draft was being put into effect at the time of the armistice.

Mr. GURNEY. What was the minimum age of those inducted into service in the Spanish-American War?

Mr. BURTON. I understand that service in the Spanish-American War was entirely on a volunteer basis. Enlistment in the American forces never did reach very large proportions.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. HILL. The distinguished gentleman from New York, Representative WADSWORTH, advises me that the average age in the Union Army at the close of the Civil War was 19½, and that the average age in the Confederate Army at the close of the Civil War was 18½. Representative WADSWORTH also advises me that the act of August 31, 1918, which provided for the drafting of 18- and 19-year-old boys, passed the Senate by a vote of 75 to 0.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate thoroughly canvassed the question presented to it by Senate bill 2748. Although the hearings were brief, testimony came from men in authority. For the record, let me say that some of the men who appeared before our committee were Robert P. Patterson, Under Secretary of War; Gen. George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff; Gen. J. T. McNarney,



Deputy Chief of Staff; Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service; Admiral E. J. King, Commander in Chief of the United States Fleet and Chief of Naval Operations; and Rear Admiral Randall Jacobs, Chief of Naval Personnel.

Before taking my seat let me say again that it is very imperative that this bill be passed quickly. I again assert my hope that no delaying or controversial amendment will be offered, because every day of delay means one day less training for the men who must go into our armed services. Also, in my opinion, it delays by just that much the final victory for which we are all working.

Mr. HILL and Mr. LEE addressed the chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from South Dakota yield, and if so to whom?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield to the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. HILL. A good many questions have been asked about the physical condition of the men in the different age groups. The Senator from Maine [Mr. WHITE] asked if we had any figures as to the physical condition of the men in the different age groups. I have before me the figures of the sick rate at Fort Bragg, giving the number and the percentage of admissions to the hospital during September. Fort Bragg is one of our largest military reservations. I think there are as many different kinds of troops at Fort Bragg as at any other military reservation in the country. Therefore Fort Bragg should indeed be a good cross section.

The figures show that for the men 20 years of age and under the hospital admissions during September were 3.7 percent. The percentage of hospital admissions increases continually until the age group between 41 and 45 is reached. In that group the hospital admissions were 19.8 percent. The hospital admissions for the youngsters 20 years of age and under were a little more than 3 percent, whereas the hospital admissions for the older men, including the group from 41 to 45, were practically 20 percent.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HILL. I shall be glad to yield if I have the floor.

Mr. GURNEY. I yield to the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. McKELLAR. Could not that be corrected—

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, I offer an amendment to the committee amendment—

Mr. HAYDEN rose.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I do not think I should be taken from the floor in any such way as that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair did not intend to take any Senator from the floor. The Senator from South Dakota has the floor and has yielded to the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. McKELLAR. So I supposed; and I was about to direct to the Senator from Alabama some interrogatories which will require only a moment.

The situation to which reference has been made could be easily corrected by

the medical officers of the Army. They ought to be more careful in the selection of men. Of course, it can not be entirely corrected, because we all know that older men are subject to more physical troubles than are younger men. In any event, no matter whom we take into the Army, we must have doctors to examine them, and they should be very careful before we take into the Army men who are likely to become charges on the Army instead of aiding the Army in defending our country.

Mr. GURNEY. That is entirely correct.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	George	O'Mahoney
Andrews	Gerry	Overton
Austin	Gillette	Pepper
Bailey	Green	Radcliffe
Ball	Guffey	Reed
Barbour	Gurney	Reynolds
Barkley	Hatch	Rosier
Bilbo	Hayden	Russell
Bone	Hill	Shipstead
Brewster	Johnson, Calif.	Smathers
Bulow	Kilgore	Smith
Bunker	La Follette	Spencer
Burton	Langer	Thomas, Idaho
Butler	Lee	Thomas, Okla.
Byrd	Lodge	Thomas, Utah
Capper	Lucas	Tobey
Caraway	McFarland	Tunnell
Chavez	McKellar	Tydings
Clark, Idaho	McNary	Vandenberg
Clark, Mo.	Maloney	Van Nuys
Connally	Maybank	Wagner
Danaher	Mead	Wallgren
Davis	Murdock	Walsh
Downey	Norris	Wheeler
Doxey	Nye	White
Ellender	O'Daniel	Wiley

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Seventy-eight Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the Gallup poll showing that 81 percent of the youth of this country are in favor of enactment of the bill lowering the draft age so as to include those 18 and 19 years of age. I must say that words cannot express my appreciation of the courage and loyalty of these young men at this time. America's future will be safe in their hands.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOWERING OF DRAFT AGE FAVORED BY AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE YOUNG MEN MOST AFFECTED, NATIONAL SURVEY INDICATES  
(By Dr. George Gallup)

PRINCETON, N. J., October 20.—The measure to lower the draft age meets with the overwhelming approval of the young men who would be most directly affected—the 18- and 19-year-olds of the country.

When Congress began consideration of the bill following the President's fireside broadcast, the institute took the issue directly to the young men in a coast-to-coast survey conducted with the aid of the telegraph. It interviewed 17-, 18-, and 19-year-olds and found that the reaction was everywhere favorable to the idea of lowering the draft age.

The question and the results were as follows:

"Would you approve or disapprove of drafting young men 18 and 19 years old now?"

#### Vote of young men 17-19 years old

	Percent
Approve.....	81
Disapprove.....	15
Undecided.....	4

Many frankly say they favor lowering the age because it is the only way to remove parental objection to their joining the Army.

As one young man puts it, "That would be the easiest way to get into the Army without the family's consent." Another says, "I approve lowering the draft age but my parents don't."

Other young men interviewed in the survey favor the idea because they want to get the war finished as quickly as possible and they think they will have to be drafted sooner or later anyway. "Might as well get the war over as soon as we can," says one young man. "We'd be drafted in a few years in any case."

Quite a number make the point that they want plenty of time for training before they go into combat. One young student interviewed in New York City summed up this general attitude when he said:

"They tell me it takes a year to train a good soldier. If I'm going to fight I want to know how. I can save my neck better that way."

There is general agreement among the young men with the argument, often advanced, that absence of family responsibilities leaves the young group freer to join the Army than is the case with older men. Many likewise say that lowering the draft age will get "better fighters" into the Army.

#### SHOULD FINISH SCHOOL

The young men who are opposed to the idea believe they should be given a chance to finish their education first. "We haven't had a chance to live yet," says one; "why can't they wait till we're 20?"

"We've got to get a decent education," adds another. "It may be hard to find a job after the war if you don't have a high-school diploma."

Some advance the argument that youths should not be drafted until the supply of available older men is entirely exhausted.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, I ask to have stated the amendment, which I offer to the committee amendment, and which I have sent to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. In the committee amendment on page 3, after line 9, it is proposed to insert:

(k) In the interest of the common defense no person, corporation, partnership, or association shall sell, supply, give, or have in his or its possession any alcoholic liquors, including beer, ale, or wine, at or within any military camp, station, fort, post, yard, base, cantonment, training or mobilization place which is being used at the time for military purposes, but the Secretary of War may make regulations permitting the sale and use of alcoholic liquors for medicinal purposes. Any person, corporation, partnership, or association violating the provisions of this section or any orders, rules, or regulations made by proper authority thereunder shall unless otherwise punishable under the Articles of War be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and be punished by a fine of not less than \$100 nor more than \$1,000 and/or imprisonment for not less than 30 days nor more than 12 months.

(l) In the interest of the common defense it shall be unlawful within such reasonable distance of any military camp, station, fort, post, yard, base, cantonment, training or mobilization place as the Secretary of War shall determine to be needful to the efficiency, health, and welfare of the Army and/or Navy and shall designate in general



orders or bulletins for any person, corporation, partnership, or association to sell, supply, give, or have in his or its possession any alcoholic liquors, including beer, ale, or wine. Any person, corporation, partnership, or association violating the provisions of this section or any orders, rules, or regulations made by proper authority thereunder shall unless otherwise punishable under the Articles of War be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and be punished by a fine of not less than \$100 nor more than \$1,000 and/or imprisonment for not less than 30 days nor more than 12 months.

(m) In construing subsections (k) and (l) of this section the word "Army" shall extend to and include "Navy," the word "military" shall include "naval," "Articles of War" shall include "Articles for the Government of the Navy," the words "military camp, station, fort, post, yard, base, cantonment, training or mobilization place" shall include such places under naval jurisdiction as may correspond to the aforementioned places under military jurisdiction. The powers conferred under this act upon the Secretary of War are hereby conferred upon the Secretary of the Navy with regard to the naval service. The words "Navy" and "naval" shall include the Marine Corps. The aviation units of both the military and naval service shall be subject to the provisions of subsections (k) and (l) of this section.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, the amendment explains itself.

Mr. OVERTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LEE. For what purpose?

Mr. OVERTON. I presume that the Senator is about to discuss his amendment, and I desire to obtain some information.

Mr. LEE. Then I shall yield to the Senator in just a moment.

Mr. OVERTON. Very well.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, it has been charged that the offering of the amendment will delay action on the pending measure. I say now that any time an agreement can be worked out or a unanimous-consent agreement can be had to vote on the pending measure I shall yield for the purpose of having such a unanimous-consent request made, and I should stop right now if it could be agreed that immediately we shall vote on my amendment without making any comment. If we do not do that, it is my intention to speak for about 15 minutes, and then to sit down; and then I shall be ready to vote on the measure at any time the Senate is ready to do so.

Furthermore, Mr. President, in the interest of brevity I shall decline to yield after I have yielded to the Senator from Louisiana, who has already requested me to yield. Thereafter, I shall decline to yield until I have finished my remarks on the subject; because I believe they will cover all the points on which I might be interrogated.

If the Senator from Louisiana will withhold his question, I believe I shall answer it in my statement.

Mr. OVERTON. I shall be very glad to do so.

Mr. LEE. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, there is very little need for explanation of the amendment, because the amendment explains itself. The language is simple and easy to understand.

The amendment would prohibit alcoholic liquors in and around Army camps, which term is interpreted to cover navy yards as well.

The amendment is in the language of Senate bill 860, the so-called Sheppard bill, without the provision applying to vice.

House bill 2475, sometimes called the May bill, contained almost the exact language with reference to the elimination of vice as the language of the so-called Sheppard bill. House bill 2475 became law July 11, 1941. Consequently I have stricken from the amendment the provision from the Sheppard bill.

Mr. President, some of the newspapers already have started a campaign of name calling and have become very abusive. I wish to read one sentence from an editorial appearing in this morning's New York Herald Tribune:

Thus a grave and highly important piece of legislation is being impeded because of a sneaking attempt to put over with it an utterly unsound measure.

Mr. President, as to the "sneaking attempt," I have this to say: The offering of the amendment is not a suddenly ill-considered move on my part. On June 4 of this year, in a speech on the floor of the Senate, I indicated my intention to bring up this measure if and when the War Department should request the drafting of teen-age boys. On that occasion I said:

The War Department at one time asked Congress to lower the age limit of draftees to 18½ years, but I should like to suggest that if the Secretary of War expects to have such a proposal supported by the good people of this country, it will be necessary for him to reverse himself on the proposition of keeping liquor and vice out of the military camps. I, for one, am unwilling to expose boys of the tender ages of 18 and 19 to the evils of liquor and vice. It is bad enough for older boys, but for boys of these tender ages it is so wrong that I cannot believe the Secretary of War fully realizes the situation, or he would withdraw his opposition to the measure.

Again, on October 5, I introduced the so-called Sheppard bill as an amendment to the Gurney bill which was at that time pending before the Committee on Military Affairs. I had the amendment printed and referred to the committee for its consideration. At that time I said on the floor of the Senate:

I desire to have the amendment printed in order that the Members of the Senate may be put on notice of my intention to press the proposal.

That was October 5, which was before we had been requested to pass a bill drafting boys 18 and 19. Yet the charge is that this is being done in "a sneaking" and improper manner.

According to the public press, the President had said that the 18- and 19-year-old boys would not be needed before next year. I thought when the Congress finished work on the price-control bill that no more major legislation would be up for action for a few weeks. Therefore, I went home. Before I reached Oklahoma, the President and the War Department had both requested immediate action on a bill to lower the draft age to include 18- and 19-year-old boys.

I took the next train back to Washington as I am a member of the Military Affairs Committee.

This amendment was presented to the Committee on Military Affairs. The committee voted against it.

I want it clearly understood that, so far as I am concerned, every Member of this body is the keeper of his own conscience. Furthermore, I do not sit in judgment on the actions of any of my colleagues. Those who may differ with me on this subject have the welfare of this country at heart no less than have I. They are as patriotic as I am or as is anyone else.

Another thing, I shall not make any extravagant claims as to what this amendment will do if it becomes law. Personally, I believe it would help to create clean, wholesome surroundings for the training of these boys of school age.

Furthermore, I certainly do not make any charges of disorderly conduct against any of the officers or men of the armed forces of the United States. The amendment speaks for itself.

No one was accused of implying disorderly conduct on the part of soldiers or men in uniform when we passed the so-called May bill, which contains the same language with reference to vice in and around military camps as that contained in the amendment. Therefore it cannot be truthfully charged that the sponsorship of this amendment is an indirect charge of disorderly conduct on the part of any of our armed forces. I am one of those who believe that its adoption into law would be in the interest of efficiency, health, and morals.

This amendment has been referred to as a "rider." That language is intended to prejudice people against the amendment. It is even argued by some that they do not favor "riders." It is urged that this is offered as an amendment to important legislation in order that it might pass.

I may state that it is not my purpose in offering it to this bill to put it through when it would not be accepted by the same group if they had a chance to vote on it. I am offering the amendment to this bill because I believe it belongs on this bill; it is appropriate to it. It provides safeguards for the protection of the young boys which this bill will draft. Therefore, it is appropriate legislation in connection with the bill itself.

Now, Mr. President, there is a precedent for this amendment. The language of this amendment is almost identical with the language which was included in the first draft law passed by this Congress following the declaration of war in 1917. It was not then referred to as a rider. It was conceived to be a necessary part of the draft law.

Mr. President, when the Congress passed the draft law then, it did not provide for drafting boys 18 and 19. Twenty was the lowest age provided by the law which first contained these provisions, and they were not the entering wedge to prohibition; they had no connection with prohibition, which followed. They merely constituted a regulation. I shall read section 12 of the first draft law of World War No. 1.



Mark the similarity even of the language. This so-called Sheppard language tracks the provision of that draft law and was patterned after it. Let me read it:

*Provided, That the President of the United States, as Commander in Chief of the Army is authorized to make such regulations governing the prohibition of alcoholic liquors in or near military camps and to the officers and enlisted men of the Army as he may from time to time deem necessary or advisable, provided that no person, corporation, partnership, or association shall sell, supply, or have in his or its possession—*

That language is exactly the same as that of the amendment—

any intoxicating or spirituous liquors at any military station, cantonment, camp, fort, post, officer's or enlisted men's club, which is being used at the time for military purposes under this Act, but the Secretary of War may make regulations permitting the sale and use of intoxicating liquors for medicinal purposes.

That is the exact language of the amendment.

It shall be unlawful to sell any intoxicating liquor, including beer, ale, or wine, to any officer or member of the military forces, while in uniform—

That wording appears to me to be even stronger than the wording of the amendment—  
except as herein provided.

I take the exception to refer to the use for medicinal purposes.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President—

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, if the Senator will excuse me, I stated at the beginning of my remarks that I should decline to yield until I had finished my statement. Then I shall be very glad to yield, and I hope Senators will make such notations of questions as they may wish to ask, as I desire to conclude in the shortest possible time.

I continue to read from the law which was passed and which was not referred to as a rider but was accepted as a necessary part of the legislation in the First World War when the Congress drafted American boys and sent them to camps, feeling, no doubt, as I feel now, that the law calling them to the camps should also provide the proper conditions and surroundings for them when they reach the camps:

Any person, corporation, partnership, or association violating the provisions of this section or the regulations made thereunder shall, unless otherwise punishable under the Articles of War, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment for not more than 12 months, or both.

That is the exact language of the amendment which I propose. The only difference I see in the two provisions is that the one passed in the World War, in 1917, made reference to the "spirituous liquors," while my amendment refers to "alcoholic liquors."

One other difference was that it referred to the surroundings of the camp. It said "near the camp," and the amendment which I am offering has a different description. It prescribes that the prohibition shall extend to a "reasonable distance," which the Secretary of

War shall determine upon his estimate of what constitutes the necessary area around the camp, having in mind the health and well-being of the Army.

I stated that at the time the former law was passed the minimum age of the draftee was 20, and that is correct. The law was approved May 18, 1917. In 1918 Congress adopted an amendment to the law requiring the registration of men from 18 to 45, but almost a year after Congress had already provided that there should not be liquor in and around the military camps.

I have stated what the draft law of 1917 provided, and mark you, that was passed by Congress before the draft age was lowered to 18 and 19. The amendment lowering the draft age to include 18- and 19-year-old boys was passed August 31, 1918.

Now, therefore, I cannot agree with the statement of Mr. Stimson, the Secretary of War, that the adoption of this amendment would damage the morale of the armed forces. I did not observe any damage to the morale of the armed forces in 1917, 1918, and 1919, from the prohibition to which I have referred, and the other boys who served did not see any. When, in camp, I went to the canteen, there was not any beer for sale there, and there was no damage to the morale of the boys in 1918 because Uncle Sam did not provide canteens where beer, wine, and ale were sold.

At this time it is my son and the sons of my colleagues who are in the camps. My son Robert has just turned 18. When he enters a military camp and goes down to the canteen, he is saying to himself, "Yes, I am only 18, that is true, and every State in the Union has prohibited the sale of liquor to minors. Yet my daddy is in Congress; he voted to send me here; he voted for the conditions that surround me here; he voted to approve the sale of liquor, wine, and beer in the canteen, so it must be all right."

One of the most impressive telegrams I have received was from an ex-service father, in which he said, "If you are going to take our babies, give them milk instead of beer."

May I go further and say that none of the objections which the Secretary of War urges in his letter to the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS] are borne out by the experience of a very similar, almost identical law which was enacted during the First World War.

It has been further urged that the language of the amendment giving to the Secretary discretionary power to determine the zone around the camps, is dangerous and bad legislation. Let me again cite the language of the draft law in the First World War.

"Prohibition of alcoholic liquors in or near military camps"—in or near military camps. I do not recall all the trouble of enforcing that law in the First World War which Secretary Stimson said would again occur if a similar one shall be enacted during the present war.

The proposed language is the same as that used in the May law, which this same body passed only last year. I mean the language in my amendment with respect

to the proximity of the camps is exactly the same language as that appearing in the May bill which we passed last year with respect to the control of vice. No one has heard anything about all of the trouble which Secretary Stimson predicts in his letter would take place if this amendment becomes law. The language of the May law reads as follows:

It shall be unlawful within such reasonable distance of any military or naval camp, station, fort, post, yard, base, cantonment, training or mobilization place as the Secretaries of War and/or Navy shall determine to be needful to the efficiency, health, and welfare of the Army and/or Navy.

Mr. President, that is the language which is in the May bill. The same language is in my amendment. It is almost the same language which is in the First World War draft bill, the terms of which were carried out successfully and did not cause all the trouble that Secretary Stimson says the passage of this measure will cause.

Mr. President, never has a controversial measure been raised without it being urged by those who are opposed to it that this is not the time and place for consideration of such a measure. An objection has already been raised against the proposed amendment, and I cite to you the fact that the amendment actually was a part of the draft law of 1917, to which Congress must have considered it germane.

Furthermore, if we were drawing up regulations for the training of young men in a school or college, I leave it to your sense of fairness whether we would consider a proposal to prohibit alcoholic liquors in the schoolhouse and on the school grounds as germane and appropriate to that legislation.

In that regard, Mr. President, let me read you article 3065 of the Naval Academy regulations:

(a) The laws of the State of Maryland prohibit the sale or gift of alcoholic beverages to midshipmen in Annapolis or within 5 miles of the limit thereof. Midshipmen will not drink or have in their possession any alcoholic beverage in such prohibited areas or within any naval reservation on the Severn, or in any vessel, boat, or other craft of the Navy. Violation of this regulation is a serious offense, punishment for which may extend to dismissal.

Mr. President, I do not have the regulations with respect to West Point. I am inclined to believe they are very similar to those which I have just read with respect to Annapolis. We in the Congress prescribe for the establishment of military and naval academies. To us it would be unthinkable to allow beer and liquor on the campuses and inside, and even within the proximity of those areas.

This is nothing more than an extension of the military and naval academies throughout all the country for the boys who did not have the privilege of attending Annapolis or West Point, and this draft act is a war measure making a temporary Annapolis and West Point out of every camp throughout the land. If we require training and if we make regulations with respect to these



academies, is it not logical then that we should extend that same prohibition and regulation to the military camps?

Every State in the Union recognizes in its laws the need to protect the minors from liquor by making it illegal to sell intoxicant liquors to minors. Therefore, I maintain that it is appropriate to seek the protection of these boys from alcoholic liquors when we draft them for military service.

Mr. President, this amendment would not take away the personal privilege of any soldier because when he went away from the camp on leave this amendment would not apply to him. What he did would be for him to decide. The places he visited and the company he sought would be of his own choosing. This amendment would merely remove liquor from his training grounds.

Mr. President, during the other war boys were given leave from camp. They would go over to some town. The regulations of the camp in World War No. 1 did not bother those boys. It did not take away their personal privilege to seek the company they wanted to find, and seek the type of amusement they wanted, when on leave. But it did not keep the temptation under the nose of every boy in the camp during the whole time of his training.

There is nothing in the amendment which I propose which would deprive any boy of his personal privilege. He has the same personal privilege that his daddy had who served in the First World War before him, and I did not hear any of the boys complaining about their personal privileges then. When they were in camp they knew they were there for a serious business. When they went on leave they had a good time.

If a boy in a training camp receives a leave and goes over to a town, if he does not want to go to the places where liquor is sold he does not have to go there, but if the pending measure is defeated, every time he goes into a canteen in a camp he goes to a place where liquor is being sold.

I believe it was Henry Ford who, a number of years ago, said that liquor and machinery did not mix. Liquor and training do not mix, and these boys are trained to handle the most deadly machinery in the world. Why, we think nothing of a businessman prohibiting liquor on the premises of the grounds where men work.

Mr. President, the amendment is as germane to the subject as the last section of the committee amendment—and get this, Senators—as the last section of the committee amendment, which makes it possible to receive boys convicted of a crime which is not a felony at common law for training in military forces. One of the arguments presented in support of that amendment was that in a few cases boys were violating the liquor laws in order to get mild sentences which would exclude them from the draft law. If that committee amendment is germane to this proposed draft law, then why is not one germane which seeks to protect the boys from liquor?

Mr. President, to my mind it is entirely appropriate and even obligatory

upon this body to provide the most wholesome possible surroundings for these boys in the same bill in which we provide for drafting them.

I wish to cite the difficulty of getting action on the proposed law, in answer to those who say that this is not the time and place, and that the matter should be taken up on its own merits. The bill was originally reported to the Senate several months ago, as a tribute to the late Senator Morris Sheppard, who was the author of the original bill, and at one time was chairman of the Military Affairs Committee. The bill has remained on the calendar constantly since that time. The Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL] made an effort to get it considered at one time, and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON] made another effort to get it considered, all of which should convince any person that to defer the bill to some future time, when it may be considered by itself, is to bury it.

Again, Mr. President, there is another phrase which fits easily into the mouths of those who oppose the measure, but who do not wish to come out against it. They say, "I favor the principles of the measure, but I am opposed to it in its present form." Again I cite the Senate to the law which served us so well in World War No. 1. The form of this proposal is very similar to that law, in fact almost identical.

Then again there is objection made that consideration of this measure at this time will delay action on the draft bill. To that criticism I cite my own record in this body for the past 3 years, wherein time and again I have been one of those who have urged speed in our preparedness program; in fact even before Pearl Harbor, and sometimes, I fear, to the annoyance of some of my colleagues, I kept insisting that our Government was not moving as rapidly as we could and should be moving with the program of national defense.

I remember some of my colleagues asking the question, What could we be doing that we are not doing? My position was that there were many things we could be doing that we were not doing. It is now obvious that there are many things we could have done last year that we are just now doing. There are many things we could have done the year before that. I believe my record of appealing for action in advance of some of the things we subsequently did will compare favorably with that of many of my colleagues.

Furthermore, Mr. President, I do not believe any part of the war effort is today being delayed because of lack of inductees. I believe a fair appraisal of the situation will show that we are now receiving men just as rapidly as we can train and equip them. This morning I called the office of General Hershey. I talked to Captain Solomon, and I asked him what about voluntary enlistments since the bill was recommended for passage by the War Department. He said to me: "It has been the biggest in history."

Those were his very words—that the voluntary enlistment was the biggest in history.

Mr. President, I say to the Senate that we are not delaying the war effort by taking time to consider a proposition which provides for proper, wholesome surroundings for the boys we propose to draft.

I may offer this suggestion merely for what it is worth, that if we should concentrate our efforts and materials on the production of cargo and troop transport aircraft in order to make more mobile the armed forces we already have, we might increase our striking power and thereby increase our effectiveness.

Mr. President, I am not prepared to say what size Army the United States needs, but I am suggesting that until we bring our rapid transportation facilities up to the Army we already have, it might be well to leave that additional manpower in the factory and on the farm rather than call them in before we have rapid transportation facilities ready for them.

Mr. President, I do not believe that any part of the war effort is being delayed by consideration of this measure. Besides, it is not my intention to occupy the floor longer than to finish this statement, and then any time after that I am prepared to vote. In a matter of so great concern to the mothers of the United States, surely their Representatives in Congress owe them whatever necessary time may be required to provide the best possible surroundings for their sons. When we are digging down into the family life, as we are doing in this measure, is it asking too much to take a few minutes, or a day or so even, to consider the surroundings the boys are going to find themselves in when they get to camp? Many of these boys—I would guess the majority of them—are coming out of Christian homes. We want the surroundings to be as wholesome as it is possible for us to make them.

As to the charge, Mr. President, that we are taking time and delaying the war effort, I say now that the war effort will gain a greater momentum and a greater impetus if the fathers and mothers feel that their boys are given proper surroundings in the camps. The war movement will have a greater support from back home then than it will if they are unhappy about the situation in which the boys find themselves when they get to camp.

Mr. President, the letter from Mr. Stimson, Secretary of War, says that if the proposed amendment is agreed to it would cause bootlegging and the establishment of speakeasies. Where would it cause bootlegging and the establishment of speakeasies? Does the Secretary mean it would cause bootlegging and the establishment of speakeasies inside a military camp? That is ridiculous. Then he must mean outside the camp. Other than in an area which he himself believes to be reasonable and for the best interest of health and efficiency of the Army, there is no regulation in this amendment over the sale of intoxicating liquor. Therefore, where would these speakeasies and bootleggers he is talking about be?

Mr. President, in the last war I was first at Camp Deming in New Mexico, and



then at Camp Dix, N. J. I did not see any speakeasy or any bootlegger in either of those camps or around either of those camps. As soon as I got far enough away from the camp I saw places where liquor was sold, but there were no speakeasies or bootleggers, as the Secretary charges in his letter there will be if the amendment is agreed to.

Furthermore, the Secretary says it would be necessary for the Army to enforce flat prohibition in metropolitan cities such as New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. That is another ridiculous statement. Did the Secretary of the first World War, or President Woodrow Wilson, feel that under the law of 1917, which contained the same provisions, it was necessary for the Army to enforce prohibition in those areas at that time? They did not. Does Mr. Stimson, under the May Act, which he is charged with enforcing, have to take over complete charge in those same areas? The same language is in that law that is in the proposed amendment.

Mr. President, the argument most frequently heard against this proposal is that it is an entering wedge to national prohibition. I do not believe it is any such thing. Sometimes those who represent the opposition can be foolish. Sometimes those who represent our side can be foolish. I grant that neither side has a claim to all the wisdom. But I believe the wets are foolish to oppose this sane and mild measure. Already there is evidence that the liquor interests are making great gains because of the war. In connection with this charge, Mr. President, let me read some of the language used in an editorial from yesterday morning's Washington Times-Herald:

Washington politicians, by and large, are well aware of these facts. They are aware, too, that liquor goes with fighting men; that soldiers crave their drinks, dice games, poker games, and other manly relaxations after a tough day's work in training.

Mr. President, is that our concept of a soldier? It is not mine. I have seen some soldiers who relaxed in that way. They were just as good soldiers as others. Their hearts were as kind, and they were just as patriotic; but that is not my conception of one of the necessary ingredients in the make-up of a soldier.

Newspapers which oppose this provision do so for reasons of their own. I have found out from observation that some of the newspapers which violently oppose this measure receive less revenue from liquor advertising than do those which are not opposing it so vigorously. Let me exhibit to the Senate the liquor advertising from one issue of one Washington newspaper. A little more than six full pages are devoted to advertising liquor.

The charge is made that this amendment is an entering wedge. Mr. President, the dries are merely trying to hold their own. We are not trying to make any gains, other than to protect our sons. It is the liquor interests which are taking advantage of wartime to increase their traffic. Let me read from the *Brewers' Digest*. Mark you, this is

the editor, speaking on the editorial page of the *Brewers' Digest* for May 1941, last year. Listen to this:

One of the finest things that could have happened to the brewing industry was the insistence by high-ranking Army officers to make beer available at Army camps.

Skipping some, I quote further:

The opportunity presented to the brewing industry by this measure—

No doubt referring to the interpretation allowing liquor in the camps—

The opportunity presented to the brewing industry by this measure is so obvious that it is superfluous to go into it in detail.

Skipping, and quoting again, the editor comments on how foolish brewers would be if they did not make the very best brew for the soldiers in order to make future customers of them. He says:

Here is a chance for brewers to cultivate a taste for beer in millions of young men who will eventually constitute the largest beer-consuming section of our population.

If anyone thinks that it is not the intention of the liquor interests to take advantage of this war and the mobilization of the young men to create an appetite and to increase their business, I refer him to the editorial in the *Brewers' Digest* of May 1941. Remember, this is not the W. C. T. U. talking. It is the brewers. The editorial in the *Brewers' Digest* states that a wonderful opportunity is presented for increasing the appetite of the beer-consuming public; and we are accused of trying to take advantage of the war in order to push the dry issue. We are trying to offset the gains of the liquor industry.

Mr. President, I said that we are trying to hold our own. We are not doing it. Let me give some figures from the Bureau of Internal Revenue:

The above totals show that the year 1941 averaged a 430,044-barrel increase per month in consumption of beer as compared with 1940. They also show an increase of 536,914 barrels per month for 1942, for the months of January to July inclusive, as compared with the same months of 1941. The above table also shows an increase of 806,075 barrels of beer average monthly increase in 1942 as compared with the same months of 1940.

Either liquor is being consumed in military camps or it is not. If it is, in the interest of military efficiency it ought to be excluded. If it is not being consumed, the opposition should have no objection.

Mr. President, five State legislatures have already endorsed this measure and memorialized Congress to pass this amendment, referred to in the memorial documents as S. 860. I refer to the States of Florida, Minnesota, Colorado, Iowa, and Maine. Many other State legislatures would have endorsed it except for the fact that many of the State legislatures have not been in session since this amendment came up.

I ask unanimous consent to have the resolutions of the five States which I have mentioned printed in the *RECORD* at this point as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the *RECORD*, as follows:

#### Senate Concurrent Resolution 10

Resolution relating to the preservation of moral conditions in the vicinity of Army and naval camps and plants erected and maintained by the Federal Government in providing for the national defense

*Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of Florida (the House of Representatives concurring):*

SECTION 1. That the Senate of the State of Florida (the House of Representatives concurring) respectfully petition the Congress of the United States of America to give early consideration to legislation suppressing and prohibiting all forms of vice, including the sale of intoxicating beverages, on, in, and in the vicinity of all plants owned, leased, or maintained by the United States of America for national defense, including all reservations, camps, bases, training schools, barracks, and other areas used for the quartering, training, or encampment of the armed forces of the Army and Navy of the United States.

SEC. 2. That the secretary of state forthwith prepare suitable copies of this resolution and cause the same to be transmitted to the Vice President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, the chairmen of the several committees on Army and naval affairs of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, and to each of the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States from the State of Florida.

Approved by the Governor May 31, 1941.

#### Resolution 7

Concurrent resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States relative to the early consideration and passage of Senate file 860

Whereas there is now pending before the Seventy-seventh Congress of the United States proposed legislation, Senate file 860, providing for the common defense in relation to the sale of alcoholic liquors to the members of the land and naval forces of the United States and to provide for the suppression of vice in the vicinity of military camps and naval establishments; and

Whereas the Federal Government has located in the State of Minnesota, and may hereafter locate in this State, military training camps, stations, forts, posts, yards, bases, cantonments, training or mobilization places for military purposes; and

Whereas it is desirable in the interest of the common defense to provide for the suppression of all forms of vice at or within the vicinity of such military camps, stations, forts, posts, yards, bases, cantonments, training or mobilization places for military purposes, and the people of the State of Minnesota are greatly interested in the passage of such legislation: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the house of representatives (the senate concurring),* That the Legislature of Minnesota respectfully petitions the Members of Congress to give early consideration to said legislation and to the enlargement of the provisions thereof in order to include the suppression of vice at or within the vicinity of military training camps, stations, forts, posts, yards, bases, cantonments, training or mobilization places maintained by the Federal Government in the development of national defense, and to enact such legislation at an early date; be it further

*Resolved,* That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the presiding officers of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Congress, and to each of the Senators and Members of the House of Representatives from Minnesota in the Congress of the United States, and that they be urged to use their



best efforts to procure the enactment of such legislation in this session of Congress.

Approved April 28, 1941.

HAROLD E. STASSEN,  
Governor of the State of Minnesota.

#### House Joint Memorial 9

Whereas there is now pending in the Congress of the United States S. 860, a bill to provide for the common defense in relation to the sale of alcoholic liquors to the members of the land and naval forces of the United States and to provide for the suppression of vice in the vicinity of military camps and naval establishments; and

Whereas S. 860 would prohibit the sale and possession of alcoholic liquors upon the premises of any camp or cantonment used for military purposes and would prohibit such sale or possession within such distances of any military camp or cantonment as the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy may determine is necessary for the efficiency, health, and welfare of the members of the Army and Navy;

Whereas said S. 860 is necessary for the protection of the people of the United States and the conduct of the national emergency training program: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States is hereby memorialized and requested to enact into law said S. 860; be it further

*Resolved*, That copies of this memorial be forwarded to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, and to the Senators and Congressmen representing the State of Colorado in the Congress of the United States.

#### House Concurrent Resolution 28

Concurrent resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States relative to the early consideration and passage of Senate bill 860

Whereas there is now pending before the Congress of the United States proposed legislation, designated as Senate bill 860, providing for the common defense in relation to the sale of alcoholic liquors to the members of the land and naval forces of the United States and to provide for the suppression of vice in the vicinity of military camps and naval establishments; and

Whereas the Federal Government has located in the State of Iowa, and may hereafter locate in this State, an ordnance plant or other plant or plants which it may deem desirable in the development of the national defense; and

Whereas it is desirable in the interest of the common defense to provide for the suppression of all forms of vice in the vicinity of such plants or projects, and the people of the State of Iowa are greatly interested in the passage of such legislation: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the house of representatives (the senate concurring)*, That the General Assembly of Iowa respectfully petition the Members of Congress to give early consideration to Senate bill 860, now before the Senate, and to the enlargement of the provisions thereof in order to include the suppression of vice in the vicinity of ordnance plants or projects now or hereafter erected and maintained by the Federal Government in the development of national defense, and to enact such legislation at an early date; be it further

*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the presiding officers of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Congress, and to each of the Senators and Members of the House of Representatives from Iowa in the Congress of the United

States, and that they be urged to use their best offices to procure the enactment of such legislation in Congress.

We, your memorialists, the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Maine in the ninetieth legislative session assembled, most respectfully present and petition your honorable body as follows:

Whereas there is now pending before the Congress of the United States proposed legislation, designated as Senate file 860, providing for the common defense in relation to the sale of alcoholic liquors to the members of the land and naval forces of the United States and to provide for the suppression of vice in the vicinity of military camps and naval establishments; and

Whereas the Federal Government has located in the State of Maine and may hereafter locate in this State, forts and training camps, which may be deemed desirable in the development of the national defense; and

Whereas it is desirable in the interest of the common defense to provide for the suppression of all forms of vice in the vicinity of such forts and camps, and the people of the State of Maine are greatly interested in the passage of such legislation: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That we, your memorialists, do hereby respectfully petition and urge the Members of Congress to give early consideration to Senate file 860 now before the Senate, and to the enlargement of the provisions thereof in order to include the suppression of vice in the vicinity of ordnance plants or projects now or hereafter erected and maintained by the Federal Government in the development of national defense, and to enact such legislation at an early date; and be it further

*Resolved*, That a copy of this memorial, duly authenticated by the secretary of state, be immediately transmitted by the secretary of state by registered mail, to the proper officers and committees of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, the President of the United States, and to each of the Representatives and Senators representing the State of Maine in the United States Congress.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, in contrast to the letter of the present Secretary of War, I have a letter dated October 20, 2 days ago, from Hon. Josephus Daniels, who was Secretary of the Navy in World War No. 1. His splendid work as Ambassador to Mexico has done as much as any other one thing to bind that country to us with strong bonds of friendship. In contrast to the statement of the present Secretary of War, who says that to keep liquor out of the training camps would be bad and disrupt the training of the men, I read from the letter from Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy in World War No. 1:

THE NEWS AND OBSERVER,  
Raleigh, N. C., October 20, 1942.

Hon. JOSH LEE,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I am very glad to see that you are fighting for a provision to give adequate protection to youths who are in the military service. It should have been done sooner, but now that 18-year-old boys are to be drafted it is imperative that they be surrounded by wholesome environment, and not be subjected to temptations which many of them could not resist. It is going to be hard for the mothers to see their 18-year-old boys go off from home to be trained to be sent abroad to fight; but if in their train-

ing days evil institutions are around the camps, it will be tenfold harder for them.

Faithfully yours,

JOSEPHUS DANIELS.

The rest of the letter is a personal reference.

That concludes what I had to say.

Mr. President, I have before me hundreds of telegrams. All the telegrams which I hold in my hand constitute hundreds of petitions from persons in States other than Oklahoma. I found only two telegrams which were in identical language, which fact indicates to me that the response on the part of the persons sending the telegrams was spontaneous as the result of what they have noticed in the newspapers.

I shall not ask that all the telegrams be printed in the Record because there are so many of them.

However, Mr. President, I have received some telegrams from Oklahoma. First, I ask unanimous consent that the names of the organizations endorsing the measure be printed in the Record at this point as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The list of organizations is as follows:

Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church.

Board of Temperance of the Methodist Church.

Presbyterian Church in the United States. Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America (1940, repeated 1942).

Women's General Missionary Society of the United Presbyterian Church.

International Young People's League of the Norwegian Lutheran Church.

National Congress of Parents and Teachers. California Parent-Teachers Association.

National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

National Anti-Saloon League.

United Dry Forces, District of Columbia.

National Temperance and Prohibition Council, which includes: American Businessmen's Research Foundation; American Temperance Society of the Seventh-Day Adventists; Anti-Saloon League of America; Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America; Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals, M. E. Church; Christian Education Department, American Baptist Publication Society; Commission on Moral Reform and Social Advance of the United Brethren Church; Commission on Social Service, Southern Baptist Convention; Commission on Social Service of the Universalist Church; Connecticut State Temperance Council of Twelve; Department of Social Education and Social Welfare, Disciples of Christ; Department of Social Service, United Presbyterian Church of North America; Friends Board of Prohibition and Public Morals; General Board of Christian Education, M. E. Church, South; Illinois Temperance Council; Independent Order of Good Templars; Intercollegiate Association for the Study of the Alcohol Problem; International Reform Federation; Methodist Men Committee of 100 of the United States; National Civic League; National Reform Association, National Temperance Society; National Woman's Christian Temperance Union; Prohibition National Committee; Temperance Committee of the Reformed Presbyterian Church; Temperance and Law Enforcement Section, Social Service Committee, Friends General Conference (Hicksite); Unitarian Temperance So-



ciety; United Dry Forces of the District of Columbia, Evangelical and Reformed Church. Women's General Missionary Society of the United Presbyterian Church of North America.

Northern Baptist Convention.

Southern Baptist Convention.

Mrs. John L. Whitehurst, president, Federation of Women's Clubs.

Disciples of Christ (National Christian Church).

General Board of Lay Activities of the Methodist Church.

Women of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.

The National Grange.

Department of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities of the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church.

Holy Trinity Lutheran Church of Jamestown, N. Y.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, I hold in my hand petitions coming from Oklahoma. I shall not ask that the petitions enter be printed in the RECORD, but I have had prepared a list of the persons submitting the petitions, although I have not had all the names listed in the cases of petitions numerously signed. In such cases I merely have listed the number of signatures attached. I have adopted that course in the interest of brevity and in order not to take up an undue amount of the RECORD.

Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the list printed at this point in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, let me ask whether the Senator has requested that each telegram be printed in the RECORD, in extenso?

Mr. LEE. No; I have asked that only the names be listed; and in cases in which a number of names appear, I have simply listed the total number and the place from which the telegram was sent, because the Senator can see that too much space in the RECORD would be required by having the entire number of names printed.

Mr. McNARY. I thought the Senator desired to have the telegram printed; and if that were the practice the result might be to have a tremendous volume of telegrams printed.

However, if only a notation of the numbers is to be made, I have no objection.

Mr. LEE. I agree with the Senator. I simply mentioned the fact that there were hundreds of telegrams. I did not even request to have all the signatures printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Oklahoma?

There being no objection, the list referred to was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Alvin W. Hedlin, pastor, First Baptist Church, Yukon, Okla.

James W. Paul, president, the Ministerial Alliance of Chelsea, Okla. (representing five churches).

Mr. and Mrs. E. E. Hill and Mr. and Mrs. E. H. Hempler, Cameron, Okla.

El Reno Ministerial Alliance, Daniel L. Cole, secretary, El Reno, Okla.

Horace C. Casey, moderator, Oklahoma City Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Letter from Walter M. Wick, pastor, Evangelical Lutheran Churches, Middlebury, Ind. Nineteen members of Justice Sunday School, Wewoka, Okla.

Thirty-five members of Turpin Methodist Church, Turpin, Okla.

Members of the Perry Chapel Church, Heavener, Okla. (26 signatures).

Petition from 25 citizens of Caddo County, Okla.

Petition from 42 members of Immanuel Baptist Church of Muskogee, Okla.

Petition from Federated Missionary Society representing the following churches of Lawton, Okla.: First Christian, First Baptist, First Methodist, Central Baptist, First Presbyterian, Beal Heights Presbyterian, Centenary Methodist.

Mr. W. T. Wade, Jay, Okla.

State Association of Free Will Baptists, Wewoka, Okla. (representing 200 churches).

Drumright Ministerial Alliance, Drumright, Okla. (representing 2,500 members).

Mr. A. B. Richert, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Sam W. Scantlan, pastor, Capitol Hill Baptist Church, Oklahoma City, Okla.

E. M. Antrim, Woodward, Okla. (representing hundreds of Woodward church members).

Petition from citizens of Oklahoma City, Okla. (77 signatures).

Members of Methodist Church of Apache, Okla. (33 signatures).

Petition from citizens of Bernice, Okla., with 28 signatures.

Petition from members of the Fellowship Sunday School Class of First Baptist Church of Okmulgee, Okla.

Petition from 78 people of the Naval Reserve Community east of Fairfax, Okla.

First Baptist Church of Wister, Okla.

The Reverend and Mrs. J. H. Farley, Prague, Okla.

Mrs. Harold McIntosh, Shattuck, Okla.

Mr. C. A. Hunt, Muskogee, Okla.

Mr. and Mrs. B. B. Elliott, Wright City, Okla.

E. H. Caiswell, Tulsa, Okla.

Mrs. Mary L. Ridings and Anna Brown, 1616 Northwest Twenty-third Street, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Mr. Clyde Rodolph, Walters, Okla.

James S. Griffes, pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Vinita, Okla.

Rev. Walter F. Specht, P. O. Box 517, Okeene, Okla.

Dr. E. F. Webber, radio pastor, P. O. Box 1144, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Mr. W. L. Johnson, attorney and counselor at law, Chandler, Okla.

Mrs. F. B. Erwin, corresponding secretary, Anna Gordan, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 2108 West Twenty-second Street, Oklahoma City, Okla.

J. Grover Scales, pastor, First Baptist Church, Commerce, Okla. A resolution made by the Northeast Oklahoma Baptist Association.

Mrs. Bill V. Carden, Young People's leader, Baptist Building, Oklahoma City, Okla.

C. L. Barnes, Wister, Okla.

H. K. Sheets, secretary, Enid Ministerial Alliance, Enid, Okla.

Rev. Loren F. Messenger, pastor of First Baptist Church, Bluejacket, Okla.

Mr. OVERTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LEE. I yield.

Mr. OVERTON. Last year the Congress passed an act prohibiting prostitution within such reasonable distance of the Naval and Military Establishments as

might be determined by the Secretaries of War and Navy. The act was approved July 11, 1941.

In the course of his address to the Senate today the able junior Senator from Oklahoma has referred to that act as the May Act. The printed copy of the amendment of the Senator from Oklahoma is upon our desks. On page 3 it contains section 7 which is almost verbatim a reproduction of the act to which I have referred, the act prohibiting prostitution. That act was passed last year.

Mr. LEE. At the beginning of my remarks I explained that that part of my amendment was stricken out, and that the amendment I sent to the desk did not include it.

The amendment which the Senator has before him was printed and was referred to the committee. When I offered the amendment today, the part the Senator refers to had been stricken from it, and it is not now included in it.

Mr. OVERTON. I did not clearly understand what the Senator had to say in respect to that particular phase of the amendment.

I now understand that the amendment which now is on the desk does not follow word for word the printed amendment, not only in section 7 but in other sections; is that correct?

Mr. LEE. It does with respect to liquor.

Mr. OVERTON. It does with respect to liquor?

Mr. LEE. Yes.

Mr. OVERTON. Then the antibawdy-house and antiprostitution features are not included in the amendment as offered by the Senator from Oklahoma; is that correct?

Mr. LEE. That is correct.

Mr. OVERTON. I think that point should be made clear.

Mr. LEE. Yes.

Mr. OVERTON. Because I am in receipt of a great many letters urging me to support the Lee amendment as an antiprostitution amendment.

Mr. LEE. The antiprostitution amendment is agreed to, and already is the law.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LEE. I yield.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, I ask the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma in what material respect the Lee amendment differs from the legislation proposed by our late lamented colleague, Senator Sheppard in the form of Senate bill 860.

Mr. LEE. The only difference is that the amendment which I have offered eliminates the restrictions with respect to vice and bawdy houses. Such restrictions already are the law.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LEE. I yield.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I understand that the amendment submitted by the Senator from Oklahoma relates to matters of policy of the War Department in war-times. Is that correct?

Mr. LEE. It has to do with conditions surrounding military camps.



Mr. CHAVEZ. The environment of military camps?

Mr. LEE. Yes.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I think that the matter is a very important one on which the Senate should pass and I hope that the Senator from Oklahoma will have a ye-a-and-nay vote on the amendment.

Mr. LEE. I thank the Senator. I shall ask for a ye-a-and-nay vote on it.

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LEE. I am ready to yield the floor, except to answer questions. I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. MALONEY. I wished to have a telegram printed in the RECORD, but I did not wish to have it appear in the midst of the Senator's speech. I think that it is appropriate to have the telegram printed in the RECORD at this point.

Mr. LEE. I have finished my statement, but I wished to yield to Senators who desired to ask me questions.

Mr. MALONEY. I have no questions to ask.

Mr. LEE. Nevertheless, I yield.

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, I desire to read a telegram which I have just received from William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor. In connection with the telegram I should like to say that I have received a very great number of telegrams dealing with the pending question; but because the one which I now hold in my hand comes from the American Federation of Labor, and because I think the American Federation of Labor would like to have it printed in the RECORD, I desire to read it now:

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 22, 1942.

HON. FRANCIS MALONEY,

Washington, D. C.:

Senator JOSH LEE has pending an amendment similar to S. 860 to H. R. 7528. The American Federation of Labor is unreservedly opposed to Senator LEE's amendment as careful surveys of the morale in and about the camps of our armed forces show that conditions are excellent. Very few abuses have been discovered as a result of the legal sale of beer, wines, and liquors. The Lee amendment would create wholesale bootlegging in and about the camps and racketeering would run rampant as in the days of prohibition. We urge your support in opposition to the Lee amendment.

WILLIAM GREEN,

President, American Federation of Labor.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President—

Mr. LEE. I yield to the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. REYNOLDS. As a matter of fact, Mr. President, I desire the floor for the purpose of reading to the Members of this body a letter which I received several days ago from the Under Secretary of War, Judge Patterson. The letter relates to the subject now before the Senate—that is to say, the amendment offered by the able junior Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. President, I have listened very carefully to what the Senator from Oklahoma has said, and I desire to say that I commend him and heartily congratulate him upon having brought the matter to the attention of this body. I enjoyed immensely his discourse upon the subject, and I believe that the in-

formation which he has provided has certainly been of some benefit to those who have had the honor of hearing him.

I know that the Senator from Oklahoma is a prohibitionist personally, in practice as well as in theory. I do not think that he need make apologies to any Member of this body for taking up a few moments of its time in explaining his amendment. I am glad that he did do so. Again I desire to express to him my appreciation of the opportunity to vote and to have a record vote upon the amendment, because today the people of America are demanding that their legislators in this national body be recorded as to how they stand on every issue; and certainly within a few years they will go back over the RECORD, will read the RECORD, and will want to be able to ascertain from the RECORD the position of every Member of this body on important questions.

Mr. President, I am sorry that I cannot vote for the Senator's amendment. [Laughter.] I desire to say to him that if anyone could have convinced me, he could have done so, for he has made a very able argument, and I think that the New York Herald Tribune was manifestly unfair when it employed the word "sneaking" in relation to the introduction of his proposed legislation in the form of an amendment. I know, and every other member of the Committee on Military Affairs likewise knows, that the Senator from Oklahoma has been vitally interested in legislation of the sort that he believed would provide the maximum amount of protection for the boys, their morality, and their physical selves; and there has been no "sneaking" about it.

I appreciate the fact that the Senator, like every other Member of the Senate, is desirous of providing the finest sort of protection for the men in the armed forces; but I am unable to follow him now, because I feel it my duty to follow those upon whom we are depending in our efforts to win the war, and they are our Commander in Chief, the Chief of Staff, and the other leaders of the armed forces of the country.

In this connection I may state at this time, because I shall not request to be heard further, that I shall support the amendment to the Selective Service Act which will reduce the age of those to be drafted from 20 to 18 and 19. I shall not endeavor to convince anyone else that the attitude which I am taking in this matter and which, I believe, should be taken by all my colleagues, for I cannot flatter myself to the degree of believing that it would be possible for me to change anyone's opinion, and I do not want to change anyone's opinion. I do wish, however, to take this opportunity to state why I shall vote to reduce the draft ages under the Selective Service Act.

I shall vote to reduce the age limit because those in charge of the conduct of the war, those upon whom we are depending to win the war for us, have told me that they now want drafted boys in the 18- and 19-year-old categories. They do not have to give me any detailed reasons why they want men of 18 and 19

years of age in the Army. All they have to do is to tell me they want them, that they have to have them in order to win the war, and I am not asking why. I am perfectly willing at this hour to take the word of those upon whom we are depending to win the war. Consequently I shall vote on the floor, as I voted in the committee, to draft 18- and 19-year-olds because the War Department has said that the Army wants them and must have them. Their word is sufficient with me.

Now, Mr. President, I should like to read a letter I have received in regard to the amendment of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. LEE]. It is from Mr. Robert P. Patterson, the Under Secretary of War, and is dated October 21, 1942:

WAR DEPARTMENT,

OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY,

Washington, D. C., October 21, 1942.

HON. ROBERT R. REYNOLDS,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR REYNOLDS: You have asked for my views on the proposed legislation to prohibit the sale of all alcoholic liquors at military camps and in nearby communities.

I may add that day before yesterday I took it upon myself personally to direct a communication to the Secretary of War and the Under Secretary of War. I sent those inquiries to the Department by riding page, and the two answers came back yesterday. Mr. Patterson continues:

Those who support this legislation do so in the belief that it would promote temperance on the part of our soldiers. The purpose is laudable. But the War Department believes that the result in actual operation would be to make the maintenance of temperance more difficult. Prohibition in the country at large was repealed some years ago because the people believed that it did not reduce intemperance but rather increased it. There is no reason to believe that what did not bring about temperance among citizens generally would bring about temperance among soldiers.

I am of opinion that the plan now in operation, under which the sale of wine and beer on military reservations as authorized by law is permitted within limited periods of time, works well and has produced good results. By and large, there is temperance in the Army today. We have fewer excesses under the present system than we would have if the sale of these beverages under strict control were done away with and the inevitable resort to speakeasies were reintroduced.

The proposed legislation would introduce other problems of a practical sort that would raise difficulties. How could the Army put a stop to the sale of liquor in adjacent communities without coming into direct collision with the civil authorities? The problems would be very grave indeed where the adjacent community happened to be a large city, as is frequently the case.

For these reasons I am opposed to the passage of a law that would prohibit the sale of alcoholic beverages on military reservations or in the communities adjacent to them.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT P. PATTERSON,

Under Secretary of War.

Mr. President, for the same reason which impels me to vote against the Lee amendment I shall vote for the amendment to the Selective Service Act. In other words, to repeat, in order that my



constituents may well understand my position, I am following the War Department who, I believe, will eventually win this war for us, and I shall continue to follow the War Department so long as I believe they are the proper ones to follow. When—if ever we do; and I pray that never we will—arrive at the point when I feel that those in charge of the military of this country are not capable of winning the war, then and there, I shall cease to follow them and ask, with other Members of this body, for new leaders upon whom we may depend to win the war.

In conclusion, in order that my position may be thoroughly understood, for I, like every other Member of the Senate, want to go on record on every vote, and particularly want my constituents to understand my position upon every issue, let me say that I believe in temperance, as does every other Senator on this floor. I believe that the Senator from Oklahoma should be commended for bringing this subject to the attention of the American people, for the reason that a fool has sense enough to know that liquor itself never strengthened any man mentally, morally, or physically; as has been frequently said, liquor is God's worst enemy and the devil's best friend, and it remains for us to see how best we can control the worst enemy that mankind ever faced. The War Department says that they are controlling it better now than it can be controlled in any other fashion or form; the War Department tells us that they are satisfied with their regulation and control of liquor, and they do not want their superintendency disturbed at this time. I, Mr. President, do not now want to disturb the supervision or superintendency by the Army of our boys in uniform and shall not attempt to do so, with others, until we find out that the Army authorities are not proper ones to follow and are not the leaders to win the war.

Mr. President, if we cannot depend for advice upon the leaders we have selected to guide the Army, upon whom are we to depend? I, for one, shall follow the recommendations and request of the War Department. Therefore, I shall vote to lower the draft age from 20 to 18 and 19, and I shall vote to leave the enforcement of temperance in the hands of the War Department.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, I merely wish to say a few words further, and then yield the floor unless some Senator desires to question me.

I appreciate what the able chairman of the Military Affairs Committee has said, and, certainly, so far as I am concerned, I want it understood that in my belief my colleagues who differ with me on this or any other question do so purely on the basis of what they think is for the best interest of their country.

In my concluding remarks, I said that the main charge which is being made is that this proposal is an entering wedge to national prohibition. I do not think so. I cited that the increase in the consumption of beer from January to July of this year is over 800,000 barrels a month as against 2 years ago, and 500,000 barrels plus against a year ago.

With that trend of increased sale of liquor, if my amendment shall be denied, in my opinion it will leave a weapon in the hands of those who might demand more drastic action than this proposal.

Mr. TUNNELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LEE. I yield.

Mr. TUNNELL. I have not seen a printed copy of the amendment of the Senator, and I do not know whether it has been printed or not, but I sent to the desk for a copy and have received what I suppose is the original, which I have glanced over. The first paragraph of the amendment does not disturb me. As I understand, it prohibits the sale or possession of liquor within a camp.

Mr. LEE. Yes.

Mr. TUNNELL. The second paragraph seems to place in the hands of the military authorities the power of determination as to whether liquor shall be sold at other places. Is that correct?

Mr. LEE. Let me read the language, which is the best explanation. It reads:

In the interest of the common defense it shall be unlawful within such reasonable distance of any military camp, station, fort, post, yard, base, cantonment, training or mobilization place as the Secretary of War shall determine to be needful to the efficiency, health, and welfare of the Army.

And so forth.

Mr. TUNNELL. In my State we have Fort Du Pont, which is perhaps 5 or 6 miles from the city of Wilmington. Of course, well nigh half the population of the State lives in that city. Am I to understand that if the amendment shall be agreed to there will be left to the Secretary of War the power to say whether or not the people in the city of Wilmington, 5 or 6 miles away from the fort, may purchase liquor or have liquor in their possession?

Mr. LEE. I will answer the Senator by saying that in just the same way as the draft law of the First World War left that power in the hands of the Commander in Chief, when it provided that the President of the United States, as Commander in Chief of the Army, was authorized to make such regulations governing the prohibition of alcoholic liquors in or near military camps, and to the officers and enlisted men of the Army, as he might from time to time deem necessary and advisable. Then it proceeded in language similar to that of my amendment. So the present is analogous to the former situation.

Mr. TUNNELL. I ask the Senator whether it would not amount to this, that the determination as to whether or not licenses which have been issued would be of any use in a given community, would depend on whether or not the Secretary of War happened to be wet or dry?

Mr. LEE. Any executive officer may be influenced to some extent by his own personal background, but I am inclined to believe that Mr. Stimson or any man who would be Secretary of War would enforce an amendment like this, or any other law, in good faith, and would enforce it in just as good faith as the Secretary of War enforced a similar law 25 years ago.

Mr. TUNNELL. Then does the Senator believe that the power to legislate on whether or not liquor should be sold anywhere in the United States should be left with the Secretary of War? That is what it amounts to.

Mr. LEE. Not any more than the Members of Congress believed that when they passed the May bill where the same language is used giving the Secretary of War discretion in the same manner over vice in the communities and the Senator might argue whether or not he believes the Secretary of War should have that discretion. But, this body gave him that discretion last year.

Mr. TUNNELL. I will say to the Senator from Oklahoma that we do not have any licensed places of prostitution in Delaware. I do not know whether there are any in Oklahoma or not. If what the Senator states is the situation, is it not granting to the Secretary of War a power of legislation over something which the people have already passed upon?

Mr. LEE. The able Senator from Delaware can answer his own question. I have submitted him a law which was actually carried out. This is not blazing a new trail. It is not an innovation in law. It is not an experiment. It has already been tried and proven through a very bitter war, and it was successful.

Mr. TUNNELL. The Senator then does admit that it would leave the Secretary of War the power to legislate as to how far from a camp liquor could be sold, or whether the people who lived, 5, 10, or 25 miles from a camp could purchase liquor from places authorized to sell.

Mr. LEE. I do not admit that the Secretary of War has power to legislate at all. The language does not say that. It says "in the interest of common defense it shall be unlawful within such reasonable distance." I take it that that word "reasonable" has been proved in law to be a good word.

Mr. TUNNELL. How far is it, if it has been proved?

Mr. LEE. Well, it is like my asking how high is up, how long is a string, what is the name of a certain place, and a number of other things than cannot be answered.

Mr. TUNNELL. I would not put those words in the bill, either.

Mr. LEE. Well, the Senator knows the word "reasonable" is in much legislation.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oklahoma yield?

Mr. LEE. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. Has the Senator considered enlarging his amendment to take in those plants which are manufacturing shells, airplanes, and other things which the armed forces will need?

Mr. LEE. No; the Senator has not considered changing his amendment at all. The Senator saw the amendment changed once on the floor of this body and saw it whittled down to the little end of nothing, and the point knocked off.

Mr. TYDINGS. What I was getting at is this, it seems to me there are two things with which you have to fight a war, and one is soldiers. The other things are weapons and munitions. By the same logic, it is important that no-



body working in a munition plant should be in contact with a saloon or place where liquor can be bought, any more so than that a man in a training camp should not be in contact with it.

Mr. LEE. If the Senator will offer an amendment to that effect, I shall support it.

Mr. TYDINGS. I am not supporting the Senator's original proposition, but I am trying to be logical, and it seems to me that I am logical and the Senator is illogical when he draws the line with the soldier and lets the other people out. For example, it would not be a bad idea to prohibit the sale of liquor within so many miles of Congress. It might do a little good.

Mr. LEE. The Senator says it is not logical, but looking through the laws which governed the prosecution of the First World War—and we certainly can find a precedent there—we do not find such a measure as part of this first draft act.

Mr. TYDINGS. But we ought to learn from experience, and if it worked so well in World War No. 1, as the Senator has said, why not broaden it and get the full benefit of it and allow no liquor to be sold around a war plant?

Mr. LEE. I have already said that I would support an amendment to that effect if the Senator would offer one.

Mr. TYDINGS. Does not the Senator realize there are many boys of the age of 18, 19, and 20 years who are working in the manufacture of airplanes, making shells, machine guns, and weapons? Why bar them from the benefits of this proposed amendment? Why bar them from the benefits and effects of this legislation by excluding them? God knows that if it is so good, we ought not to leave them out in the cold to thirst and die.

Mr. LEE. I will say to the Senator that if what I have heard about most of the plants is true, they do exclude the use of liquor around these plants. That is hearsay. I do not know.

Mr. TYDINGS. Will the Senator further yield?

Mr. LEE. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. Then we have the R. O. T. C. camps on the campuses of most of our universities and State colleges. There is the preliminary training right in each State right at the door. It seems to me that would be another source where we could push these outfits back away from the influences they generally carry with them.

Mr. LEE. Does the Senator know of a college, school, or campus that permits the sale of liquor on the campus or in the school?

Mr. TYDINGS. I am talking about R. O. T. C.'s around the campus.

Mr. LEE. Well, that is where your R. O. T. C.'s are located.

Mr. TYDINGS. Yes; but that is where the soldiers are. The soldiers are on the reservation, but you are carrying your philosophy beyond the reservation, beyond the campus, and beyond the area. Why not be consistent and make it improper to have a saloon, liquor store, or dispensary within 5, 10, 15, or 20 miles of any college campus in the country?

Why withhold the good effects of this amendment?

I believe I might appropriately conclude by citing the Bible. In his epistle to the Galatians, St. Paul uttered a little piece of wisdom. He said, "If righteousness comes by the law, then Christ is dead." We might think that over.

Mr. LEE. The same Bible says, "When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice."

Mr. TYDINGS. Yes; when they are in authority; but it is quite evident that the authors of this Capone amendment are in authority today.

Mr. LEE. I do not believe the Senator meant anything personal by that.

Mr. TYDINGS. No, of course, but "the Capone amendment" would be a very good term for it. We got rid of all that murder, graft, and crime, and loot, and now we are going back to embrace it all over again. That is the road we are beginning to walk upon. I would put every drop of liquor in the world out of business if I could. I would not permit a drop to be made if I could prevent it. I think it is one of the greatest curses that ever afflicted the human race, but we are not doing that here. It cannot be done here. We have tried it before. It has failed. The political party of which the Senator from Oklahoma is a member voted for the man who said he would wipe out the failure and start us again on the road of temperance. I do not say that everything has worked according to Hoyle. There have been many faults committed, but heaven knows I do not want to go back to "the Capone amendment" again after what I and the rest of us have lived through from 1920 to 1932. That is the road we are beginning to take.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, I have respect for the Senator's convictions, of course, even though I differ with him. I now yield the floor.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I realize that the subject now before the Senate is one which gives rise to honest, sincere, and fervid difference of opinion. I realize that however any Member of the Senate may vote his judgment, if not his sincerity, will be misunderstood, if not misinterpreted and questioned. That is a risk we all run when we come to this body and are called upon in great emergencies to vote on laws or on policies.

I am frank to say that I regret that the amendment has been offered by the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. LEE] to the pending proposed legislation, and I say with the greatest respect for him and the greatest personal affection for him, as he knows, and I say it without doubting in the slightest degree his sincerity and his purity of motive in offering the amendment.

The amendment which is now before us raises not only a question of policy but a question of law. It raises a question how far beyond the limitations of a Government reservation set aside and dedicated to the training of our Army we may go in superimposing the power and authority of the War Department or the Navy Department over the civilian authorities in counties and cities where they

are attempting to, and are in a measure, succeeding in regulating the liquor traffic.

I speak impartially on this subject, and I think I may be given credit for at least sincerity and fairness when I say that in the House of Representatives in 1917 I offered the amendment to the food-control bill then under consideration which brought on wartime prohibition in the United States. It was as a result of that amendment that the use of all foods, food products, and all substances that might be used for food, was prohibited in the manufacture of spirituous, vinous, and malt liquors. So that I am not a novice on the subject of alcoholic liquor and its control, and legislation upon that subject.

I supported the amendment which became the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution, not only in the House of Representatives, but I supported it in my State, and while it was in the Constitution, as a part of our fundamental law, I not only urged and advocated its observance among all the people, but I observed it meticulously myself personally, in my home and everywhere else.

Mr. President, I agree with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] that if I could abolish the manufacture and sale and use of alcoholic liquors throughout the world I would do so. But that is not the problem we face today. We have an Army which is being raised and trained, taken from all parts of our country, from all sorts and types of homes, where all degrees of restriction are in force or observed or are not; where there are degrees of liberality which are enjoyed by parents and their families. This conglomerate group of young men is being taken to our training camps. I think it will be a matter of some gratification to the fathers and mothers of the United States to call attention to the fact that from the standpoint of disease among our drafted men, and enlisted men likewise, in the training camps of the United States, the proportion of illness among them and cases requiring hospitalization are very much lower than was the case in World War No. 1. That is with respect to general health and requirement for hospitalization.

I may also say the same thing with respect to social diseases aimed at by the law already on the statute books, and also by the amendment offered by the Senator from Oklahoma. As we know, social diseases have been the curse of all armies in all nations throughout all history. Senators may be surprised to know, and the parents of the boys in our Army may be surprised to know, that that terrible evil has been all but completely overcome in the Army of the United States.

In an address delivered a few days ago by former Senator WADSWORTH, of New York, now a distinguished Member of the House of Representatives, who is familiar with military matters and with our Army, and with the camps—and he has visited many of them—it was revealed that among an outfit of 18,000 men drawn promiscuously from homes all over this Nation, there were only 18 cases involving social disease. That is a lower rate than the rate which exists among the



civil population outside the camps of the United States. I think the fathers and mothers of our country will be glad to know about that, and will be glad to know that from the standpoint of general health also our Army now is beyond comparison with any other Army that has ever existed in our country, and, I dare say, in the world.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I do not know whether the Senator is familiar with it or not, but I have been informed by the War Department that not only is the physical condition of our Army at the present time higher than it ever has been, and that it is higher than the physical condition of any other army probably in the whole history of the world, but that the record of church attendance at the religious centers which have been provided on the military reservations or elsewhere is, I am told, more than twice that of the average American church attendance in the United States as a whole.

Mr. BARKLEY. I thank the Senator from Missouri, and I might add in that connection that the War Department has done what it had never done before, so far as I know, in regard to any army. It has, of course, always had chaplains in the Army, but so far as I recall, never before has the War Department and the Army built chapels within training camps and training reservations for religious services within the camp reserves for the men in training.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. If the Senator will permit me—

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I am also informed that for the first time in the history of the Army the chaplain service has been put under the direct supervision of the Secretary of War and given support and their duties expanded to an extent unheard of before in the history of our Army. The chaplains have not only been given instructions but steps have been taken to see that the instructions are carried out to engage in welfare work on a scale hitherto absolutely unprecedented.

Mr. BARKLEY. I thank the Senator from Missouri. I think it is also susceptible of proof, and it is known, I think to the Army—I know it keeps records—that among the men in training there is a larger proportion of church attendance than is true among the same men in civil life; in other words, they go to church more in the Army camps than they did before they were inducted into the service.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. Before the Senator leaves the thought he is now expressing, I wish to make this observation as to what I saw at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station in Illinois about 10 days ago. Many thousands of troops are located there at the present time. I have never seen finer physical specimens in all my life than I saw at that training center. What I wished to add to what the Senator from Kentucky and the Senator from

Missouri have said is this: I was advised that at that training center there are 40 different places where the boys worship on the Sabbath morning. It seems to me that that strongly corroborates what the Senator has said.

Mr. BARKLEY. I thank the Senator.

In addition to what I have said about the general health of our Army and the almost complete absence of social diseases among those fine, upstanding, robust young men, it is a fact that with respect to the use of the summary courts of the Army, which we all understand somewhat correspond to police courts in cities, where minor offenses are tried and punishment is meted out for misbehavior of one kind or another, which would include drunkenness or minor offenses of all sorts, in comparison with World War No. 1, 25 years ago, considering the number of men in the Army then and now, the necessity to resort to summary trials and summary courts in the Army now is only one-fourth what it was 25 years ago.

I am proud of that record of the Army and of the War Department. As I have heretofore stated, I am a father. My only son is in the Army. I am proud to be able to testify here to the fact that the military officers of our country are not unmindful of the moral and spiritual welfare of those who wear the uniform of our country.

Mr. President, as I stated a moment ago, the amendment offered by the Senator from Oklahoma involves a question of policy as well as a question of authority. I do not know to what extent we have the power to confer upon the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy authority to go outside military reservations and off the territory owned by the Government to superimpose themselves upon the civil authorities of any county, city, or State in the manner provided for in the amendment offered by the Senator from Oklahoma. I think that is a question which ought to be looked into and given study. It has not been given study by any committee of the Senate or by the Senate itself. I have no doubt of our power to abolish the sale of anything on military reservations. I have no doubt of our authority to ban the sale of Coca-Cola, Pepsi-Cola, or chewing gum within military training camps if we should see fit to do so. How far beyond the training camp can we go in any county where there is regulation of the habits and customs of the people? How far beyond the limits of the military reservation can we go? I should not want to pass upon that question without careful study, because I do not know.

I have no doubt that the War Department could put into effect a regulation denying any soldier, even on furlough or leave, the right to go into a place near the training grounds, post, camp, or whatever it may be called. In such a case, however, they could only try the soldier summarily before a summary court for a violation of the regulation imposed upon him as a soldier wearing the uniform of his country. But as a matter of law can we confer authority upon the Secretary of War or the Secre-

tary of the Navy, to say that 5 miles, 10 miles, or 3 miles from the line which separates the camp from civilian territory nobody shall engage in a certain business, although the military authorities have the power to deny the soldier the right to go into such a place?

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. In substantiation of what the Senator from Kentucky has just said, every Senator knows, and the people know, that the military authorities have the power to declare "out of bounds" any area in or near the reservation which they care to declare "out of bounds"; and if a soldier or sailor is caught in such an area he is subject to arrest.

Mr. BARKLEY. Certainly.

Mr. TYDINGS. In France during World War No. 1 any number of places were declared out of bounds. The military police were there, and if any soldier or sailor was caught there he was arrested.

Mr. BARKLEY. He was arrested, though, for violating a regulation of the War Department prohibiting him from going into that territory.

Mr. TYDINGS. That is correct.

Mr. BARKLEY. That did not give the War Department the right or the power to say what may transpire in that territory in the conduct of private business.

Mr. TYDINGS. That is correct. In other words, the military continued its control over the soldier and said, "For military reasons you may not go there."

Mr. BARKLEY. Certainly. The military authorities have the power to do that; and we have the power to confer upon them such authority.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I know of two instances very recently near a military post which is adjacent to my home city of St. Louis. A couple of establishments were being operated under the State law as licensed taverns. The conditions surrounding those places were not deemed proper by the commanding officer. After warning the proprietors did not improve the conditions, and the commanding officer at Jefferson Barracks declared the places "out of bounds." He did not declare the general locality "out of bounds," but merely those particular establishments. He instructed the military police to pick up any soldier found either going into or coming out of either of the places. The result was to ruin the business of those establishments, which had been set up in the neighborhood of the barracks, and they both closed up.

Mr. BARKLEY. The same thing has happened at many places in the country.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. I should like to call the attention of the Senate to an instance which it seems to me would be extremely unfair to the city of Chicago if the Lee amendment should be adopted. Only a short while ago the Army took over the Chicago Beach, Congress, and Stevens Hotels. The Stevens and Congress



Hotels are located on Michigan Avenue, and the Chicago Beach Hotel is perhaps 3 or 4 miles south, on what we call the South Side.

When those hotels were built they were not constructed for the purpose of housing military men. When they were built no one in the city of Chicago ever dreamed that ultimately in this emergency we should find thousands upon thousands of soldiers housed in the hotels and using the parks between the hotels and the lake for drilling purposes. Under the terms of the Lee amendment, because thousands of soldiers are now stationed in the heart of the city of Chicago, that great metropolis would suffer an unusual and unjust injury. In my opinion a reasonable distance would include the entire city. The commanding officer would have the power to control the entire city of Chicago. For lack of strategic and critical materials to build camps, the Army saw fit to take over those hotels as an emergency measure. It would seem to be wholly unfair to a great city like Chicago to have such a situation forced upon it because of that necessity.

We should be going a long way, Mr. President, to pass this amendment. We would be enacting legislation which would be a repetition of what happened in the last World War. As the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYRINGS] said, when we start this sort of thing we invite another Capone ring throughout the United States. Try as we may, we cannot prevent the manufacture of whisky. Revenue officers by the thousands were in Illinois and in every other State in the Union, attempting to enforce the prohibition law; and more criminals arose in this country as a result of prohibition than as a result of any other single piece of legislation which has ever been placed on the statute books.

This, Mr. President, would be the beginning of another orgy of crime and law violations as we had a few years ago. I am sorry to say that Al Capone is from my State. I know what the bootleggers did out in that section of the country. I happen to have been State's attorney of Mason County at that particular time. There was more crime in Mason County when I was prosecuting attorney than any other 4 years in all our history. It was due to the prohibition law which was placed upon the statute books. We had some 15 or 20 taverns in the county. In the old days they were called saloons. After the prohibition law went into effect we had not less than 150. We simply could not keep up with them. We shall have the same thing again if we start now with the Lee amendment.

I do not care what the Senate does with the amendment, whether it refers it to a committee or votes upon it; but so far as the Senator from Illinois is concerned, I wish the country to know now that I will not support something which I believe to be a repetition of what happened in the past, something which would start another orgy of murder, kidnapping, and crime in this great country of ours. Prohibition was a noble experi-

ment, but it woefully and utterly failed to do the job.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I was discussing the power of Congress to confer authority upon the Secretary of War to go beyond military reservations to impose the law and regulate the habits and business of the people.

Let us suppose that we have the power to do so, and that the Secretary should draw a ring 5 miles wide around a military camp, and should ban the sale of any malt, vinous, or spirituous liquor. It would then become the duty of the Secretary to enforce his orders against all violators. He would substitute himself for the local authorities in the apprehension and punishment of bootleggers within that territory. The question is whether, in the midst of this great emergency, we desire to divert the Secretary of War from the duty of trying to catch Hitler so that he may chase bootleggers within certain restricted areas around military camps.

I am against bootleggers. For 4 years I was a prosecuting attorney, and I prosecuted them hip and thigh, wherever I could catch them. However, as between one of them and Hitler, I should prefer that the Secretary of War catch Hitler first. We can attend to the bootleggers after we get Hitler.

Mr. President, it has been stated, and I appreciate the sincerity of the statement, that the reason why the amendment is here is that there has been on the calendar of the Senate for nearly a year and a half a bill which has not been given consideration. That is true; but I think the Senate should realize what has occurred and what did occur with respect to that bill, Senate bill 860, introduced by the late Senator from Texas, Mr. Morris Sheppard, on the 13th day of February 1941. We all cherish and revere the memory of Senator Morris Sheppard. There never was a more conscientious and devoted advocate of a moral reform in the way of the banishment of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic and intoxicating liquors than was Senator Sheppard. On the 13th day of February 1941, he introduced Senate bill 860. It was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, of which he was chairman. The committee took no action on the bill; it held no hearings on the bill. So far as the records show, it did not consider the bill until after the unfortunate death of Senator Sheppard, which occurred on the 9th day of April 1941.

Subsequent to that time, on the 16th of May, I believe largely as a tribute to the devotion and sincerity as well as to the memory of Senator Sheppard, the Committee on Military Affairs reported the bill to the Senate. It held no hearings on the bill. It sought no information from the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, or anyone else in the various departments upon the policies involved in the proposed legislation. On the 16th of May it reported the bill to the Senate without recommendation.

The Military Affairs Committee was undecided whether the bill should pass or should not pass, and simply reported

it to the Senate, and it was placed on the calendar, without evidence, without recommendation, without going into all the ramifications involved in the terms of the bill itself. That is not a matter of unimportance.

The bill provides that it shall be unlawful, and so forth, to sell, supply, give, or have in his or its possession, any alcoholic liquors, including beer, ale, and so forth, within any military camp, station, fort, post, yard, base, cantonment, training, or mobilization place.

That leads to the question, What is a post? All over the country are railroad bridges across navigable streams and other streams. We have bridges connecting cities on two sides of a navigable river, and every night and every day soldiers are there, guarding the bridges which carry our railroads over the streams. I have in mind two or three bridges between the city of Cincinnati, Ohio, the cities of Covington, Ky., and Newport, Ky. The bridges are being guarded by soldiers day and night. Does a place where such a guard is maintained constitute a post within the meaning of the amendment or of the bill? It certainly is a post of duty; and it may be said, and it is said, that the soldier who is guarding such a bridge from sabotage or destruction on the part of an enemy is walking or standing a post in the performance of his duty. Is that a post within the meaning of the amendment or the bill, so as to give the Secretary of War authority to control Cincinnati and Newport and Covington? The same thing would apply to a guard post at a bridge between St. Louis, Mo., and East St. Louis. It would apply to all guard posts at bridges throughout the United States.

The Committee on Military Affairs has not enlightened us as to what is a post, or whether it would be regarded as a violation of law if within a certain distance of such bridges where soldiers are walking day and night guarding the avenues of traffic the conditions proposed to be prohibited were maintained.

Mr. President, I think that the subject involved in the amendment is of sufficient importance to justify more information than we now have, in order to cast an intelligent vote upon it. I think the advocates of the measure should have been heard by the Committee on Military Affairs. I think the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy should have been called and interrogated as to the practices, methods, and regulations by which they are undertaking to control the matter within their camps. None of them was called; but they were required to resort to a letter written to the chairman of the committee by the Secretary of War and, I believe, by the Secretary of the Navy. Mr. President, it has again been necessary for the Secretary of War to write the Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in order that he might state the attitude of the War Department, which is charged with the responsibility of training the men and looking after their comfort, as well as their morals; because the War Department is interested in the preservation of both.



Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. WALSH. I hold in my hand a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, acquiescing in the views expressed by the Secretary of War. I call attention to one sentence which conforms to the views just stated by the Senator from Kentucky:

Let me add that I cannot contemplate the enforcement of this proposed amendment with anything but disquiet. Although the Navy is much smaller numerically than the Army, our responsibilities and the tax on our manpower will be relatively as great.

After the Senator has finished I shall ask to have the letter put into the RECORD; but at this time I point out that it indicates that the Navy is in accord with the Army in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course, Mr. President, the amendment involves many things about which we have had no advice from the committee. For instance, if a war plant were established in a county, and if men were on guard at every gate of the plant to see that those who went in and those who went out—especially those who went in—had a right to go in, the question of the application of the amendment would arise; because those men would be in the Army of the United States, and they would be standing post in connection with their duties at that point. Would that be a post which would come within the terms of the measure? I do not know; but we should have a committee charged with the duty of investigating all the ramifications of the proposed legislation, as well as the policy involved in it.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. Let me say that when they start bringing down witnesses to testify at hearings it might not be a bad idea to find out what some of the Army boys think about the matter. The age of the men in the Army runs from 18 to 64. I think most of them know what they are doing, and I think they understand America pretty well. We have sent them out to do a job, to wipe out the totalitarian crowd. We have complete confidence in their ability to meet the foe in mortal combat, but we cannot trust their personal habits when it comes to drinking beer. What a travesty. I think they should be consulted. They should have something to say as to whether we are to agree to an amendment of this kind.

As the Senator has shown, the morale of the men in the Army is perhaps higher than in any other army in the history of the world. The men in the Army are being told what to do by the military authorities, and they are willing to accept the responsibility. I do not think they will take with kindness a direction from the Congress of the United States telling them that they cannot take a bottle of beer, if they want it, under regulations which now are existing in the camps.

In other words, in my opinion if we agreed to the amendment we should be

destroying their morale, instead of uplifting it. I should like to see a referendum had on the matter, if one could possibly be had from the men in the Army as to what they think about such a matter.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, as I said at the outset—and I do not want to occupy more than another moment or two—I think it is unfortunate that the pending amendment or any other complicating amendment should be offered to the bill now under consideration. As I said the other day, Congress awaited advice from the military officers upon whose shoulders rest the tragic responsibility of conducting this war, to aid us in determining whether we should lower the draft age from 20 to 18. Practically all of us were in the attitude of being willing to do that whenever we were advised by the military authorities, through the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, that such a step was necessary. The President advised us that it was necessary. Both Houses immediately set about to accomplish that result. The House of Representatives overwhelmingly and very promptly and speedily passed the bill, and now it is before the Senate. I might say—and I do not think I overspeak myself in saying it—that if the pending amendment or any other controversial amendment is added to the bill, the bill will not be enacted until some time in November.

Yesterday the House of Representatives passed upon a \$15,000,000,000 appropriation bill, with many Senate amendments, with only 25 Members present on the floor. The majority leader of the House of Representatives stated on the floor of the House that the Members of the House had gone home, and they are not going to be called back until some time in November. I do not think I need conceal the fact that the Speaker of the House of Representatives this morning called me over the telephone to advise me that if this amendment or any other controversial amendment is added to this bill it will not be taken up by the other branch of Congress until some time in November when the Members of the House of Representatives shall return to Washington. It is also stated that they are not going to be called back to Washington to pass on any amendment which is controversial.

In view of that situation, it seems to me it would be unwise to complicate this bill, which the President, the War Department and everyone else concerned has urged with all speed. The young men 18 and 19 years of age have a right to know what their fate is to be; they have a right to know when they are to be called. We have no right to keep them suspended in mid-air not knowing when or whether they are to be called. As I said the other day, the sooner we dispose of this matter the better it will be for the Army, for the people, and especially for the young men of 18 and 19 years of age.

For these reasons, I do not believe it would be wise to attach this amendment to this bill. I think the Committee on Military Affairs ought to consider the matter and should give the Senate the

benefit of their advice and their investigation and research with regard to the law as well as the policy involved in this amendment. Because I so believe, Mr. President, I offer this motion:

I move that the amendment of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. LEE] be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, with instructions to the committee to hold hearings on the subject matter of the amendment, and to report back to the Senate its recommendations as soon as practicable.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I shall not take very much time of the Senate in discussing the pending amendment.

I have been one of those who have strenuously opposed Senate bill 860 ever since it was reported from the Committee on Military Affairs. I lent my hearty support to the enactment of the May bill, which vested in the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy adequate power to deal with the problem of prostitution, but I have been opposed to Senate bill 860 and to this amendment, because I think they are conceived in fundamental error.

All the written history of the human race indicates that the use of repressive measures in an effort to achieve good moral conduct have ended in tragic failure. In this country, Mr. President, we had our experience with prohibition, and it ought to be vivid enough in the minds of the men now charged with legislative power and responsibility to deter them for a long time before they plunge the Nation into conditions such as prohibition produced. Have we forgotten the organized crime, the corruption, the tolerance of underworld characters by citizens who resented interference with their personal habits?

The Senator from Oklahoma in his remarks this morning endeavored to divorce this amendment from the entire frontal issue of prohibition, but I say, Mr. President, that if this amendment is enacted into law, it is but the entering wedge of the long blue nose of the dry's camel under the tent of our statutory law, and it will be but a short time until once more this country is confronted with another organized effort to control personal habits by legislation.

The experience which we had with prohibition, Mr. President, during the war and afterward, until it was repealed, nearly wrecked the law-enforcement arms of local, county, State, and Federal governments. Have my colleagues forgotten the Wickersham investigation and the Wickersham report? If so, they should refresh their recollection. They should recall from the evidence which is already of record and in that report the cancerous growth which had seized upon the law-enforcement agencies of the United States. It resulted in repeal.

Are we to repeat that tragic experience in preparation for a post-war world, with stupendous problems of readjustment, finance, unemployment, and social dislocation? Can democracy survive the corruption and disillusion which will be prevalent as the result of another experience with prohibition? Personally, I do not believe that democracy in this



country can survive another tragic and corrosive experience with prohibition and futile efforts to enforce it.

There is not a scintilla of evidence before any committee of the Congress or any other place, so far as I know, that this amendment is needed. On the contrary, Mr. President, every piece of evidence which we have before us indicates that insofar as the Army is concerned, there is a better control of venereal disease, there is a better control of the liquor problem than under wartime prohibition in 1917 and 1918.

Mr. President, I yield to no man in my desire to see the young manhood of this Nation protected in every possible and practical way. In this connection I wish to read from a speech delivered by Mr. Charles P. Taft, Assistant Director of Defense Health and Welfare Services. This speech was delivered on July 31, 1942, before the regional meeting of the Federal Bureau of Investigation representatives. Mr. Taft said:

As an enlisted man in the Second Division in the last war, I was in France during the period when most of the American Army was trained in this country and I am therefore not myself familiar with the conditions then surrounding camps and naval stations. But at a recent meeting of the Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation, Raymond Fosdick made some interesting comments. He was chairman of the Training Camp Activities Commission in the last war, a position which combined duties now under General Osborn of the Special Services Branch and Mr. McCloskey and Mr. Ness, who, respectively, direct our recreation and social protection programs. Mr. Fosdick was in close touch with conditions in the last war, and during the last 3 months he has visited 20 to 30 of the major areas in the Southeast and on the Pacific coast, observing conditions both inside and outside the camps. He stated to our committee that while generalizations about liquor are difficult, conditions are comparable with results achieved during the last war.

Mark this statement:

He believes that the serving of beer at the post exchanges has not only not produced drunkenness but that the availability of beer has reduced substantially the drinking of hard liquor.

Reports from our field men—

Says Mr. Taft—

With reference to certain States where prohibition exists by State law, indicates that bootlegging and the undesirable features associated with prohibition have returned.

As pointed out by the Senator from Kentucky, the records of the Army show that the necessity for summary courts, which consider all cases of drunkenness, had diminished by 75 percent in this war as compared with the last war when we had wartime prohibition all over the United States.

In the second place, Mr. President, the general hospital records indicate that there has been less drunkenness and less excessive use of liquor among the troops in this war than in the last war when wartime prohibition was in force.

Every commanding officer has all the power necessary to protect the morals, environment, and the conduct of the troops under his command. His word is law on the military post and reserva-

tion. Outside the post and reservation he has the power to place any establishment or any area within transportation distance of the troops under his command "out of bounds." What does that mean? It means that he has the power to utilize the military police to prevent the men in his command from entering any establishment, or going in to any area, if he has placed it out of bounds, unless they suffer arrest and punishment.

I say in all seriousness that the adoption of the amendment would mean a vote of no confidence by the Senate of the United States in every commanding officer of troops in the Army and of every naval officer in command of naval personnel. Has the time come when we are ready to do that, above all, when there is not a scintilla of evidence to show that such action is necessary.

Mr. President, we are trusting the Army and the Navy with the lives of the young men of this country. Shall we not trust them to look after their morals and their personal welfare?

We are about to draft 18- and 19-year-old youths for war. We are doing that, at least I favor doing it, solely because the statement of those charged with the responsibility for the conduct of the war has been that those youths are essential to its successful prosecution, and I am therefore prepared to yield my judgment to theirs, for I must presume that they are in possession of information which I cannot obtain, and that they have made this request only after the most careful consideration.

If we are ready to draft the youth of this Nation for the bloody purposes of war, are we not ready, upon the recommendation of the command of the Army, to trust them to protect the morals and the individual conduct of those youths?

Likewise, these young men are being brought in to be trained for the most difficult job a man must face, the job of fighting in battle. I say that, instead of showing that we do not have confidence in these young men and in the command of the Army, we should give them a vote of confidence by repudiating this amendment, or referring it to the committee for further study.

We are about to accept the word of the command of the Army that these young men are needed. We already have a letter from the Secretary of War and one from the Secretary of the Navy advising us that they are opposed to the amendment, the letter of the Secretary of War stating emphatically that the adoption of the amendment would hurt the morale of the Army. We are willing to accept their word and draft 18- and 19-year-old youths. Are we not willing to accept their judgment on the morale conditions in the Army?

At this point I wish to pay tribute to both the Army and the Navy for the splendid job of morale building they have done with regard to their respective forces. To adopt the pending amendment now would be to indicate that we are not appreciative of the splendid work which they have done in this regard.

Let me also point out that these young men, 18 and 19 years old, in whose behalf

the amendment is supposed to be tendered, have been going to school, they have been going to college, they have been working in communities where, for the most part, prohibition does not exist. There they have been under parental influence and discipline. They will now be under Army discipline, which every man who is at all familiar with it knows is the most effective discipline for the control of men that has yet been devised.

Mr. President, the ultimate destination of these young men is overseas. We are ready to trust them in the hands of their commanding officers in Africa, Asia, Europe, or wherever they may be sent on the seven seas of the world. Are we not willing to trust those young men and their conduct and their morals to those commanding officers here in the United States of America? They are being trained, Mr. President, to fly planes. They are being trained to use tanks, artillery, machine guns, and hand grenades. They are being taught the intricate details of hand-to-hand fighting and bayonet work. They are to be trusted with all the modern weapons of destruction, and trained to the last detail in their use. Shall we not trust them to exercise good judgment, as we would trust older men who have been called for that purpose?

Mr. President, when the war is over the struggle to preserve democracy will be difficult at best.

I appeal to my colleagues not to act in a way which will cause resentment on the part of millions of young men who will be serving under the colors in this war, by inaugurating prohibition in their absence and without their consent, as we did in the last war.

I can testify, Mr. President, from my personal contact with my contemporaries, that when they came back from the last war there was one thing above all others that they resented and that was Nation-wide prohibition which had been inaugurated while they had no opportunity to participate in that decision. Now it is proposed as an entering wedge—without their consent or even giving them a chance to be heard—that prohibition be applied to the men who are being asked to die for this country.

I appeal to Senators not to start the cancer of corruption eating at the vitals of democracy and law enforcement under prohibition. In a troubled post-war world democracy cannot stand such an added burden and strain.

What is the history of the amendment now before us for consideration? It was reported out in February 1941 without any hearings having been held, and without the recommendation of the committee. It has remained on the calendar ever since. Twice, when effort was made to get it before the Senate for action on motion, the motion was defeated. It has no place in the pending bill. If the issue is to be considered at all it should be considered upon its merits alone. It will delay the measure.

The majority leader in the House, Mr. McCORMACK, stated yesterday on the floor that if the proposed amendment were attached to the bill it would result



in the measure going over until some time in November.

Mr. President, let me quote briefly from the record before the Senate committee on page 6. Senator GURNEY was examining.

Senator GURNEY. General, I have no specific questions to ask except this: The Army wants this bill passed as quickly as possible, does it not?

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

On page 16, Senator WALLGREN was examining, and the following questions and answers occurred:

Senator WALLGREN. General, do you think the need is such that you would like to see this bill passed as speedily as possible?

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir; for two reasons: First, we want to correct our present dilemma as to age in these new divisions. We don't want to wait and wait and train men and then have to release them. Secondly, as I previously said, I am rather concerned over the matters that come out in debate, that might be straws in the wind which will enable the enemy to make a pattern harmful to our plans.

From page 20 I read the following:

The CHAIRMAN. You are particularly desirous to get in the 18- and 19-year-olds now?

General MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. President, whom should we follow in this matter? We have expressed a willingness to reach down into the 18- and 19-year-old men because the command of the Army and the Commander in Chief have said they are essential to the conduct of the war. Are we not willing to follow them as far as this extraneous amendment, which proposes to inaugurate prohibition for the troops, is concerned? I repeat, whom shall we follow, Mr. President? Shall we follow General Marshall in his request for speed in connection with the pending bill? Shall we follow the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy in their recommendation against the amendment, or shall we follow the Senator from Oklahoma and the representatives of the dry forces who have been swarming around the lobbies of the Capitol in an endeavor to get the amendment attached to the pending measure? I say, Mr. President, that so far as I am concerned, I shall have to yield my judgment to the Commander in Chief, to the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy in this matter, and vote to refer the amendment to the committee for the study which has never before been given to it.

Mr. SMATHERS obtained the floor.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. O'MAHONEY in the chair). Does the Senator from New Jersey yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. SMATHERS. I yield.

Mr. WALSH. I send to the desk a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the letter will be read.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,  
Washington, October 22, 1942.

Hon. DAVID I. WALSH,  
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR WALSH: Confirming our telephone conversation, I take this means

of expressing the emphatic objection of the Navy Department to the proposed amendment to S. 2748 imposing unqualified prohibition on naval reservations and adjacent areas.

The sociological objections to prohibitory legislation of this kind have been indicated in some detail in the letter of October 21 from the Secretary of War to the Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee. I concur wholly with his comments and the objections he expressed apply equally to the Navy. The affirmative educational and recreational methods and restrictive measures which the Navy has adopted have produced most gratifying results. We are convinced that this approach is more enlightened and effective than rigid prohibition with all its attendant and familiar evils. I am confident, thanks to these constructive and moderate measures, that the liquor evil is under better control now in the naval establishments than ever before. Of course, alcoholic beverages in any form are prohibited on ships in the fleet.

Let me add that I cannot contemplate the enforcement of this proposed amendment with anything but disquiet. Although the Navy is much smaller numerically than the Army, our responsibilities and the tax on our manpower will be relatively as great.

I sincerely believe that the best interest of the Navy will not be served by the adoption of this amendment.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK KNOX.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Jersey yield to me?

Mr. SMATHERS. I yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. GURNEY. I send to the desk a letter from the Secretary of War, the Hon. Henry L. Stimson, dealing with this subject, and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The letter will be read.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
Washington, October 21, 1942.

Hon. ROBERT R. REYNOLDS,  
United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR REYNOLDS: I am gravely disturbed about the proposed amendment to S. 2748 which would prohibit the sale of all alcoholic liquors, including beer and wine, on military reservations and in adjacent communities.

I do not question the motives of this legislation. The practical results I do question and strongly deplore. They will tend to aggravate conditions it seeks to remove, and to confuse a logical program for the control of the liquor evil already in successful operation by the Army. I cannot too strongly emphasize the fact that the effects of the proposed amendment will be destructive rather than constructive.

From the beginning of the emergency the War Department has put into effect a constructive program for building morale and character. Great pains have been taken to provide carefully planned and comprehensive religious activities and moral guidance as well as wholesome recreation for the leisure periods of the men. For the first time in its history the Army has constructed in every unit a chapel to house its religious activities. Not only this, but in cooperation with the various denominational leaders of the country closer supervision has been exercised over the work of the chaplains to see that full advantage of these facilities is taken. The result has already been marked. The reports of the various commanding officers already show that the attendance at these centers of religious and moral activity is such as to be an ample indication of the success of our efforts in this direction. It

has been reported to me that the attendance at the religious services in the Army is far higher than the church attendance in many of the surrounding neighborhoods from which these boys came. At the same time the recreation centers in each unit, guided by efficient hostesses, are daily crowded with men spending their leisure time in wholesome recreation. I am speaking of things which I have personally observed and in which I have a deep interest.

It is my view and that of the War Department that temperance among soldiers is obtained by the application of practical and tolerant measures, from education, supervision, and restriction rather than from flat prohibition. The sale of beer on the military reservations during restricted periods in our belief facilitates self-control and discourages excesses. Prohibit this and those who desire such beverages will inevitably resort to the "speakeasys" and bootlegger outside the military reservation. From my own experience as Secretary of War many years ago, the so-called canteen legislation then passed produced similar disastrous effects.

There are other highly undesirable aspects of the proposed amendment, among them, the fact that it would impose upon the Army the duty of enforcing prohibition in metropolitan areas such as New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, as well as in all other civilian communities throughout the country which are adjacent to Army installations. The obligation, apart from the severe strain it would place on Army personnel, would also involve the imposition of military rule in a form and to an extent which would be most unwise.

I am convinced that any attempt to control the liquor problem through legislation applied exclusively to military personnel will only impede the progress now being made in our own effective methods of attaining temperance; would impose upon us the difficult problem of combating bootleg operations; and would seriously undermine morale. I urge that it not be imposed upon us by the Congress.

Very sincerely yours,

HENRY L. STIMSON,  
Secretary of War.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I am anxious to get a vote on the motion which I made a while ago. I hope Senators will not depart from the Chamber until we shall have disposed of the motion.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Jersey yield to me?

Mr. SMATHERS. I yield.

Mr. BILBO. I offer an amendment to the pending bill, and ask that it be printed and lie on the table, and be printed in the body of the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will be received, printed in the usual form, printed in the RECORD, and lie on the table.

The amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. BILBO is as follows:

At the end of the bill insert the following new section:

"Sec. —. Section 3 of such act, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(g) Persons inducted into the land and naval forces under the provisions of this act who are of the ages of 18 and 19 shall be assigned to duty in educational institutions, in which facilities for military training have been provided pursuant to this section, where they shall be permitted until they reach the age of 20 to continue their educational pursuits while receiving basic military training. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy shall designate an appropriate number of either elementary or high schools, col-



leges and universities and shall furnish such schools and colleges such equipment, facilities, and instructors as may be necessary for the purpose of providing such military training. All costs of such training and education shall be borne by the United States and persons so assigned shall be entitled to the same pay and allowances which they would receive if they were assigned to regular active duty. Nothing in this section shall be construed to prevent the voluntary enlistment of men under the age of 20 for regular training and service, providing the person voluntarily enlisting secures the written consent of one or more of his parents or his guardian."

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I shall make a very brief speech occupying not longer than 2 minutes. I came to the Senate today prepared to vote for the pending draft measure, conscious of the fact that its passage will result in taking for the Army two of my boys, one 18 and one 19 years of age. I shall not vote for the measure if this Anti-Saloon League prohibition amendment is attached to it, because, so far as I am concerned, I would just as soon turn the country over to Hitler as to turn it over to the Anti-Saloon League, the bootleggers, and the Capones of bygone days.

Mr. President, I spent 11 years of my life as a judge in New Jersey attempting to enforce the prohibition statute of that era. I saw what a scourge that act was, how it tended to destroy the body politic of our national democracy. Long before the prohibition statute was actually repealed, we in New Jersey, operating under a State act copied after the national act, ceased to try to enforce an unenforceable act. So, from experience with attempting to enforce the last prohibition statute, I want no part of prohibition in this country, and I can see very clearly that this is the first attempt which is being made on the part of the Anti-Saloon League, which moved back into Washington when war was declared and which is attempting to use the war as an excuse again to foist the curse of prohibition on this country.

Mr. President, I hope the motion of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] will prevail, and that the attempted Anti-Saloon League prohibition proposal will be sent back to committee, to remain there until we shall have won this war.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY].

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I wish the Senate had seen fit to face the issue at this time. I am sorry the majority leader made the motion he did. I can readily understand his reasons for making the motion to have the matter referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and I respect them.

Mr. President, we have heard much lately as to why the Senate is losing face and respect. In my opinion, the reason is that frequently we hesitate to face the issue involved in a question which is pending. The issue now before us is clear. We all know that our country is at war. We all know that it is necessary to modify the Selective Service Act in order to take in the 18- and 19-year-olds, and that is the only thing that should be

before this body now. I am ready to vote immediately to amend the draft act for that purpose. But under our parliamentary situation and under our rules, any Senator may submit any kind of an amendment to the measure.

The Senator from Oklahoma, for reasons of his own, which no one has any reason to question, has offered the particular amendment which it is now proposed to send back to the Committee on Military Affairs. Why can we not dispose of that amendment now? I am satisfied in my own mind that the morale of the boys would not be affected whether the amendment were adopted or not. I know that the War Department and the Navy Department are doing everything possible and everything in their power to keep up their morale, and that the morals of the boys in the Army and Navy are as good as they ever have been at any time in the history of the Army or Navy.

For that reason, I know that the amendment of the Senator from Oklahoma should not be adopted. But why is the Senate hesitating to act the part of a soldier at this very moment? The boys in the Solomon Islands are not referring the immediate battle or action to any committee. They are facing the music right now. I am ready to vote against the Lee amendment now, and I think the Senate is losing face by the fact that it evades its responsibility and does not dare to be counted. I am ready to be counted. I wish to vote against the Lee amendment.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, the American Legion, assembled in annual convention at Kansas City from the 19th to the 21st of September 1942, adopted a resolution opposing the Lee amendment. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks a letter from Francis M. Sullivan, acting director of the national legislative committee of the American Legion, dated October 20, 1942, which includes the text of the resolution.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE AMERICAN LEGION,  
Washington, D. C., October 20, 1942.  
Hon. CHAN GURNEY,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.  
MY DEAR SENATOR: It is our understanding that an amendment to establish prohibition in areas near military posts will be offered to the bill proposing a reduction in the draft age to 18 years.

The American Legion by resolution adopted at our last national convention is unalterably opposed to such an amendment. Legislation of this character is unnecessary. At the present time a commanding officer may declare specified areas as "out of bounds."

Inasmuch as the Legion resolution outlines our organization's position on legislation of this type, giving the reasons therefor, such resolution is furnished in full, as follows:

"Whereas, under the alleged purpose of protecting the men of our armed forces, there have been introduced into the Congress of the United States various bills, particularly Senate bill No. 860, H. R. 7108-7101, and others relating to the same subject, having for their purpose the creation of prohibited areas in the vicinity of Army camps and Navy bases, in which areas beer, wine, and liquor may not be sold; and

"Whereas such action may now be taken in the discretion of the Commander in Chief whenever necessary without congressional action, and introduction of such bills into Congress is totally unnecessary: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the American Legion in national convention assembled at Kansas City, Mo., these 19th, 20th, and 21st days of September 1942, Do hereby recommend to the Congress of the United States, and each Member thereof, that all action on the question of prohibition, and particularly that portion of Senate bill No. 860, H. R. 7108 and H. R. 7101 and others relating to the same subject in reference thereto be deferred until the end of the present war."

Very sincerely yours,

FRANCIS M. SULLIVAN,

Acting Director,

National Legislative Committee.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, the amendment of the Senator from Oklahoma is an exact copy of the bill known as Senate bill 860, which was introduced by my predecessor, the late Senator Morris Sheppard. I have felt a great interest in that bill since I came to the Senate. The bill is now on the calendar, and I have endeavored to obtain consideration for it. The Lee amendment, being a copy of that bill, with the exception of striking out that part which has already been enacted, therefore meets with my hearty approval. I intend to support the amendment. I think it is a good proposal, whether it be in the form of an amendment or a bill. I think we should face the issue now, reject the Barkley motion, and vote on the Lee amendment.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD at this point, as a part of my remarks, a list of the towns and States from which I have received 3,623 petitions favoring the enactment of Senate bill 860, which is the same as the Lee amendment.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

California: San Diego.....	5
Illinois: Onago.....	19
Louisiana: Many.....	2
Maine: Bath.....	56
Massachusetts: Worcester.....	1
Missouri:	
Ava.....	238
Eldon.....	648
New Jersey: Camden.....	231
New York:	
Cortland.....	22
Clinton Corners.....	81
Hornell.....	11
Orleans.....	37
Wellsville.....	6
Oklahoma: Hobart.....	1
Pennsylvania: Waymart.....	53
Tennessee: Chattanooga.....	6
Texas:	
Big Spring.....	45
Dallas.....	39
Houston.....	52
Maypearl.....	69
McKinney.....	12
Pickton.....	5
Princeton.....	27
Raymondsville.....	27
Rosebud.....	31
San Antonio.....	30
San Marcos.....	10
Sherman.....	1,373
Taylor.....	54
Tyler.....	405
Miscellaneous.....	13



Virginia: Lynchburg-----	31
Washington: Seattle-----	1
Wyoming: Albany-----	1
Total-----	3,623

MR. O'DANIEL. I desire to read a letter which I have received from Mrs. Will E. May, of Sherman, Tex., vice president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the State of Texas:

SHERMAN, TEX., October 12, 1942.

Senator W. LEE O'DANIEL.

DEAR SENATOR: I am today sending you what I believe to be the longest petition ever sent to Washington.

It is 35 yards of signatures on the S. 860 bill—1,375 names.

Please may we have it recorded in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD?

We thank you from the bottom of our hearts for standing for this great bill, which was introduced by our own Morris Sheppard.

Thank you and wishing you every success. I am,

Sincerely,

Mrs. WILL E. MAY,  
Vice President of Woman's Christian  
Temperance Union of the State of  
Texas.

Mr. President, I have some further remarks to make to the Senate with reference to the pending bill, aside from the amendment which is before us. However, in deference to a request made of me by the majority leader [MR. BARKLEY] I shall withhold those remarks until after the vote is taken on his motion, at which time I should like to discuss a subject vital to the attempted induction of our teen-age boys into the military service.

MR. NORRIS. Mr. President, I have listened with a great deal of interest to the debate in the Chamber this afternoon. I realize that the motion to refer the so-called Lee amendment to the Committee on Military Affairs will prevail almost unanimously, and that the attitude of the Senate now probably is that we must pass the bill immediately, without any amendment.

That may be necessary, Mr. President; but I do not believe it is. I do not see anything wrong with the so-called Lee amendment. I do not believe that the debate here today against it is fully material to the amendment. I question no man's motives. I realize that every Member of the Senate must be the guardian of his own conscience, as I claim the right to be the guardian of mine.

If any argument against the Lee amendment appealed to me, I would not vote for it. I do not like to be put in the attitude of not following our military experts. I realize that they are in charge of the conduct of this war, and it is right and proper that they should be. I have no objection to the expression of their opinions. I have listened to the reading of the letter of the Secretary of War, and that of the Secretary of the Navy. They make no impression of any weight upon me. I heard read the letter of the Secretary of War, wherein he said that the Army does not want to be put in such a position that it would have to enforce prohibition all over the United States, or words to that effect. He gave an illustration. He did not want to take up the question of drawing a line around New York City and pro-

claiming that city to be within the territory in which the sale of liquor would be prohibited. Yet the amendment itself, by its very terms, gives to the Secretary the authority to fix the boundary.

It seems to me that no man who wants to be fair will claim that the Secretary of War would prescribe in one case the same limitation in miles he would prescribe in another.

The amendment says "within a reasonable distance." I do not believe that anybody would claim that the Secretary ought to put New York City, San Francisco, Chicago, and all the other municipalities and cities of the United States in one or the other of a number of prohibited districts. I think that would be unreasonable. The Secretary of War, with his great ability, ought to be able to see plainly, it seems to me, that this amendment calls for nothing of the kind.

We had this kind of regulation in the World War. I have not heard it criticized today. It seemed to have worked well. The country won the war. We are still alive, struggling in another war.

I have heard what has been said about the fine physical condition of the Army. I listened to it with patriotic pride. I am glad of it. I do not believe that that is any reason why we should permit hundreds of saloons—for that is what they will be—to be set up all around the boundaries of every military camp in the land. The boys, especially the 18- and 19-year-old boys coming from the country—many of them from the farms—are not used to the high life which the cities afford. They are away from home. They may be homesick. They are thinking of their mothers, their sisters, and their sweethearts at home. They are at a period in life when their minds are not completely formed. They are in the formative period of life. They may be discouraged with life in the military camp. They are in a condition, let me say, in which they are liable to be led into temptation. With saloons all around them—and probably they will not be able to get out of camp without going past saloons—there will be many inducements and enticements to young men whose minds are perhaps not fully developed to participate in helping the saloonkeepers sell some liquor in order to make money for themselves.

I do not believe that such a situation is conducive to a better morale in the Army. I do not believe it will develop the boys physically, mentally, morally, or spiritually. We have heard about the churches that have been established. God knows, I am glad of it. I should prefer to establish churches, rather than saloons, around the camps where our boys are preparing and training to save our country from the heathenish and murderous attacks of dictator nations.

MR. President, I do not see anything wrong with the amendment. It seems to be a good precaution to take. As I see it, if saloons were not around the camps our soldiers would be better morally, spiritually, physically, and in every other way than if saloons were in the vicinity. They are not there for any good purpose. They are not there

for the purpose of making the boys healthier or improving their physical condition. They are there in order to get the almighty dollar, to take from the boys the money Uncle Sam has paid to them. That is their only object. Would it be helpful to the boys to leave the saloons there? Of course not.

It is said that in the Military Affairs Committee there was discussion about an amendment which would provide that the young men should have 1 year's training before being rushed to the battle front. The desirability of providing for such training is denied by our military experts. They do not want it. Yet the testimony from all our military experts—going back for years—is full, complete, and without exception, that a man needs at least 1 year's training before he is fit to go to the battle front. All the experts have advocated a longer period than that. They regard that as the minimum. They think the period of training should be a year and a half.

However, when it is proposed to put into the bill a provision requiring the very thing which they have always advocated, they raise their hands in holy horror, and say, "No; we want to run this thing ourselves."

Where are the Members of the Senate who have been proclaiming here and elsewhere that we should not be dominated and controlled by Executive orders and the opinions of executive officials? Where now are those who have been proclaiming that we should show our independence and should pass such laws as we think are right?

MR. President, I desire to speak for a moment about the psychological effect which the position taken by our Army experts has, I believe, upon the people of the country. The mothers of the boys can read in the record that all our military leaders have said, "There should be a period of training for a year and a half before the men are sent to the battle front." They are also confronted with what has happened recently, within the last few days, when it was proposed to make provision in the law for such a period of training, and the same military experts yelled, "No; let us run this thing ourselves."

What is the conclusion the mothers must draw? It seems to me that there is only one, and that is that these military men, these expert soldiers, expect to put our boys at the battle front before they receive a year's training. The people know from the expert testimony which has been given in the past that the boys will not be prepared to go to the battle front where the actual fighting takes place until they have had at least a year's training. So they put two and two together, and they draw the conclusion. It may be wrong; it may be entirely wrong; but that is what they believe, and that is what they have a right to believe, Mr. President, under all the evidence in the case and the record which has been made.

Can we blame them for being suspicious? Can we blame them for losing confidence even in the Government itself when they see that our military leaders have taken two positions so inconsistent



with each other? Does that amount to anything? Mr. President, I tell you that the psychological effect on people in distant parts of the United States may hurt us in the conduct and the winning of the war, in my judgment; but when we examine the record we must reach the conclusion that the judgment of the mothers and fathers of the young men of the country in regard to what their boys should have is justified, and that they have reason to form such a judgment.

I have confidence in our military leaders, Mr. President, but, like everyone else in authority, they want to keep all the authority they can get. It seems to me that if we place in the bill an amendment providing that at least 1 year's training must be given to the boys before they are sent into actual service we shall be doing only what our military leaders have always proclaimed as a proper policy to pursue.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. Has the Senator offered an amendment of that kind?

Mr. NORRIS. No; I have not.

Mr. McKELLAR. Does the Senator propose to do so? If he does, I suggest now that he make it apply to men serving in the combat forces. I agree with the Senator that, under the testimony of the representatives of the armed forces themselves, there is no reason on earth why we should not put in the bill a provision requiring that the men in the armed forces should receive approximately a year's training before they are put into combat service, before they risk their lives in combat.

Mr. NORRIS. I agree with the suggestion the Senator has made; I see no objection to it.

Mr. McKELLAR. If the Senator were to offer such an amendment, I should vote for it.

Mr. NORRIS. I have not offered such an amendment. I have supposed that some member of the Committee on Military Affairs would offer it.

However, Mr. President, judging from the showing which has been made here, judging from the excitement which prevails in the Senate, I believe that no such amendment would stand a chance.

Mr. President, I repeat that I have no disposition or intention to interfere with the proper prosecution of the war by our military leaders. I have confidence in them. However, regardless of my confidence in them, I do not believe they should tell Congress, "You shall not put an amendment in the law, not even an amendment providing for the very thing in which you believe." I think that is going too far.

I should not care so much about putting in the amendment if I did not believe that the attitude of taking inconsistent positions has had an extremely bad psychological effect upon the American people. After all, we must have them with us, or we cannot win. That does not mean that we should do something which we think is wrong. The people do not expect us to do that; but I cannot find fault with a mother who says,

when her 18-year-old boy goes to war, "I do not believe he is fit to go into combat service." He is going to be put into combat service in the distant islands of the seas. He may have to go to the Solomon Islands; he may have to go to Egypt. God only knows where he may have to go. Wherever he is needed he should go; I concede that.

He may go, and he probably will go, where he will meet a foe that is relentless, a foe that is desperate, a foe that is murderous. He may meet him in the wilds of the jungle in the Solomon Islands. His foe may be dressed in clothes just the color of the foliage that is all around him, his face painted the same color. He has to meet that kind of a foe, who has no mercy, who only wants to kill our boys. Our boys should be trained when they go against such a foe. The fathers and mothers of these boys say and our best experts say that there must be a year's training to enable our soldiers to meet that kind of a foe in personal combat in these far-away islands, that they must be trained physically, that they must be in perfect condition, if possible, just as a prize fighter wants to be in perfect condition. They will have a foe to meet who is in such condition, as has been said here today so well by the Senator from South Dakota. Our boys are meeting a foe that is strange. The fathers and mothers of the country have heard all this, and now they have to hear that the Congress will not even amend the law so as to make legal what our experts have said should be the law and the rule.

I heard the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMATHERS] state, I regret to say, that if the Lee amendment were agreed to he would vote against the bill. I was sorry to hear him say that. If that argument is followed through, if we are to be so unreasonable as to cut out all amendments, what would we say if those who favor the amendment should say "We cannot vote for the bill without this amendment?" I do not want anyone to take such a position. I do not want that said. I realize the force of what the Senator from South Dakota has demonstrated, that an Army, made up of young men 18 to 21 or 22 years of age, is better than any other kind of an army we could possibly develop and put into service.

I realize that the 18- and 19-year-old men—boys, as we call them—coming from the homes and the firesides of millions of patriotic parents, are willing to give their lives even without training. We have a right to say, and we should say, "You cannot go into the combat service unless you are trained for it. You must be fitted for it." That is the way to win the war, and I think the experts will tell us so. Are we guilty of anything wrong if we put in the law what they have told us should be followed? Must we sacrifice our consciences and go blindly forward and vote against every amendment, no matter how it appeals to us, and now, this minute, take the bill without amendment, just as the experts want it?

Mr. President, if this difference of opinion related to something which was purely

a military matter, which was disputed, in which there was involved some question of strategy, I should not feel as I do, but I think the experts are going out of the way when on a question such as the Lee amendment, such as an amendment providing for a year's training for the young men, they say that the bill should not be amended by the addition of such provisions. It seems to me that is something which clearly is within the grasp and the jurisdiction of the legislative branch of the Government. Therefore, believing as I do that the Lee amendment was right, that it would provide protection for the boys, would make better soldiers of them, I do not like to see Congress take the step which the Senate is evidently about to take.

Mr. President, I am not a prohibition crank. I know there are two sides to the prohibition question. I do not believe the question is involved in the pending amendment. It certainly is not involved so far as I am concerned. The amendment is intended only to provide protection against the evils which always follow and are associated with unlimited saloons and the other things which go with them.

Talk about bootlegging and regulating the saloons and making them nice. I do not know how a very nice thing can be made out of a saloon. Gambling, lewd women, and various other things always follow in the wake of unlimited saloon power.

There will be bootlegging under any conditions, as it is charged there would be if the Lee amendment were adopted.

Therefore, Mr. President, while I believe it is useless to do so, I am protesting that we are not performing our duty as I see it when we do not enact legislation providing the safeguards which ought to be placed around young men after they are taken from their homes and rushed in to face a ruthless and murderous enemy.

I am, therefore, opposed to the motion of the Senator from Kentucky to refer the Lee amendment to the Military Affairs Committee. I think we ought to vote on the amendment. I believe I would as lief see the amendment killed on a vote as in any other way. I admit it is proper to make such a motion; it is perfectly parliamentary, and is in order; but the effect of its adoption would be to kill the Lee amendment. It could have no other effect.

True, the amendment would be referred to the Military Affairs Committee; but what could be expected from that committee? They are opposed to it. That is evident at the present time. They have a right to be opposed to it; I am not criticizing them; but to send the amendment to the Military Affairs Committee would be sending it to its death. It would be sending it to a pigeon hole where, as we all know, it would never again see daylight. The result would be the same whether we referred it to the committee or voted on it now. I am opposed to sending it to the committee. I am in favor of agreeing to it now as an amendment to the pending bill.



MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED  
BILL SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Megill, one of its clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (H. R. 7672) making supplemental appropriations for the national defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943, and for other purposes, and it was signed by the Vice President.

## THE HOME FRONT

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I should like to make a few remarks, which will take but 2 or 3 minutes, on the subject of the home front, which has been dealt with a great deal in the committee hearings and in the discussion today, because, of course, the bill before us is simply one phase of the manpower policy with which Congress must come to grips again later on.

Whoever reads history and whoever has seen our fighting men on any of our many far-flung battle fronts realizes that the spirit of our armed forces is only as strong and determined and effective as the spirit and support of the people on the home front. There are numerous instances in the past in many different countries when armies, who were well fed, well supplied, and in a not unfavorable tactical situation laid down their arms as soon as they became convinced that all was not well at home. The enthusiasm and the will to win and the unity of the people at home are the mainspring of the war effort.

As Members of the Senate, we have a responsibility for all phases of the war effort, but we have a particularly intimate and close connection with the maintenance of the home front. I know that in any part of the country the people look to their Representatives and Senators to cope with the shortages of coal, fuel oil, coffee, and meat. Both in the interests of the civilian and of the fighting man, these questions must be met. I believe that the rubber situation is on a much better footing now that the control of it has been placed on a unified basis, and I am hopeful that the petroleum situation may make equal progress. My hope is based on the fact that in a recent letter to me the President agreed with the thought which I have embodied in a bill now in committee awaiting action setting up a Nationwide system of petroleum control under a unified head. Of petroleum and its products we have plenty. Transportation is the bottleneck. This is an illustration of constructive cooperation and a suggestion which is welcomed by any democratic American chief of state.

This is the cooperative spirit which should be employed between men of different parties in war—and not the spirit of untruth and recrimination.

In this connection it will amuse Senators to be told that I am being charged in certain quarters in Massachusetts with responsibility for the fact that we are not getting fresh, juicy Argentine beef. This is a weird contention which must spring from a desire to attract attention rather than a desire to cooperate helpfully in the war effort.

Every schoolboy knows that the carrying out of our trade agreements is an entirely executive function for which the Secretary of State has complete power. There is a majority here composed of the members of the administration's party which can at any time take whatever action is necessary or desirable to get Argentine beef.

Maybe the President does not think that it is advisable at the present time to appease nations with strong Axis sympathies by buying their beef. Maybe he does not think it would be advantageous to the health of Americans to import beef which is not always free from foot and mouth disease. With the shipping shortage as serious as it is, the President may not think it justifiable to divert ships from the war effort to go to the Argentine to get this beef and to divert naval ships from their combat duty in order to convoy them.

There is also no dispute whatsoever that it was the settled policy of this Government, to which I was opposed, to slaughter large numbers of young animals and to plow under large amounts of crops in the fear that we would produce too much food in this country. Most of our food shortage is strictly man-made.

Mr. President, if we are to meet the needs of the home front, we must do so in a more serious and manly way than that. It is not a matter to be treated politically, but cooperatively. When we see the sacrifices that the mothers of America are making, when we comprehend the days and nights of anxiety which they are experiencing, when we know their worries about their men and sons in service, when we realize their problems of housekeeping under rationing, it becomes hard to understand those who talk about the complacency of the American people toward this war. In my own State of Massachusetts, a major contribution to the war is being made. One of the largest States in point of production of weapons, it is also one of the largest in the number of men that it has sent to the armed services. Go through any of the hundreds of war factories in Massachusetts, Mr. President, and you will find no apathy and no complacency. Step into the homes of the boys who have left and you will find no apathy and no complacency there.

On the contrary, there is a demand to win the war and win it quickly. There is a determination never to have a negotiated peace, never to stop short of complete decisive victory. There is an all-out desire to win the peace, after we have won the war. It must be a peace based on a practical basis of common sense—a common sense sometimes called wisdom.

To accomplish these things, people expect their Senators and Representatives to be serious and cooperative rather than frivolous and political. The people can be trusted and are rarely fooled. They are always far ahead of any candidates who base their campaigns on misrepresentation, half truths, and egoism. They think that Congress has many big jobs on its hands. People are more interested than we generally realize in what preparations are being made to prevent

unrest, unemployment, and poverty when the war is over. They think Congress should be thinking about such things instead of taking valuable time on the radio and valuable space in the press in the attempt to show that one Senator of the minority is responsible for our not having Argentine beef.

Ability, not politics, will win the war.

INVESTIGATION OF PROBLEMS OF THE  
WAR

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, I shall not long delay the Senate. I realize that Senators are desirous of having an early vote on the pending question.

Mr. President, I listened with a great interest to the statement made by the able Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], and appreciate, as other Senators do, the depth of feeling with which he discussed this bill. I find myself in sympathy with that part of his remarks referring to the treatment that we might accord the 18-year-old young men under this proposal and I should like, therefore insofar as that part of his remarks are concerned, to associate myself with them. I think that one point he made is of great importance. He referred to our conduct in connection with the winning of the war, and to the confusion of statements, and to the need that Members of Congress, and particularly Members of the Senate, exercise their own good judgment in connection with matters of major importance.

Mr. President, for many years there has scarcely been a time when the Congress has not been confronted with one or more major proposals. And now, in the excitement of the war, we find ourselves at times more crowded than is customarily the case. I feel that this bill comes before us rather hurriedly, and that we are asked—and almost compelled—to decide this tremendously important matter without very long consideration.

All is not well with us, Mr. President. We do not always have the information which we should have. Perhaps there are sometimes good reasons for that. The President of the United States cannot on every occasion consult with each and every individual Member of Congress. All of us know that the heads of the Military and Naval Establishments cannot, at our beck and call, come to the Congress, or permit each of us to take up their time whenever we desire particular information. But, Mr. President, we cannot for a moment overlook the fact that we are an important part of the Government—one of the three great branches of the Government. We should be informed. We should know of our successes and our failures. We should have the facts and figures. We should not under any circumstances be denied the opportunity of contributing our full part in the war effort. There are some in high places making or helping to make important decisions in connection with this war, who are not as well equipped and trained, in my judgment, as are some Members of Congress.

So, Mr. President, if I may obtain unanimous consent to submit now, out of order, a concurrent resolution, I should



like to do so, and ask that it be at least read at this time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The concurrent resolution will be read.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 36) was read, as follows:

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there is hereby created a joint congressional committee to be known as the Joint Committee on War Problems (hereinafter referred to as the "joint committee"), and to be composed of six Members of the Senate to be selected by the Senate and six Members of the House of Representatives to be selected by the House of Representatives. Not more than three of the members of the joint committee selected by the Senate, and not more than three of the members of the joint committee selected by the House of Representatives, shall be from the same political party. The joint committee shall select a chairman from among its members. A vacancy in the membership of the joint committee shall not affect the power of the remaining members to execute the functions of the joint committee, and shall be filled in the same manner as the original selection.*

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the joint committee to make a special study and investigation of the problems arising out of the war under existing and future acts of Congress; to confer with the President, and with the various departments and agencies of the Government, from time to time, with respect to such problems; to consult with other committees of both branches of the Congress, and to report to the Congress from time to time, together with such recommendations with respect to legislation as it deems advisable.

SEC. 3. For the purposes of this concurrent resolution, the joint committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Seventy-seventh and succeeding Congresses, to employ such clerical and other assistants, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, and to make such expenditures, as it deems advisable. The cost of stenographic services to report such hearings shall not be in excess of 25 cents per hundred words. The expenses of the joint committee, which shall not exceed \$ , shall be paid one-half from the contingent fund of the Senate and one-half from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the joint committee.

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, the concurrent resolution is a simple one, and consequently self-explanatory.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MALONEY. I yield.

Mr. HAYDEN. The resolution speaks of dealing with the "problems" of the war. The word "problems" has a wide meaning. I am sure the Senator does not mean to create a committee on the conduct of the war, such as the Congress created during the Civil War, which embarrassed and harassed President Lincoln. It called before it generals to explain why they did not carry on a battle in a certain way. That is not the Senator's idea, is it?

Mr. MALONEY. The Senator is entirely correct. That is not my purpose.

Mr. HAYDEN. I believe that the Congress has a perfect right to follow up

appropriations of money to see that they are expended in accordance with the appropriating act. We now have a committee of that kind, known as the Truman committee.

Mr. MALONEY. That is correct.

Mr. HAYDEN. That is its function. The chairman of that committee has repeatedly said that it was not his desire, or the intention of the committee, in any way to attempt to dictate the strategy of the war. They are merely following appropriations of money to see that they are expended as the Congress intended. If we are to create a new committee, what functions would the committee which the Senator proposes to establish have which are different from those of the Truman committee?

Mr. MALONEY. I think the language of the resolution explains itself. The purpose of the committee would be to make a special study and investigation of the problems arising out of the war. I use the word "problems" rather than "conduct." I provide in the resolution that whatever the committee does shall be under existing law or laws hereinafter enacted. I wish to make it entirely clear that this is not a criticism of anyone or lack of trust in anyone, and that it is not intended to bring about an investigation of the conduct of war, because I think I understand as well as does any other Senator that the President of the United States is charged with the conduct of the war. I will support the leadership of the President of the United States in the conduct of the war.

Senators know that from time to time we gain information which is not altogether pleasant or satisfactory. We acquire it in the strangest places. We realize that for the welfare of our country we are denied the opportunity to criticize, and we do not wish to criticize; but I maintain that the Congress of the United States has been denied the opportunity to make a full and proper contribution to the war effort.

We are faced with bills which oftentimes come before us without very much study, and we are handicapped because there is ever present the need for secrecy. What I wish to do is to set up a committee of Congress—I hope of the best minds in Congress—selected by the leadership of both parties. Let me say in parenthesis that I would not expect to be on the committee. It would be a small group which could consult with the President of the United States at his convenience and desire. It could consult with the Secretaries of War and Navy and the heads of various other governmental departments and agencies. I fully realize that it may not always be wise to tell every Member of Congress what goes on; but I should like to know that a small but representative group of my colleagues is in constant consultation, affording their advice, with the understanding that as they feel that there is need that we be informed, they can bring us into conference, behind closed doors, if necessary.

We should have an opportunity, in the early stages of the formulation of legislation, to present our viewpoint, the viewpoint of the Congress, in order that

controversies might be avoided or curtailed when bills come to the Congress of the United States.

I can see nothing wrong with the proposal. There is nothing behind it except a desire to use fully the services and talents of the Members of the Congress of the United States, talents which, in too many instances, are now not completely exercised. Every Senator knows that we have not been given a full opportunity to serve.

I shall probably discuss the current resolution at greater length at a later time. Just now I do not wish to take up too much of the time of the Senate.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MALONEY. I yield.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I feel altogether in sympathy with the purpose enunciated by the Senator from Connecticut. I think it is extremely wise that the Congress should appoint a committee of this kind; but I rise to ask the Senator if it is his intention to have the concurrent resolution referred to a committee or to have it acted upon now.

Mr. MALONEY. If I may have permission to offer it now I shall ask that it be referred to the appropriate committee.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. As I read it, I should like to offer some suggestions for modification.

Mr. MALONEY. I think it could be considerably improved.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Recently there was a joint committee, composed not only of Members of the Senate and House, but also of the executive departments, which conducted a study of our economic system. The committee sat for almost 3 years. Its published findings found a very remarkable welcome among the people of the United States.

Only a few days ago I had occasion to file a report from the Superintendent of Documents showing that more than 180,000 copies of the hearings and the monographs printed by the T. N. E. C. have been purchased by the public of the United States, who have paid almost \$75,000 to the Superintendent of Documents for those issues.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the concurrent resolution will be received, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

#### REDUCTION OF DRAFT AGE LIMIT

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY].

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I am opposed to the Lee amendment to the pending selective-service bill because it would revive the "noble experiment" of national prohibition, with our boys in uniform as guinea pigs. As a consistent and outspoken opponent of the eighteenth amendment throughout my tenure in the Senate, I am emphatically against any attempt to revive the same harmful proposition in another guise.



During and after World War No. 1, prohibition had a full opportunity to prove its worth in promoting real temperance. In actual experience, prohibition proved a complete failure in accomplishing its worthy purpose. The history of those times is replete with excesses, crime, racketeering, bootlegging, and denial of civil liberties. In overwhelming numbers, the people of my State are writing and wiring me in opposition to any return of that corrupting influence in our national life.

The records of the War Department show splendid progress in achieving real temperance, sobriety and religious observance among our military personnel. This progress can only be retarded and probably reversed by the proposal in the Lee amendment to enforce temperance with the bayonets of M. P.'s. This proposal is repugnant to our whole tradition of freedom and civil rights. It is an absolutely unjustified reflection upon our boys in the service, as well as on the rest of the population in places surrounding military camps—places so broadly defined as possibly to include whole metropolitan areas.

I should like to insert in the RECORD a letter received by me from Mr. Thomas H. Beck, the president of the Crowell-Collier Publishing Co., with an editorial from Collier's entitled "Ride the Tide," an antiprohibition editorial which was printed by Collier's magazine in 1932.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New York?

There being no objection, the letter and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CROWELL-COLLIER PUBLISHING CO.,  
New York, October 21, 1942.

Hon. ROBERT F. WAGNER,  
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Good Lord! Surely you, of all men, are not going to aid, abet, or invite the return of bootleggers, hijackers, racketeers, and the vast criminal army spawned by prohibition.

Long, bitter, and costly experience with the "experiment noble in purpose" should convince you that we cannot afford such crass stupidity.

Another such reign of terror is unthinkable.

Please, oh, please, dear Senator, block this absurd amendment.

Enclosed you will find an editorial from the July 30, 1932, edition of Collier's. Ten years have passed, and nothing has occurred to change our opinion.

Sincerely and respectfully,

THOMAS H. BECK.

#### RIDE THE TIDE

With profound satisfaction good Americans realize that national prohibition is on the road to swift oblivion. The change has come more quickly than seemed possible. The only questions remaining are how a lawless traffic is to be tamed and brought under reasonable legal control.

In the general feeling of relief Collier's shares. In 1925 this magazine began to make a comprehensive study of the actual operations of the eighteenth amendment.

Our representatives went into every section of the country seeking a cross section of national opinion and talked with 263,583 men and women in American homes.

Sixty-eight percent of those visited were not satisfied with existing conditions.

Sixty-one and two-tenths percent of them said that prohibition was not being enforced in their neighborhoods. But 60.9 percent believed that the law was enforceable. The weight of disagreeable facts has changed that belief.

Our reporters went into the so-called dry and wet areas and found that everywhere the law was being nullified. Without prejudice we presented the facts, shocking as were the conditions uncovered.

From many influential quarters the articles and editorials we published were opposed and resented. Bitter letters were written to us. We were denounced as paid agents of the liquor ring.

The truth was and is that Collier's consistently fought the saloon until it was abolished, and steadily advocated temperance. Collier's now opposes the return of the saloon, and Collier's still advocates temperance. Collier's, however, was not and is not in favor of the bootlegger or of the secret illegal traffic in beverage alcohol.

From the very outset Collier's pointed out that just three courses were available: Prohibition could be obeyed and enforced. The law could be nullified. The amendment could be repealed.

We said that if the American people were willing to obey and enforce prohibition the issue would be settled. Investigation, however, produced overwhelming evidence that the prohibition law was being neither obeyed nor enforced.

When first presented our findings were challenged and our good faith was impugned. When, later, the Wickersham Commission appointed by President Hoover confirmed in every essential the facts Collier's had presented, the situation could no longer be denied.

We said that nullification was more sinister than the movement to spread slavery had been. We showed that nullification entails corruption, bribery, violence, and general contempt for law.

The only possible refuge was repeal and revision of the eighteenth amendment. Many said that repeal was impossible and nullification inescapable.

Collier's has too much faith in the inherent strength, sanity, and decency of the American people ever to have accepted such a doctrine of despair. We knew that once the facts were clearly understood by the voters, rational action would be taken.

Republican and Democratic politicians alike know that the eighteenth amendment is dead. The task ahead is to provide a constitutional burial.

In their wisdom, or caution, the makers of our Constitution provided two ways for amending that document:

First, Congress by a two-thirds vote may propose an amendment. This becomes effective when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States or by State conventions summoned for the purpose.

Second, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the States, Congress shall call a convention for proposing amendments. These become effective when ratified by three-fourths of the States.

Prohibition emphatically is not a matter which can be dealt with slowly. Once the votes are recorded in favor of a change, enforcement will be more difficult than ever.

Concerted action is vital in order to escape an interim of indescribable lawlessness.

In every State plans should be carefully worked out as quickly as possible for handling the situation between November next and the time of the formal repeal of the eighteenth amendment.

We shall manage affairs differently in the sundry States. What is satisfactory in Georgia won't meet the views of the people of Illinois or Rhode Island. Whatever plan

is adopted must be so well fitted to State conditions as to be practicably administered.

We are in the throes of a great revolution in public sentiment. Never have we had a greater opportunity to demonstrate our capacity reasonably to manage our affairs.

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the RECORD telegrams and letters I have received from Bishop William C. Martin, of Kansas, Dr. H. A. Kelsey, president of Sterling College, Dr. Orville S. Walters, president of Central College, and other prominent Kansans, who favor the Lee amendment. I heartily approve the stand taken by these citizens of Kansas.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Kansas?

There being no objection, the telegrams and letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOPEKA, KANS., October 21, 1942.

Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,  
Senate Building, Washington, D. C.:

The bishop, 20 district superintendents, and representative pastors representing 250,000 Methodists of Kansas and Nebraska now in session in Topeka unanimously support the Lee amendment and congratulate you and by resolution this afternoon commend your stand in favor of the amendment to the pending draft act. They ask that you use every effort of which you are capable to force a roll call on this legislation so vital to the protection of millions of young Americans in the formative age of their life. We shall not be satisfied with anything less than an official roll call.

BISHOP WILLIAM C. MARTIN,  
E. F. BUCK, Secretary.

STERLING COLLEGE,  
Sterling, Kans., October 19, 1942.

Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR CAPPER: Many of us have been waiting for the day when somebody would introduce a measure that would prohibit alcoholic liquor in and about the various camps of the United States Army; and now that Senator LEE has introduced such a measure and the Senate is about to vote for the lowering of the selective-service age to 18, we believe this measure should be adopted. We have every reason to believe you will do what you can about this, but we wanted you to know we are behind you and wish you every success.

If this measure should not go through as an amendment to the selective-service bill, it should come up on its own and be thrashed out in the National Legislature.

Very sincerely,  
H. A. KELSEY, President.

MCPHERSON, KANS., October 22, 1942.  
Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,  
Washington, D. C.:

On behalf of 1,100 Kansas constituents of this college I wish to urge strongly that you back the Lee amendment to draft bill.

ORVILLE S. WALTERS,  
President, Central College.

WICHITA, KANS., October 22, 1942.  
Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,  
Washington, D. C.:

The Lydian class of the College Hill Methodist Sunday School with 40 stars in its service flag urges the adoption of the Lee amendment. We will be interested in the report of your vote.

Mrs. A. D. CATLIN, President.



HUTCHINSON, KANS., October 22, 1942.  
Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,

Washington, D. C.:

We are seriously concerned as to the problems involved in drafting 18- and 19-year-old boys. Therefore we urge that you do everything in your power to see that the bill provides for safeguarding these boys from the menace of liquor and vice now existing about the camps.

OFFICIAL BOARD, FIRST METHODIST CHURCH.

HUTCHINSON, KANS., October 22, 1942.  
Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,

Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

United Dry Forces of Reno County, Kans., earnestly petition you to use your influence and power as a public servant to procure laws in this emergency to speedily end commercialized vice, liquor traffic, and gambling in and around the places where military and war-work forces are located for the reason this would preserve high efficiency, better health and morale, clearer minds, and stouter hearts to win the war.

UNITED DRY FORCES,

FRANK U. RUSSELL,

Chairman,

Rev. C. H. REEP,

Secretary.

WICHITA, KANS., October 19, 1942.  
Hon. ARTHUR CAPPER,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Note that Senator LEE, of Oklahoma, will demand inclusion in bill to draft 18-19 group, to prohibit the selling of liquor in regions around Army and Navy camps.

Hope it is not too late to pass this amendment, and feel sure you will work hard and do all in your power to put the bill through.

If the time has come that we must draft our 18- and 19-year-old boys, every Member of Congress should vote for this inclusion in the bill.

Feel that it would be almost an unpardonable sin for any Member to vote against the passage of this amendment.

With best wishes, I remain,

Yours truly,

A. L. GRISWOLD.

THE BAXTER STATE BANK,  
Baxter Springs, Kans., October 19, 1942.

Hon. ARTHUR CAPPER,

Senator of State of Kansas,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CAPPER: I have noticed that the Honorable JOSH LEE has said that he will introduce an amendment to the law calling the 18- and 19-year-old boys to service, making the sale of beer and whisky in and near training camps illegal. I am confident that you will vote for that measure, but I do want you to know that the folks back here are very anxious for the amendment to pass and will appreciate it very much if you will work for it as much as possible.

There is no need for me to write a long letter setting out the conditions caused by beer and whisky being sold in and near these camps, because I am sure that you know these conditions already. There is no question but what it will be a big help not only to the boys, but to our families and to the country if this sale is stopped now.

Thanking you for whatever you can do in this matter, I am,

Yours very truly,

RILEY BURCHAM,

Cashier.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY].

Mr. McNARY. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. GURNEY. Are we to vote on the amendment itself or on the motion of the Senator from Kentucky?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The vote is to be on the motion of the Senator from Kentucky.

On that question the yeas and nays have been demanded and ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BARKLEY (when Mr. CHANDLER's name was called). My colleague the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER] is unavoidably absent from the Senate because of a death. If he were present he would vote "yea."

Mr. DAVIS (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER]. I understand that he would vote as I am about to vote, so I am free to vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. O'MAHONEY (when Mr. SCHWARTZ's name was called). My colleague the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SCHWARTZ] is unavoidably absent. I am advised that if he were present and voting he would vote "yea."

Mr. DANAHER (when Mr. TAFT's name was called). The senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT] is unavoidably detained on important public business. I have not been informed by him as to how he would vote on this matter, since it has come up collaterally. Therefore, I shall not impose on the RECORD any reflection of his views.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, my colleague the senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD], who is necessarily absent, is paired with the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN], who is also necessarily absent. I am advised that, if present and voting, the Senator from Nevada would vote "yea," and the Senator from Alabama would vote "nay."

The Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. TRUMAN] are unavoidably absent. I am advised that, if present and voting, those Senators would vote "yea."

The Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HUGHES] are absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. BROWN], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HERRING], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], and the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. STEWART] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS], who is detained on public business, has a general pair with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES]. I am advised that, if present and voting, the Senator from Utah would vote "yea."

Mr. McNARY. The Senator from Indiana [Mr. WILLIS], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. BROOKS], and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKIN], are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Oregon [Mr. HOLMAN], who is necessarily absent, has a general pair with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. STEWART].

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], who is necessarily absent, has a general pair with the Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS].

I am advised that the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BARBOUR], who is necessarily absent, would vote "yea," if present.

The result was announced—yeas 49, nays 25, as follows:

#### YEAS—49

Austin	Guffey	Radcliffe
Bailey	Gurney	Reynolds
Ball	Hatch	Shipstead
Barkley	Hayden	Smathers
Bone	Hill	Spencer
Brewster	Johnson, Calif.	Tunnell
Bulow	La Follette	Tydings
Bunker	Lodge	Vandenberg
Burton	Lucas	Van Nuys
Clark, Idaho	McFarland	Wagner
Clark, Mo.	McKellar	Wallgren
Danaher	McNary	Walsh
Davis	Maloney	Wheeler
Downey	Mead	White
Ellender	Murdoch	Wiley
Gerry	O'Mahoney	
Green	Overton	

#### NAYS—25

Aiken	Doxey	O'Daniel
Andrews	George	Rosier
Bilbo	Gillette	Russell
Butler	Kilgore	Smith
Byrd	Langer	Thomas, Idaho
Capper	Lee	Thomas, Okla.
Caraway	Maybank	Tobey
Chavez	Norris	
Connally	Nye	

#### NOT VOTING—22

Bankhead	Holman	Schwartz
Barbour	Hughes	Stewart
Bridges	Johnson, Colo.	Taft
Brooks	McCarran	Thomas, Utah
Brown	Millikin	Truman
Chandler	Murray	Willis
Glass	Pepper	
Herring	Reed	

So Mr. BARKLEY's motion was agreed to, and Mr. LEE's amendment was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I understand the adoption of the motion on which we have just voted creates a situation whereby the committee amendment is now before the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator is correct.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL] desired to address the Senate on another subject today but postponed his address until we could conclude the vote on the motion which has just been agreed to. Would the Senator from Texas prefer to proceed now or to wait until tomorrow and be recognized at that time?

Mr. O'DANIEL. I should prefer to wait until tomorrow.

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, at the request of the secretary of state of the State of Connecticut, Mr. Chase Going Woodhouse, I should like to read and have inserted in the RECORD a telegram which I have just received. It does not relate to the amendment which has just been under discussion, but does relate to soldiers. It reads:

We have heard information on war ballots is not reaching men in service. Only 50 applications received here daily. Will you re-



quest War and Navy Departments to publicize information more effectively?

CHASE GOING WOODHOUSE.

#### INSTRUCTION OF METEOROLOGICAL STUDENTS IN WEATHER FORECASTING

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2693) to provide for the instruction of meteorological students in weather forecasting, which was, on page 2, line 8, to strike out all after "training." down to and including "date" in line 10, and insert "No scholarship shall be granted under this act after the termination of the wars in which the United States is now engaged or such earlier date as the Congress by concurrent resolution may fix, and any contract or other obligation entered into under this act shall expire not later than 1 year after such termination or such earlier date, as the case may be."

Mr. BAILEY. I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

#### CONFIRMATION OF POSTMASTERS

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, as in executive session, I ask unanimous consent that the postmaster nominations on the calendar be confirmed en bloc, and that the President be notified.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the postmaster nominations are confirmed

en bloc, and the President will be notified immediately.

#### CONFIRMATION OF NAVAL NOMINATIONS

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, in reporting from the Committee on Naval Affairs a long list of promotions in the Navy, covering several pages, it would save some expense to the Government if permission were granted to have the nominations not sent to the calendar, but acted upon today. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the nominations may be considered at this time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. WALSH. I ask that the nominations be confirmed en bloc.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nominations are confirmed en bloc, and the President will be immediately notified.

#### RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate take a recess until 11 o'clock a. m., tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to, and (at 5 o'clock and 46 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Friday, October 23, 1942, at 11 o'clock a. m.

#### CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 22 (legislative day of October 15), 1942:

#### IN THE NAVY

##### PROMOTIONS IN THE REGULAR SERVICE

The nominations of James M. Steele et al. for promotions in the Navy.

(NOTE.—A full list of the names of the persons whose nominations for promotion in the Navy were confirmed today, may be found in the Senate proceedings of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for October 19, 1942, under the caption "Nominations", beginning with the name of James M. Steele on page 8641 and ending with the name of Earl E. Carlsen on page 8642.)

##### POSTMASTERS

###### ARKANSAS

Herbert D. Russell, Conway.  
Lillie Q. Lowe, Gillett.  
Charlie O. Sawyer, Hamburg.  
Hugh Murphy, Huntsville.  
Fred M. Johnson, Huttig.  
Myrt Walrond, Pocahtontas.  
Paul Janes, Rayenden.  
Donald W. Hall, West Memphis.

###### FLORIDA

Kirby D. Rooks, Bonifay.  
LeRoy E. Diggins, Delray Beach.  
Harold G. Hull, Groveland.  
Emma S. Fletcher, Havana.  
William P. McKeown, Sneads.  
Ralph W. Hartman, Stuart.

###### KENTUCKY

Nora Dixon McGee, Burkesville.

###### NEW HAMPSHIRE

Harold B. Pinkham, Milton.

###### WYOMING

Bessie Adkins, Medicine Bow.

# S. 2748

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 22 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

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## AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. BURTON to the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, viz: On page 2, strike out lines 3 to 10, inclusive, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

1        SEC. 2. Any person who, during the year 1942, entered  
2 upon attendance for the academic year 1942-1943—

3            (1) at any high school (or similar institution) ; or

4            (2) at any college or university which grants a

5 degree in arts or science, to pursue a course of instruc-

6 tion satisfactory completion of which is prescribed by

7 such college or university as a prerequisite to either of

8 such degrees; or



1           (3) at any university described in paragraph (2),  
2           to pursue a course of instruction to the pursuit of which  
3           a degree in arts or science is prescribed by such uni-  
4           versity as a prerequisite;  
5   and who, while pursuing such course of instruction at such  
6   high school (or similar institution), college, or university  
7   is selected for training and service under this Act prior to  
8   the end of such academic year, or prior to July 1, 1943,  
9   whichever occurs first, shall, upon his request, be deferred  
10   from induction into the land and naval forces for such train-  
11   ing and service until the end of such academic year, but in  
12   no event later than July 1, 1943.





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## AMENDMENT

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OCTOBER 22 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942  
Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

77TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

# S. 2748

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 22 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

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## AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. CAPPER to the bill (S. 2748)  
to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by  
providing for the extension of liability, viz: At the end of  
the bill insert the following new section:

- 1        SEC.    . Section 3 of such Act, as amended, is amended  
2   by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:  
3        “(g) Persons inducted under the provisions of this Act  
4   who are less than nineteen years of age shall be held in a  
5   reserve status and shall not be assigned to combat duty until  
6   they reach the age of nineteen years. While such persons are  
7   in such status, they shall receive basic military training and  
8   shall be available in the respective States of their residence  
9   as a supply of manpower for essential national service on



1 farms or in industry, or they may be designated to pursue  
 2 their education (at Government expense where necessary) in  
 3 order that our Nation may not be without trained skills either  
 4 during a long war or afterward. Any person to whom this  
 5 subsection applies may volunteer for combat duty, and upon  
 6 so volunteering may be assigned to combat duty without  
 7 regard to the foregoing provisions of this subsection."

77TH CONGRESS  
 2D Session

**S. 2748**

## **AMENDMENT**

Intended to be proposed by Mr. CARPER to the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

OCTOBER 22 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942  
 Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

# S. 2748

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 22 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942

Referred to the Committee on Military Affairs with instructions and ordered  
to be printed

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## AMENDMENT

Proposed by Mr. LEE to the committee amendment to the bill  
(S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act  
of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, viz: On  
page 3, after line 9, insert the following:

- 1 (k) In the interest of the common defense no person,
- 2 corporation, partnership, or association shall sell, supply,
- 3 give, or have in his or its possession any alcoholic liquors,
- 4 including beer, ale, or wine, at or within any military camp,
- 5 station, fort, post, yard, base, cantonment, training or mobi-
- 6 lization place which is being used at the time for military
- 7 purposes, but the Secretary of War may make regulations
- 8 permitting the sale and use of alcoholic liquors for medicinal
- 9 purposes. Any person, corporation, partnership, or associa-



1 tion violating the provisions of this section or any orders,  
2 rules, or regulations made by proper authority thereunder  
3 shall unless otherwise punishable under the Articles of War  
4 be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and be punished by a  
5 fine of not less than \$100 nor more than \$1,000 and/or  
6 imprisonment for not less than thirty days nor more than  
7 twelve months.

8 (l) In the interest of the common defense it shall be  
9 unlawful within such reasonable distance of any military  
10 camp, station, fort, post, yard, base, cantonment, training  
11 or mobilization place as the Secretary of War shall determine  
12 to be needful to the efficiency, health, and welfare of the  
13 Army and/or Navy and shall designate in general orders  
14 or bulletins for any person, corporation, partnership, or asso-  
15 ciation to sell, supply, give, or have in his or its possession  
16 any alcoholic liquors, including beer, ale, or wine. Any per-  
17 son, corporation, partnership, or association violating the  
18 provisions of this section or any orders, rules, or regulations  
19 made by proper authority thereunder, shall unless otherwise  
20 punishable under the Articles of War, be deemed guilty of  
21 a misdemeanor and be punished by a fine of not less than  
22 \$100 nor more than \$1,000 and/or imprisonment for not  
23 less than thirty days nor more than twelve months.

24 (m) In construing subsections (k) and (l) of this sec-  
25 tion the word "Army" shall extend to and include "Navy",

1 the word "military" shall include "naval", "Articles of  
2 War" shall include "Articles for the government of the  
3 Navy", the words "military camp, station, fort, post, yard,  
4 base, cantonment, training or mobilization place" shall in-  
5 clude such places under naval jurisdiction as may correspond  
6 to the aforementioned places under military jurisdiction. The  
7 powers conferred under this Act upon the Secretary of War  
8 are hereby conferred upon the Secretary of the Navy with  
9 regard to the naval service. The words "Navy" and "naval"  
10 shall include the Marine Corps. The aviation units of both  
11 the military and naval service shall be subject to the pro-  
12 visions of subsections (k) and (l) of this section.



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## AMENDMENT

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Proposed by Mr. LEE to the committee amendment to the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

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OCTOBER 22 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942

Referred to the Committee on Military Affairs with instructions and ordered to be printed

# S. 2748

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 22 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

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## AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. NYE to the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, viz: At the end of the bill insert the following new section:

1        SEC.    . Section 3 of such Act, as amended, is amended  
2 by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

3        “(g) Persons inducted under the provisions of this Act  
4 who are less than twenty years of age shall be held in a  
5 reserve status and shall not be assigned to combat duty until  
6 they reach the age of twenty years. While such persons are  
7 in such status, they shall receive basic military training and  
8 shall be available in the respective States of their residence  
9 as a supply of manpower for essential national service on



1 farms or in industry, or they may be designated to pursue  
 2 their education (at Government expense where necessary) in  
 3 order that our Nation may not be without trained skills either  
 4 during a long war or afterward. Any person to whom this  
 5 subsection applies may volunteer for combat duty, and upon  
 6 so volunteering may be assigned to combat duty without  
 7 regard to the foregoing provisions of this subsection."

77TH CONGRESS  
 2D SESSION

S. 2748

## AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. Nye to the bill  
 (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training  
 and Service Act of 1940 by providing for  
 the extension of liability.

OCTOBER 22 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942  
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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 22 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

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Mr. DANAHER submitted the following

**AMENDMENT**

Intended to be proposed by Mr. TAFT to the bill (S. 2748)  
to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940  
by providing for the extension of liability, viz: At the end  
of the bill insert the following:

- 1        SEC. . The Director shall determine the number of  
2 men who should complete their education in regularly ac-  
3 credited colleges or profesisonal schools, in order that there  
4 may be available for the armed forces and for essential civilian  
5 activity a sufficient number of men having educational quali-  
6 fications and shall defer such men until they have completed  
7 the education or training which he considers necessary to fit  
8 them for the employment or activity found to be essential.  
9 The selection of such men shall be (1) from among those



1 men now enrolled in college or professional school on the  
2 basis of the scholastic records which they have made, and  
3 physical examination; and (2) from among those who desire  
4 to enter such college or school by competitive mental and  
5 physical examination. When such men are selected the  
6 Director may extend essential financial aid in any individual  
7 case in which it is necessary to enable the men selected to  
8 complete their education. When such education is com-  
9 pleted, and it is determined by examination that the applicant  
10 is qualified, then if the education is for service in the armed  
11 forces he shall be inducted into service, and if the education  
12 is for some essential civilian purpose, he shall be classified  
13 in class II under the Selective Training and Service Act of  
14 1940, as amended, until further action by the Director.





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## AMENDMENT

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Intended to be proposed by Mr. TART to the bill  
(S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training  
and Service Act of 1940 by providing for  
the extension of liability.

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OCTOBER 22 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942  
Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

# S. 2748

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 22 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

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## AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. TYDINGS to the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, viz: At the proper place in the bill insert the following:

- 1 Every registrant found by a local Selective Service board,
- 2 subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2) of
- 3 the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended,
- 4 to be regularly engaged in an agricultural occupation or
- 5 endeavor essential to the war effort, shall be deferred from
- 6 training and service in the land and naval forces so long as
- 7 he remains so engaged and until such time as a satisfactory
- 8 replacement can be obtained: *Provided*, That should any such
- 9 person leave such occupation or endeavor, except for induc-



1 tion into the land or naval forces under such Act, his local  
2 Selective Service board, subject to appeal in accordance with  
3 section 10 (a) (2) of such Act, shall reclassify such regis-  
4 trant in a class immediately available for military service,  
5 unless prior to leaving such occupation or endeavor he requests  
6 his local board to determine, and his local board, subject  
7 to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2) of said Act  
8 determines that it is in the best interest of the war effort for  
9 him to leave such occupation or endeavor for other work.





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## AMENDMENT

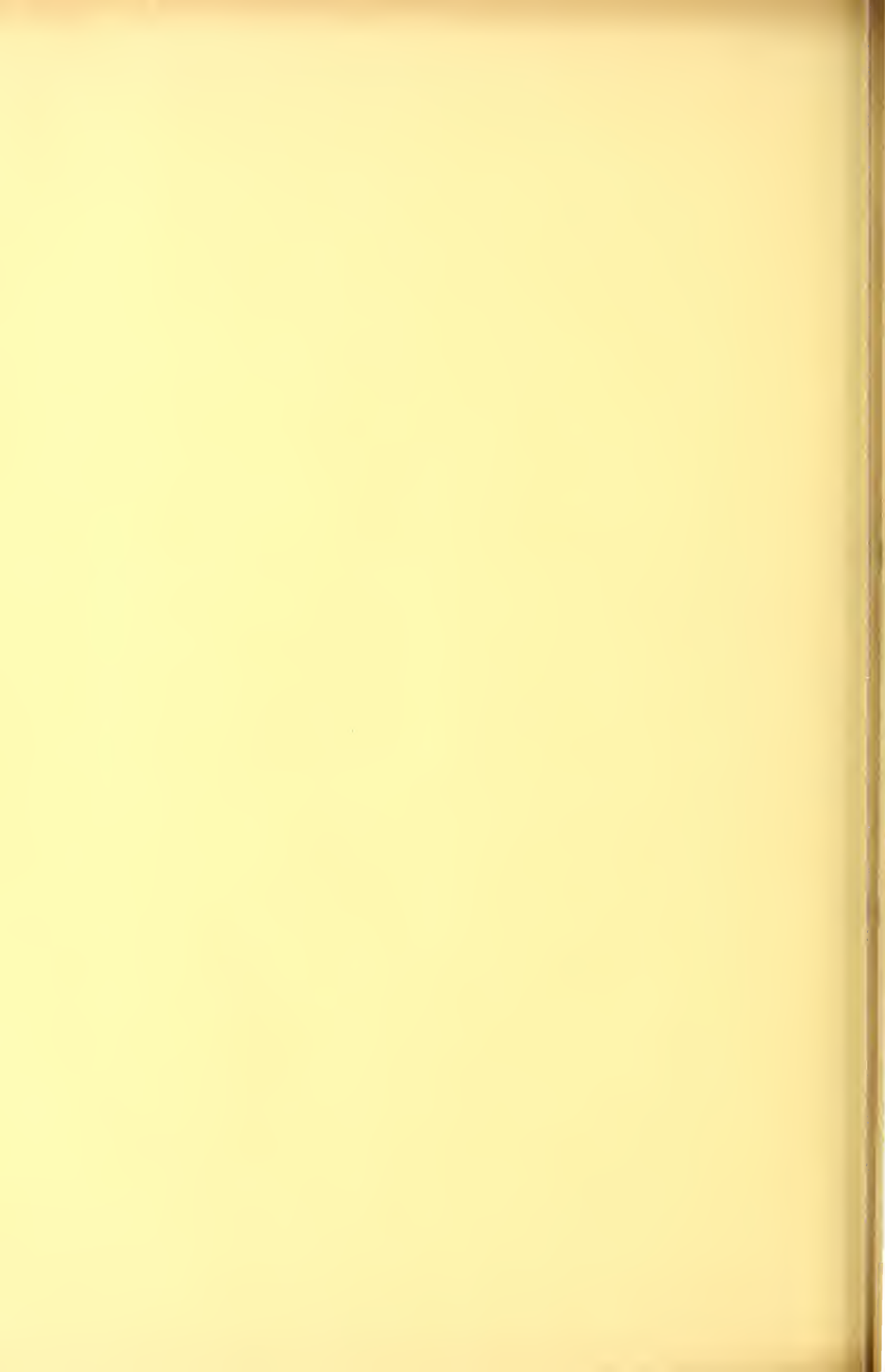
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Intended to be proposed by Mr. TYDINGS to the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

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OCTOBER 22 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942  
Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed









United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 77<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 88

WASHINGTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1942

No. 185

## House of Representatives

The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Monday, October 26, 1942, at 12 o'clock noon.

## Senate

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1942

(Legislative day of Thursday, October 15, 1942)

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m., on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father God, new every morning is the love our waking and uprising prove. Again we turn unfilled to Thee. Take Thou the dimness of our souls away.

Facing the duties of the new day, we would first search our own souls. May Thy holy powers of renewal be felt in every heart, and may all that is withered and blighted in us be morally and spiritually restored. May our guilt be lost in the unfathomable sea of Thy everlasting mercy. May weights of despair be changed to wings of a new hope. May disappointments be changed into radiant expectations. May any bitterness or selfishness lurking in our hearts be transmuted into a love that thinketh no evil and seeketh not her own. Scorning expediency and cowardly compromise, may we be true to all truth the world denies, not tongue-tied by its gilded lies; not always right in all men's lives, but faithful to the light within.

We ask it in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Thursday, October 22, 1942, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT— APPROVAL OF A BILL

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries, who also announced that on October 20, 1942, the President had approved and signed the act (S. 2775) to amend the act of March

5, 1942, relating to the planting of guayule and other rubber-bearing plants.

### THE LATE JESSE H. METCALF, OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, the Senate's time has lately been so taken up with war legislation that many other matters have been and are being postponed. However, I feel that I should not delay longer announcing formally to the Senate the death of former United States Senator Jesse H. Metcalf, of Rhode Island, who died in his home city of Providence on last October 9. He was a Republican Senator from 1924 to 1937.

In his death Rhode Island lost one of its most distinguished and public-spirited citizens, and lasting monuments to his public spirit stand in the form of buildings which he gave to Brown University, Rhode Island School of Design, Rhode Island Hospital, and other institutions in the State. He gave not only of his money, he gave also—and this is more important—of his time and thought to the service of the public, by serving as officer, trustee, director, and on committees of various educational and charitable institutions, and by holding public office.

In 1907 he was a member of the Rhode Island General Assembly. From 1924 to 1937 he represented Rhode Island in this august body as a Republican. In both legislative bodies he showed reluctance to speaking, although his occasional addresses were listened to with respectful attention. He was, however, always ready to do his share of the committee work on the various important committees to which he was appointed.

While here he formed many friendships which lasted after his term of service ended, and he is I know mourned by many of his old associates here. They

and his large circle of personal friends elsewhere will miss in him a cheery, generous, and considerate companion. The State of Rhode Island will miss in him a patriotic, public-spirited citizen and generous benefactor.

### PETITIONS

Petitions, etc., were presented and referred as indicated:

#### By Mr. TYDINGS:

Petitions of sundry citizens of the State of Maryland, praying for the enactment of the so-called anti-poll-tax bill; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A petition of sundry citizens of Street, Md., praying for the enactment of Senate bill 860, to prohibit the sale of alcoholic liquor and to suppress vice in the vicinity of military camps and naval establishments; ordered to lie on the table.

### PROHIBITION OF LIQUOR SALES AND SUPPRESSION OF VICE AROUND MILITARY CAMPS—PETITIONS

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, at the request of a number of very prominent citizens of Pennsylvania, and a delegation headed by Elizabeth A. Smart and consisting of citizens from Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and other cities in the State of Pennsylvania, I present petitions signed by about 5,000 persons, praying for the enactment of Senate bill 860, for the moral and physical welfare of the armed forces of the United States. I ask that the heading of one of the petitions be printed in the RECORD and that the petitions be returned to me.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The body of one of the petitions is as follows:

Senator JAMES J. DAVIS,  
Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned citizens of Pennsylvania, request the passage of bill S. 860,



knowing that all previous wars have lost battles because of liquor. We want the men and boys in the service of our country to be sober and at their best at all times. The soldiers in the German Army are prohibited to use any alcoholic beverages. Our Army and other branches of the service must be better and stronger than the enemy if we expect to win in this great fight.

#### REDUCTION OF DRAFT-AGE LIMIT— LETTER AND PETITION

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, I present for appropriate reference and ask to have printed in the RECORD a letter and a petition which I have received from citizens of Connecticut referring to the pending legislation.

There being no objection, the letter and petition were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD without all the signatures attached, as follows:

MERIDEN, CONN., October 20, 1942.

HON. FRANCIS MALONEY,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The attached photostats are self-explanatory.

They represent the opinion of the average citizen of voting age. A check of the signers will reveal that in the great majority of cases personal families and political parties are not involved. In one case the signer is now ready for induction into the Army. In another case the signer's son is a flying officer in the Army air service. Many of them have sons or brothers in the service.

The few hours of work and limited time that was expended in the preparation of this petition establishes the fact that at least 80 percent of the people are in accord with the thoughts expressed.

Thanking you for your consideration of the statements contained in the petition and hoping that the Senate, which the American citizen recognizes to be the guardian of true democracy will hear the voice of the people as well as that of the Secretary of War and General Marshall, we are,

Yours very truly,

M. E. ALDRICH

(And sundry other citizens of the  
State of Connecticut).

1. We the undersigned, citizens of the United States, are opposed to and condemn the principle of rushing important legislation through the Congress without permitting the American public to voice their opinion.

2. We are opposed to the drafting of boys of 18 or 19 for any other purpose except as National Guard men, Army, Navy, or aviation reservists. Such guardsmen or reservists to remain in the United States until they have attained a minimum age of 20 years.

3. We are opposed to sending any boy into foreign service until he has received one full year of military training.

4. We are opposed to any measure that does not permit any boy, prior to the time that his draft number is called, to enlist in any branch of the service.

#### REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. HATCH, from the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 7330) to provide for granting to the State of New Mexico the right, title, and interest of the United States in and to certain lands in New Mexico, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 1658) thereon.

#### ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

Mrs. CARAWAY, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that on October 22, 1942, that committee presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills:

S. 1468. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to establish a fuel depot at Middle and Orchard Points, Wash.;

S. 2327. An act to provide for payment and settlement of mileage accounts of officers and travel allowance of enlisted men of the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard;

S. 2369. An act for the acquisition of Indian lands required in connection with the construction, operation, and maintenance of electric transmission lines and other works, Parker Dam power project, Arizona-California;

S. 2381. An act to provide that certain provisions of law relating to the Navy shall be held applicable to the personnel of the Coast Guard when that service is operating as a part of the Navy;

S. 2471. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to prevent pernicious political activities," approved August 2, 1939, as amended, with respect to its application to officers and employees of educational, religious, eleemosynary, philanthropic, and cultural institutions, establishments, and agencies, commonly known as the Hatch Act;

S. 2555. An act to authorize the use of certificates by officers of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard of the United States, in connection with pay and allowance accounts of military and civilian personnel under the jurisdiction of the War and Navy Departments;

S. 2623. An act authorizing the construction of certain public works in the basin of the Connecticut River for flood control;

S. 2706. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to expedite national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 28, 1940 (54 Stat. 676), and "Title IV of the Naval Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1941," approved September 9, 1940 (54 Stat. 883); and

S. 2751. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to establish a Women's Army Auxiliary Corps for service with the Army of the United States," approved May 14, 1942, to create the grade of field director in such corps, to provide for enrolled grades in such corps comparable to the enlisted grades in the Regular Army, to provide pay and allowances for all members of such corps at the same rates as those payable to members of the Regular Army in corresponding grades, and for other purposes.

#### BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. WALSH:

S. 2872. A bill to suspend until the termination of the present war the provisions of section 7 of the act of August 23, 1912, as amended, relating to certain telephone services; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. CLARK of Missouri:

S. 2873. A bill granting the Distinguished Service Cross to Basil R. Otey; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CLARK of Idaho:

S. 2874. A bill to prohibit certain contracts, agreements, conspiracies, and combinations which prevent the making of recordings for use by radio broadcasting stations and coin-operated phonographs; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. SHIPSTEAD:

S. 2875. A bill to provide priorities for certain material and equipment necessary to the

continued production of agricultural products; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

#### REDUCTION OF DRAFT-AGE LIMIT— AMENDMENT

Mr. O'DANIEL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

#### ALLEGED ASSESSMENT OF POSTMASTERS IN NORTH DAKOTA FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, a few days ago I produced on the floor of the Senate checks paid by the postmaster at La Moure, N. Dak. I now submit the following resolution:

Whereas concrete evidence has been presented to the Senate of the United States that postmasters, on threat of losing their positions, have been compelled to pay systematic tribute to a group of politicians in the State of North Dakota; and

Whereas taking of this money has been alleged to be in violation of law continually for the last 6 years: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof is authorized and directed to make a complete investigation of the assessment of postmasters in North Dakota for political purposes—or private graft.

The said committee or duly authorized subcommittee is authorized and directed to secure the assistance of other governmental agencies in the investigation hereby authorized, and to report to the Senate the facts ascertained in the course of the investigation and the recommendations therein.

For the purposes of this resolution, the committee or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof is authorized to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Senate, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production and impounding of books, papers, and documents, to administer oaths, and to take such testimony as it deems advisable. The cost of stenographic services to report such hearings shall not be in excess of 25 cents per hundred words. The expenses of the committee or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, which shall not exceed \$1,000 in addition to the cost of stenographic services to report such hearings, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the resolution (S. Res. 311) will be received, and referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

#### PREEMINENCE OF LYNCHBURG, VA., IN THE COLLECTION OF SCRAP METAL

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I have received the following telegram from my colleague the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS], who is detained by illness at his home in Virginia:

OCTOBER 16, 1942.

HON. HARRY F. BYRD,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.:

I hope you have noted that it was a Virginia city and none other than my home town of Lynchburg that leads all the cities of the United States in the amount of scrap collected per capita. Lynchburg contributed 13,555,646 pounds for an average of 304.3



pounds for each citizen which is far above the average for the country at large per capita. Of course, other cities and States have responded as patriotically as their conditions permit, but I hope that the country will appreciate the patriotism, energy, ingenuity and efficiency of the citizens of Lynchburg in responding so nobly to this call in the Nation's hour of peril.

CARTER GLASS.

Mr. President, I am very proud of the fact that a Virginia city leads all the cities of the United States in the amount of scrap collected per capita. This is but one evidence of the support the people of Virginia are giving to the war effort, and the patriotism with which they are willing to make every sacrifice so that the war will be won at the earliest possible moment.

I also ask unanimous consent to insert in the body of the RECORD as a part of my remarks an editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch, together with an article from the New York Times of October 16, 1942.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Richmond Times-Dispatch]

#### ACCOLADE TO LYNCHBURG

The final figures will change some of the rankings in the Nation-wide scrap drive, but Lynchburg is so far ahead of all the other cities in the United States as to be obviously No. 1. With an average of more than 304 pounds per capita, far in advance of Fairmont, Minn., the second city, which had 229, Lynchburg clearly deserves an accolade commensurate with this stunning accomplishment.

By leading all the cities of America in this crucially important drive, the Hill City has not only won great and well-merited distinction for itself, but the State of Virginia also is enjoying a vicarious glory. All of us in the Old Dominion can feel proud that a Virginia city showed the way to the Nation in so vital an undertaking.

[From the New York Times of October 16, 1942]

#### LYNCHBURG, VA., TOPS CITIES IN SCRAP DRIVE

Lynchburg, Va., became the country's first city yesterday to report a per capita average of more than 300 pounds in the scrap metal salvage campaign sponsored by the newspapers of the Nation. Lynchburg's figure is 304.3 pounds of metal contributed so far for every man, woman, and child. Its population, according to the last Federal census, is 44,541.

#### THE MANPOWER PROBLEM—ADDRESS BY SENATOR TRUMAN

[Mr. BALL asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address relating to the national manpower problem delivered by Senator TRUMAN before the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies at Kansas City, Mo., on October 21, 1942, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### EQUALITY OF ECONOMIC SACRIFICE—ARTICLE BY SENATOR LA FOLLETTE

[Mr. LA FOLLETTE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "We Need Equality of Economic Sacrifice," written by him and published in The Progressive of October 26, 1942, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### NORTH DAKOTA'S STAKE IN RECLAMATION—ADDRESS BY JOHN C. PAGE, COMMISSIONER OF RECLAMATION

[Mr. NYE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered

by Hon. John C. Page, Commissioner of Reclamation, on October 6, 1942, at the convention of the North Dakota Reclamation Association, at Mandan, N. Dak., which appears in the Appendix.]

#### AGRICULTURAL LABOR SITUATION IN NORTH DAKOTA

[Mr. NYE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a letter to Hon. Claude H. Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture, from J. J. Kehoe, with regard to the agricultural labor situation in the State of North Dakota, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Calloway, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 2794) to provide for adjusting royalties for the use of inventions for the benefit of the United States, in aid of the prosecution of the war, and for other purposes, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

#### REDUCTION OF DRAFT AGE LIMIT

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the committee.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, I consider it to be a grave responsibility resting on my shoulders when I take part in compelling teen-age schoolboys to shoulder guns and go out and fight and perhaps die for our country when they have not yet finished school and have not yet reached the age when they can have a voice in our Government to the extent of voting, owning property, signing notes, buying whisky, marrying, and in some States even driving an automobile. Under these conditions I desire to make it perfectly clear in the RECORD exactly what my position is. We are told that the United States of America, with a population of over 131,000,000, at war less than 1 year, finds itself now so short of manpower that it is obliged to force our 18 and 19 teen-age schoolboys to shoulder arms and go out and fight this war. I believe that during wartime it is the duty of every American citizen to back up our chosen Commander in Chief with everything he requests for use in fighting the war. He has requested that these teen-age schoolboys be drafted. I intend to support this bill solely because our Commander in Chief says it is necessary. At the same time, in fairness to the teen-age boys and their mothers and fathers, I intend to point out some legislation now on our statute books which, in my opinion, has forced upon us the condition which makes it imperative that the teen-age boys be drafted. Not only do I intend to identify this outmoded legislation, Mr. President, but I intend to offer an amendment to the pending bill which, if adopted, will help us in our present predicament and help keep us out of predicaments in the future as distasteful or perhaps more so than our present sad plight.

Mr. President, a few years ago we had in this Nation a great unemployment problem. In order to help solve that serious unemployment problem and to alleviate suffering and hardships of many

of our laboring people, we enacted legislation which would tend to force employers to divide the available work among a larger number of employees by limiting to 40 the number of hours each person could work a week, without employers having to pay a penalty for work performed beyond that limit of time. This penalty is usually referred to as time and one-half for overtime. During the period of unemployment that legislation, no doubt, performed a great service and benefited many of our laboring people. Our Nation now faces exactly the opposite position. We now have no unemployment problem, but, instead, our problem now is a shortage of manpower. We have more jobs than we have people to work, but we have not yet revoked that law. That law is still in effect, and it is operating to help increase our manpower shortage.

Even in our dire stress of war there are some employers who still like to practice economy and are still spreading out the work among a larger number of employees in order to avoid the payment of time and one-half for overtime. By so doing they are employing more men than is absolutely necessary, thus helping to create an unnecessary manpower shortage. I believe that there will be found among the rank and file of our good, honest, working people the urge to work any number of hours necessary during this war if they are given the opportunity. They are wholeheartedly back of the war effort and want to do everything they can to further our war program and hasten the winning of the war. Not only do many of them have this patriotic idea, but many of them also have the desire to work longer hours while work is plentiful so they can increase their weekly earnings. But so long as this law remains in effect, these good, honest, working people are deprived of this privilege to work longer hours and earn more money.

Mr. President, no doubt there may be some differences of opinion as to the length of the ideal workweek, but in our present serious predicament a discussion of the ideal length of the workweek should be postponed. The most potent thing to consider now is the winning of this war. If a man wants to work longer hours, he should be permitted to do so, for we cannot afford to lose a single hour in our effort to win this war, and win it at the earliest possible date.

It is not my purpose now to go into any long discussion about what is the ideal workweek, but I do state that it is absolutely unsound to have on our statute books at this time any law the effect of which is to help create a manpower shortage. I know, of course, that those who oppose me in this matter, will say that under the law as it now stands a man is free to work as many hours as he wants to work. I know they will say that under the law as it now stands an employer is free to operate his plant as many hours as he wants to, but the fact is that so long as the operation of a plant or of any line of business is made more expensive by requiring the payment of a premium wage of time and one-half after the first 40 hours has been worked, just that long we may be assured that in-



dustry will seek to employ more people, so as to avoid, if possible, the payment of the premium wage. Common, ordinary horse sense teaches that this will be done. Furthermore, any reference to the facts in the case will show that, generally speaking, industries throughout the country are trying to hold their workweek just as close to 40 hours as they can, and they are doing it for the obvious reason of avoiding the payment of time and one-half for time worked in excess of 40 hours. By so doing they are employing more people, and thus helping to create the present manpower shortage.

Mr. President, there is one angle to this matter which I think is generally overlooked. It may be urged, as it is urged by many people, that in most war industries the cost is being passed on to the Government, and, therefore, the man who is operating the industry is not concerned about paying time and one-half because it does not cost him anything; it is an expense he can pass on to the Government and the taxpayers. This is true in many of our large industries which are engaged exclusively in war work, but it is not true in a tremendous number of industries which are absolutely essential to the maintenance of our civilian economy and the winning of the war. These industries must actually pay the wages themselves, and they cannot pass the expense on to the Government. So, regardless of what the effect of the premium wage may be in industries operating on a cost plus basis to the Government, it is absolutely certain that the premium wage is an exceedingly important factor to employers who must keep the prices of their products to the public below Government ceiling prices.

I am assuming, for the purpose of this argument, that if we repealed the law providing for time and one-half for all time worked in excess of 40 hours it would necessitate an immediate increase in wages so that weekly earnings would not fall below the schedule now established. In other words, I am not thinking in terms of the number of dollars which would be saved to employers throughout the country. That is an important factor, of course, but what I am now concerned about is removing the incentive for employers to hold the number of hours worked just as close to 40 hours as possible, for that is what is contributing to our manpower shortage.

I do not believe that we have the manpower in this country with which to operate both war and civilian industries under a 40-hour-week schedule and at the same time get the production and provide the goods necessary to win the war. I think that sooner or later we shall be forced to remove this incentive which we have set up by law to encourage employers to hold the number of hours worked down to 40 a week.

In order to make clear the picture how manpower hours can be increased by lengthening the workweek, I present some calculations based on statistics furnished by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. It reports that for September this year there were 42,200,000 persons 14 years of age and over employed in nonagricultural labor. It reports that for August this

year, which is its latest report, average hours worked a week in all manufacturing industries amounted to 42.8. If these 42,200,000 people should work 48 hours a week instead of 42.8, 4,571,667 of that number could be released for other service. If they worked 54 hours a week, 8,752,593 could be released for other service. If they worked 60 hours a week, 12,097,334 could be released. If they worked 66 hours a week, 14,833,940 could be released, and if they worked 12 hours a day, 6 days a week, 17,114,445 of the 42,200,000 people could be released for other service.

The amendment which I am offering does not attempt to provide that people shall work 48 hours a week, 54 hours a week, or 60 hours a week, or any other number of hours; it simply provides that for the duration of the war the provision of the law which requires the payment of premium wages for overtime shall be set aside. It is my judgment that if this could be done, we would find that industry throughout the Nation would generally adopt either the 48-hour week or the 54-hour week, and, of course, in some cases they would work longer weeks. The adoption of this amendment would not result in the weekly earnings of anyone being reduced; it would simply remove a barrier which now exists to prevent the full and complete use of our national manpower. Certainly, if we face an emergency which causes our military leaders to deem it essential to take boys in the teen ages and place them in the Army, we have reached the point where it is desirable for us to utilize our existing manpower more efficiently than we have done heretofore.

This Nation today faces one of the gravest problems which it has ever faced, due to the shortage of labor on farms and ranches. Already word has gone out that it will be essential to limit meat and other vital food supplies; not because the Nation is not capable of producing the food, but because the manpower on our farms has been drained off into the cities and, of course, a part of it into the Army. I am impressed, however, by the fact that the great loss of manpower, which has most seriously disturbed our agricultural situation, has been brought about because of the desire of industry to have a labor force sufficiently large to do the job they are expected to do, and to do it without the necessity of paying overtime.

If in the very beginning we had removed from existing law the requirement which makes necessary the payment of penalty wages for all time in excess of 40 hours worked, my opinion is that the farm labor situation would be far better than it is today, and I do not believe that our manpower situation would be such that we would today be faced with the necessity of passing a law to supplement our manpower by taking into military service young boys just out of high school, and some of whom have not finished high school.

Mr. President, a day never passes now without those who are responsible for handling and providing manpower for our total war effort calling our attention to the necessity for utilizing labor to the

point of maximum efficiency. If this is to be done, then it becomes necessary, I think, for us to realize that every business which exists in this country, at least every business which is allowed to continue to exist, must be classified as an essential war industry.

In measuring the effect of legislation, it seems to me we often forget that it is essential to maintain necessary industries which serve our civilian population. In other words, there are some vital, essential industries which must be carried on at home if our people at home and in the armed forces are to be fed and clothed, and if taxes are to be earned to pay the cost of this war.

If this be true, then it becomes absolutely essential that every clerk and every bookkeeper and every salesman in a department store be used to the point of maximum efficiency. It becomes necessary that every employee in a drug store, or one who works in any other industry deemed necessary to support our civilian economy, whether it be in the manufacture of goods, distribution of goods, or in providing services, shall work a full number of hours. In other words, we have reached the place where it is necessary for all our people, regardless of the line of work in which they are engaged, to put forth the maximum effort. This will not be done so long as every employer in the country faces the payment of a penalty wage for all time worked in excess of 40 hours a week.

It is true that under the law some of our various lines of business are not subject to the wage-and-hour law, but, as the law has been construed, it takes in almost every kind of business and industry. It is therefore all the more important, if we are to have full use of the manpower of the Nation, that the penalty for working employees more than 40 hours a week be taken out of the law.

Let me refer again to a matter which I have already mentioned, namely, the contention of those who oppose any change in the present law, that if wages are to be increased so that employees will still receive the same pay they are now receiving nothing will be gained. This, of course, sounds like a plausible statement, but when we analyze it, we find it is not plausible. Suppose that under the present law one were operating a manufacturing plant and paying 50 cents an hour up to 40 hours. This would mean, of course, that after the worker had passed 40 hours the operator would have to pay 75 cents an hour. Let us suppose that it was determined by proper authority that if the penalty wage were abolished it would be necessary to increase the normal wage to 60 cents an hour, and suppose this were done, then under this procedure the employer would pay exactly the same for every hour worked under 40 hours that he would pay for the hours worked over and beyond 40. The result would be that, while he might pay in wages the same amount for the same number of hours worked that he is now paying, the incentive for him to hold the hours down to 40 a week would be destroyed and we would find employers all over the country lengthening the workweek to the number of



hours which in their judgment would yield the highest return in production.

Personally, I feel confident that before another year passes we shall be forced by circumstances to do what I am recommending that the Congress do now, because we simply cannot furnish enough manpower in this Nation to have all the necessary work performed with each employee working only 42.8 hours a week, as the figures of the Department of Labor show we were doing in August of this year.

To amend the law by abolishing the premium pay for overtime during this period of manpower shortage is so fundamentally just and proper that to fail to do so at this time, while we are dipping into a new and unused pool of manpower of teen-age boys, can and possibly will cause the mothers and fathers of these teen-age boys to rise up in righteous wrath and condemn us severely.

In my opinion, the teen-age youth of America, upon whom we are calling to take up arms and fight the war, and their mothers and fathers, will bitterly resent our failure to utilize the manpower we could have by removing work-hour impediments before calling these school-boys into the service.

My contention is that it would be far better, while we are engaged in the passage of what we designate emergency legislation which calls the teen-age boys of this country out of our schools into the Army, to remove those vital handicaps which tend to restrict the use of the Nation's manpower.

Our present unwise policy has helped to bring us face to face with the dire necessity of taking teen-age boys out of school to fight this war because many of our otherwise eligible men are not available for the armed service by reason of the fact that they are falling over each other in crowded shops and offices. This is no criticism of the honest laboring people. It is not their fault that more people are hired than are necessary to do the job. They do not do the hiring. They work every hour their employers will permit them to work. It is no criticism of the employers in war industries, because they are duty-bound to effect every economy possible during this time of enormous expenditure of Government funds. It is no criticism of employers in essential domestic industries, because they are compelled to effect every economy possible in times of keen competition, price ceilings on their products, and high taxes. It is only the natural result of a condition which is brought about by the continuation of outmoded legislation which was enacted for the purpose of reducing unemployment in peacetime, but is unnecessary and detrimental to our war effort during wartime, when we have no unemployment problem. This condition has been brought about by legislative fences having been arbitrarily built to prevent a man from performing to his maximum capacity regardless of how much he might want to work longer hours during this crisis.

Mr. President, I think we should be realistic and face these problems squarely and honestly, especially in wartime. Be-

cause a foolish law is tending to cause 42,200,000 persons to work at jobs which could be performed by only 25,085,555, we cannot deprive our Army of its request for additional manpower. Inasmuch as others are not immediately available, we are compelled to call on the teen-age boys of this Nation to leave their schools and take up arms in order to have an army of sufficient size. Only as a last resort do I feel we should force the teen-age schoolboys out on the battle front to fight this war.

Our Commander in Chief says it is necessary to lower the draft age to include teen-age boys of 18 and 19 years; for that reason I shall vote for the pending measure, but I shall insist that the amendment which I am offering be adopted to improve the bill. When the war ends, the amendment will become inoperative. We can then discuss the matter of the ideal workweek for peacetime production.

Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment to the pending bill which I ask to have printed and lie on the table, for consideration at the proper time, and I shall request the yeas and nays when the amendment is considered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment will be received, printed, and lie on the table.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. GURNEY. What is the pending business at the moment?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The pending question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

Mr. GURNEY. At this time I should like to take up the committee amendment, which begins in line 19 on page 2, and which would add two new paragraphs, (i) and (j). I do not believe the new paragraphs are controversial in any manner. I should like to take up the committee amendment in two parts; paragraph (i) in the committee amendment first, and then I have a committee substitute for the language of paragraph (j).

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Do any of the other amendments which have been printed and have been designated for subsequent presentation apply to the language of either of the paragraphs of the committee amendment which the Senator is now asking to have adopted.

Mr. GURNEY. I am sure there are no amendments which have been printed, or given notice of in the debate yesterday, which would in any way affect either of these paragraphs.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator is about to ask for a vote on the committee amendment?

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator yield for that purpose?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield for that purpose.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Gerry	Pepper
Andrews	Gillette	Radcliffe
Austin	Green	Reed
Bailey	Guffey	Reynolds
Bail	Gurney	Rosier
Barkley	Hatch	Russell
Bilbo	Hayden	Shipstead
Bone	Hill	Smathers
Brewster	Johnson, Calif.	Smith
Bulow	La Follette	Spencer
Bunker	Langer	Taft
Burton	Lee	Thomas, Idaho
Butler	Lodge	Thomas, Okla.
Byrd	Lucas	Thomas, Utah
Capper	McFarland	Tobey
Caraway	McKellar	Tunnell
Chavez	McNary	Tydings
Clark, Idaho	Maloney	Vandenberg
Clark, Mo.	Maybank	Van Nuys
Connally	Mead	Wagner
Danaher	Murdock	Wallgren
Davis	Norris	Wheeler
Downey	Nye	White
Doxey	O'Daniel	Wiley
Ellender	O'Mahoney	Willis
George	Overton	

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HUGHES] are absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE] is absent on official business in connection with the duties of the Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program.

The Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. BROWN], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HERRING], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN], the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SCHWARTZ], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. STEWART], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. TRUMAN] are necessarily absent.

Mr. McNARY. The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BARBOUR], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. BROOKS], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HOLMAN], and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKIN] are necessarily absent.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Seventy-eight Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, in view of the wide interest exhibited generally throughout the country regarding the age of soldiers in the war which lies ahead of us, I took from my library some figures dealing with another very grim and bloody struggle in this country, the Civil War, which was the saddest struggle that any nation ever faced. It has been many years since that war was concluded, and most folks have forgotten its significance; but I should like to introduce these figures into the Record as a part of my remarks. Some were prepared by Mr. E. V. Durling, a columnist connected with King Features Syndicate in New York, and appeared in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer of December 9, 1940. They show the number of officers and men lost in the Union and Confederate Armies during the Civil War.



Some 40 years ago a clerk in the War Department furnished a Colorado newspaper with the figures covering the boys who served in the Union Army during the Civil War. The records of the southern armies are probably lost. They were destroyed in the holocaust of war; but it is interesting, diverting, and saddening to read that 25 boys 10 years of age served in the Union Army—probably little drummer boys. There were 38 boys 11 years of age; 225 boys 12 years of age; 300 boys 13 years of age; 105,000 boys 14 and 15 years of age; 126,000 boys 16 years of age; 613,000 boys 17 years of age; 307,000 boys 18 years of age; and 1,009,000 boys from 18 to 21 years of age.

In referring to the record, Mr. Durling says:

Of this half million men who met death in the Civil War 85 percent were under 21 years of age. It was a boys' war. The average age of participants was but 18 years.

I send these figures to the desk and ask that they be incorporated in the Record as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

In the Seattle Post-Intelligencer of December 9, 1940, E. V. Durling, a columnist, used these figures:

At the end of our Civil War, the Union Army had 1,100,516 men in the field. The Confederates had 174,223.

During the Civil War, the Union Army lost 9,584 officers and 349,944 men. The Confederates lost 4,626 officers and 129,695 men.

The total loss on both sides was 493,349 men.

Of this half million men who met death in the Civil War, 85 percent were under 21 years of age. It was a boys' war. The average age of participants was but 18 years.

Somewhere around 40 years ago, D. I. Woods, a clerk in the War Department in Washington, furnished the Durango (Colo.) Democrat with some interesting data on the Civil War. Woods apparently had combed the records of the Adjutant General's office to secure these figures. He found that the Civil War had been fought largely by boys.

On the Union side, 2,278,588 men were enlisted in all the various forces. Of this vast number, all but 118,000 were less than 21 years of age.

The list he compiled is as follows: 25 boys, 10 years of age; 38 boys, 11 years of age; 225 boys, 12 years of age; 300 boys, 13 years of age; 105,000 boys, 14 and 15 years of age; 126,000 boys, 16 years of age; 613,000 boys, 17 years of age; 307,000 boys, 18 years of age; 1,009,000 boys, 18 to 21 years of age.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, the pending business at this time is section 4, being the committee amendments to the bill on page 2, after line 18. Subsection (i) is to make the provisions for enlistment the same as the provisions for induction. Testimony was given before the Military Affairs Committee by the Under Secretary of War, Mr. Robert Patterson.

I ask for the adoption of subsection (i), through and including line 2 on page 3.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the first branch of the committee amendment, on page 2, after line 18, being subsection (i) of section 4.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, I wish to be heard generally upon the bill, and I shall take this opportunity to do so. I thought that certain arrangements had been made by which

other Senators were to proceed; but that is neither here nor there. We ought to be ready to proceed at any time in relation to measures of this sort. I am ready to proceed now.

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for the purpose of suggesting the absence of a quorum? Obviously there is not a quorum present.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. No; I do not care for a quorum. There will be so few votes my way in this particular matter that I have no desire to demonstrate it by a quorum call. There will be four or five or six votes; and I am happy to say that those four or five or six votes are welcomed with open arms. However, I do not care for a quorum at this time.

Mr. President, the first question which meets us in dealing with this subject is with respect to the character of those who are to be drafted by the proposed amendment to the act. We are told that it is infinitely better to have men of 18 years of age; that it is infinitely better to take these young sinews and weld them into a warlike unit; that it is infinitely better to take boys of a tender age because, as has been said repeatedly, they are more adventurous, more daredevil. They pay little attention to consequences, and they are ready to do anything under any circumstances; and in that way they meet the desire and the design of the Nation.

Of course, they are willing to do anything that may be asked of them, and much that is not asked. Of course they are willing to fight at the drop of a hat. That is the way in which they have been brought up, perhaps. Of course, they are willing to do all that the older soldiers of the Republic demand that they shall do. That is the very reason why we should throw our protecting mantle about them, and see that they are not needlessly sacrificed.

Do we want a whole generation to be wiped out in this war, so that when peace comes there will be nobody to take charge of it? The very ones upon whom we rely to take charge of the peace, and to write it as it should be written, will be in such a situation that we shall hunt their graves. We shall pay them the great honor of hunting their graves in one part of the world or another—not in our own country, but in some other part of the world. We shall say "There he lies, the poor fellow. He was only 18 years old, and he knew no better. It was because of that that he was sent upon his wild adventure."

We may accept the words of the military at this juncture, and we may accept the words of those who control us as a Nation. We may accept the control of those men and take their word. In the language of a great ruler, our lads will be "liquidated," and there will remain to this great country of ours after we shall have finished with this war no generation which can build it up and send it again upon its way.

I do not want any man on earth to question my patriotism when I speak thus: I want no man here or outside to say aught concerning my desire to win

this war. That desire is as great as any man's can be.

I wish to win this war and win it in the speediest possible manner. I wish that we shall go forward and do whatever is necessary in order to win the war; but I am not willing, in order to win the war, to say to 18-year-old youngsters, "You, who have had no chance in this life, and whose only prospect is death, fight our battles, and we will see that a fitting monument is erected to your memory."

Those who talk that way and those who insist that we shall take the words of the military and the military alone know little of the subject. Before I finish I expect to refer to the various nations of the earth that have draft laws. I expect to refer to documents of the late Civil War and to establish, if I can, that these children we are taking, these children we are asking to fight for us—these children—simply will go forth to their death in any attempt that is made to have them participate in this conflict.

Recently there was published in the New York Times a letter of T. H. Thomas which dealt with this subject. Because he dealt with it not alone within his recollection but by way of history, I take the trouble to read to the Senate some of the things he said:

In a spirit of sacrifice the country has resigned itself—

Oh, what a pity it is! This country has resigned itself—

to acquiescing in the demand for the drafting of the 18- and 19-year-old classes. In the end, however, it will not be to the advantage of anyone concerned if such a step is taken for false and misleading reasons. In the course of processing public opinion into this sacrificial attitude of mind, the press during the last few months has gradually built up the assumption that the calling out of these younger classes is a part of the normal procedure of military service based on conscription. It has also built up the belief that on the basis of experience these younger classes have proved particularly fit for active service in the field.

Both these assumptions are mistaken.

France and Germany alike had two or three generations of experience with conscription before 1914, and both countries learned that even for peacetime military service it did not pay to call out younger classes than those already in their twentieth year; on a 2-year basis, military service was performed by men ranging from 20 to 22.

Then he proceeds to discuss the French and the German method, but I leave on his bare assertion the fact that it was not successful nor was it called for by the particular affairs of their nations.

Then he proceeds:

Even in the buoyant appeals now made to Congress, our own authorities have revealed a not dissimilar estimate of these "undeveloped resources."

Good God! Senators, you are dealing with human beings, with your flesh and blood and my flesh and blood, and you are talking about the undeveloped resources that will be taken. Undeveloped resources of an army? Take them only as a last resource. The writer evidently takes the same view:

The reckonings offered by the highest official quarters indicate that it is expected that about half of these new classes must be struck off in advance as unfit for service.



Not so here; we listen to the soldiers who tell us that such men are the best soldiers in the world, that they can do more than any other soldiers. I deny that as a premise of any argument that is grounded upon this bill.

The reckonings offered by the highest official quarters indicate that it is expected that about half of these classes must be struck off in advance as unfit for service. If this is true, taking both classes together, how large a proportion of the 18-year class will prove up to the mark?

In all the countries at war the drafting of 18-year-old men for field service was put off until the last possible moment.

Not so here, because when it was suggested to those in charge of the matter that they give to these boys fair training of a year, ah, they fought that at once, and they would not give to the lads they are taking from the 18-year-old group the mere right to have a fair training before being put in the service.

I talk upon this subject with some feeling, not because I have youngsters who would be taken, not because I am affected by anything personal, but because as an old individual I see this thing more plainly perhaps than a younger man does; and I insist that we shall do by these younger men as we would have them do under other circumstances. It is a wicked thing to deal with these 18-year-olds as we have been taught to do by the military. Taught? In 1 day you hear it. It is taught with a picture taken—and it is flashed all over the land—of six or seven members of the Military Affairs Committee, and with the Chief of Staff talking before them. That is the sort of hearing which was held. That is the sort of thing upon which rested the determination of the Military Affairs Committee in fixing this particular age limit.

I continue to read from the article:

Even in the extreme strain upon British manpower today, and with a carefully arranged system of gradual seasoning of younger troops, the British Army has found it sound policy not to send out of the country soldiers under 19½ years of age. This was formally stated, as a definite course of policy, in answer to a question in Parliament in July 1942.

Let me say that all the proceedings in Parliament from that time on have demonstrated that it was the expectation of the British to utilize such men only if they were absolutely essential. Who says these men are absolutely essential? Who claims it is absolutely essential, imperative, and necessary that we utilize 18-year-old boys? After they have been utilized, we shall be so sorry, and we shall say how much we regret—regret, indeed—that some of them were shot down in the desert, that some of them were shot down at this point of land, and some at that point of land, and that some of them were shot down elsewhere—that none of them ever returned. That will be the story of the 18-year-olds if this bill shall pass.

I continue to read from the article:

After the failure of voluntary recruiting at the end of 1861, the Confederacy was soon faced with the break-down of its improvised apparatus for conscription. To meet this,

the age limit was extended upward and downward simultaneously, the downward extension reaching to the 18-year-old class. There answered a voice from the North which has not been forgotten: "Jeff Davis is robbing both the cradle and the grave." We have now begun robbing the cradle even before a single American division has come into action on a fighting front.

Mr. President, do you realize that even before a single division of our troops has come into action on a fighting front we are now engaged in snatching from the cradle boys who have yet to live their lives and have yet to have their part in this world's goods?

More than 80 divisions are now being organized; when the call comes for replacements shall we dip into the classes aged 17 and 16?

The voice from the North in 1862 expressed no inexpert civilian impression. The draft brought only an insignificant number of men into the Union armies; no whole class of any age was gathered into service. The minors enrolled in the first year of the war were what is sometimes called "the flower of our youth"—eager volunteers passed as fit for service by the medical examiners of that day. They represented the "exceptional soldiers" of the type now called for. Yet in November 1862, after more than a year of actual experience in camp and field, the surgeon general reported—

The reference, of course, is to the surgeon general of the United States. I recognize his authority cannot be so great as the authority that may be accorded to an English officer who wants our recruits; it cannot be so great and it cannot be so influential and so forceful as that of any of the foreigners who infest the city of Washington today. The voice of the Surgeon General of the United States in 1862 cannot be so influential and persuasive as the voice of any of those who today recommend that this step be taken.

The Committee on Military Affairs asked the representatives of the Army, "Why do you need these men?" The reply was, "We need them now." That is all. Senators stand on the floor and talk of following the recommendations of those who are in charge of our soldiers in particular matters of this sort, and give as a reason only that they have been subjected to the acid test in submitting their opinion—their opinion—as to the necessity for drafting youths of 18 and 19 at this time.

I return to the statement of the Surgeon General of 1862:

In regard to the age at which recruits are received into service, a change is imperatively demanded, both for the interests of the Army and the welfare of the individuals. The minimum is now fixed at 18 years, and it is not uncommon to find soldiers 16 years old.

That will answer some of the queries which have been made by various Senators regarding the age of soldiers in the Civil War.

Youths of these ages are not developed and are not fit to endure the fatigues and privations of the military life. They soon break down, become sick, and are thrown upon the hospitals. As a measure of economy I recommend that the minimum age of recruits be fixed by law at 20 years.

Mr. President, different rules are adopted by various countries in connec-

tion with military service. In Australia men are called into the service by proclamation, operating under a general law. In that country they are taken by age groups, beginning with ages 22 to 25. In December 1940, 19-year-olds were called and on July 21, 1941, 18-year-olds.

In New Zealand on July 22, 1942, 18-year-old boys were called, but they are not sent overseas until they are 21. They are kept in camps and trained until they are 21. What an outrage it would be, Mr. President, if we should put into effect here, in the great United States, a law which would keep our young boys in camp until they have been trained. The Secretary of War with a snap of his fingers dismissed the idea of training them before sending them away. Such an idea never occurred to some of our military authorities.

In Canada men between the ages of 19 and 45 are subject to service, but Canada is actually calling men only 19 to 40 and only single men. Nineteen-year-old men were not called until about the end of last September, and Canada is not now taking 18-year-old boys.

Well we are going to take them. We are going to say to these youths, "Come on; your schooling is of no value; your home surroundings are of no consequence." There is no difference between taking these youths from their homes and their firesides and taking older men. They shall be taken, say the military authorities of the United States, and they shall be swept into the whirlpool of war. That is the end.

I have before me the debates in Parliament which have extended over 2 years in determining what should be done in Great Britain about this matter. A law was enacted yesterday in that country which will enable Great Britain, if they proceed in the manner they desire, to send their 18-year-olds to battle; but it will be found from the debates up to yesterday, acquiesced in by all parties, that youths of 18 should not be sent to battle. It is a pretty scene the Parliament presents when a member may ask an officer of the government any question he sees fit and the reply is made in good faith and in good faith the promise is kept.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a moment?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. No doubt the Senator has noticed in the announcement of Mr. Bevin, Minister of Labor and National Service of Great Britain, "that the younger recruits now to be called up will not immediately be posted for service overseas, for which the minimum age remains 19."

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Yes; it is 19½. We will send our boys 18, of course, and Great Britain will send hers of 19½. So we have a splendid example of following along, and of the United States doing its duty in this war and enabling the war to be won.

In that regard we have an example that is a perfectly potent one, and I am very glad the Senator from Ohio called my attention to it.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?



Why is the provision inserted in the New Zealand law that children 18 years of age shall not be sent out of the country? Of course, it is because of the



necessity that nations must fight for the protection of their own people, and the people of New Zealand have had the audacity to submit such a proposal, and that law is now being carried out in New Zealand. But, O Mr. President, we could not do such a thing. Oh, no; oh, no; it does not occur to us to adopt a rule that we shall fight only upon our own shores. No; that would be the most absurd thing that was ever heard of; and as for any man who would stand here on the floor and talk about fighting only upon our own shores—he is gone, he is gone, he is gone. Yes; that is the truth, and we recognize it to be the truth. Those who are so ready with names and so eager with epithets will use them to the utmost in denouncing one who takes such a stand.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McFARLAND in the chair). Does the Senator from California yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I yield.

Mr. WILLIS. A moment ago the Senator spoke of the law in New Zealand with respect to 18-year-olds. Does the Senator know what the law is in Canada?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Yes.

Mr. TYDINGS. It begins at 19.

Mr. WILLIS. Are those 19 years old in Canada under orders? That is, can they be taken out of the country?

Mr. TYDINGS. Yes; they can be taken out of the country at 19.

Mr. TAFT. No, Mr. President; my impression is, if the Senator will yield, that in Canada no man can be sent out of the country unless he volunteers for that purpose. A referendum was taken authorizing the Government to go ahead on that basis, but the actual legislation, as I understand, has not actually been passed at this time.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I was a little confused about that, and did not make a statement about it because of my confusion.

Mr. TAFT. I was in French Canada recently, and I know that they are not considering sending any of the men overseas at this time, except those who volunteer for overseas duty. Of course, there was criticism of the Prime Minister because he took the referendum vote, and then did not go ahead with the compulsory drafting of men for foreign service.

Mr. TYDINGS. I think the question asked by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. WILLIS] was with respect to the limit placed on the ages of those drafted in Canada; and, as I understand, it is 19 years.

Mr. TAFT. I believe so.

Mr. TYDINGS. I believe that in one part of Canada, Quebec, the French part of Canada, there is some opposition to sending the men who are drafted out of the country, but I do not believe there is any national law which forbids sending men out of the country. I do not speak with knowledge of the fact. That is my impression.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. There is very strong opposition in Quebec to sending men out of the country.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I yield.

Mr. WILEY. I have listened with a great deal of interest to the distinguished Senator from California. As I understand, he feels that if the 18-year-olds are taken they should first be given a year of training, and that there should be a statutory provision against removing them from continental United States? Is that substantially the Senator's position?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Substantially.

Mr. WILEY. I thank the Senator.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, recently a letter from several doctors was published in the New York Times. It was a letter protesting the drafting of youths. I presume the statement contained in the letter is familiar to all of us and need not be repeated by me. The letter is from certain gentlemen who profess to see great harm in the Army plan as it is now attempted to be pursued. They are medical men, professional men, and they give their professional opinion. Note how careful they are. They say in their letter:

Boys of 18 and 19 years of age are, in a large percentage of cases, emotionally immature. They have had fewer years in which to show clues to their instabilities and disqualifications. In fact, it is these particular years that have proved especially important in the evaluation of older groups. Consequently there is bound to be an undue proportion of unfit men taken into the service from the 18- and 19-year-olds and a much greater likelihood of mental break-down under stress than would be the case if they are permitted to develop until they are at least 20 years old.

The letter is signed by David Beck, M. D., Mount Sinai Hospital; Leland E. Hinsie, M. D., Columbia University Medical School; Gerald R. Jamieson, M. D., and George S. Stevenson, M. D., Medical Directors, National Committee for Mental Hygiene; Thomas V. Moore, M. D., Department of Psychology and Psychiatry, Catholic University of America; Frank J. O'Brien, M. D., Associate Superintendent of Schools, New York, and William L. Russell, M. D., New York State Psychiatric Institute and Hospital.

It is a very powerful statement. It enters into a discussion of the entire matter we are now considering. I do not like to take time to read the letter, but will submit it for printing in the Record as part of my remarks at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the letter will be printed in the Record.

The letter is as follows:

[From the New York Times of October 16, 1942]

YOUTHFUL DRAFT PROTESTED—GROUP OF PHYSICIANS SEES GREAT HARM IN 18-19 ARMY PLAN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Your readers are doubtless somewhat familiar with the contents of the bills that have been introduced in Congress which would amend the Selective Service Act to include 18- and 19-year-olds on the same basis as men of 20-45. This proposal raises a serious issue, on which many psychiatrists and other medical men will want to be heard before a decision is made.

We wish at the outset to make it crystal clear that it is not our purpose to obstruct

in any way our Nation's war effort. We recognize the increasing pressures of war requirements, to which the President alluded so feelingly in his address to the Nation last Monday evening. Nevertheless, we should not be true to ourselves if we neglect to call attention to certain medical and social consequences that are involved in the indiscriminate drafting of this lower-age group. We are deeply concerned, from the medical point of view, with its effect both on the individual and on society.

Although the time may come when the drafting of this group will be unavoidable, we believe that they should be reserved as long as possible and employed on the farms and in other alternative service until they are absolutely required for combat service.

#### EMOTIONALLY IMMATURE

Boys of 18 and 19 years of age are, in a large percentage of cases, emotionally immature. They have had fewer years in which to show clues to their instabilities and disqualifications. In fact, it is these particular years that have proved especially important in the evaluation of older groups. Consequently there is bound to be an undue proportion of unfit men taken into the service from the 18- and 19-year-olds and a much greater likelihood of mental break-down under stress than would be the case if they are permitted to develop until they are at least 20 years old.

When it is argued that they can be protected adequately by giving them more thorough medical examinations than older men get, and that these examinations shall include a psychiatric study, the answer is that this precaution is in reality not going to be taken. There was the same intention originally to make a thorough medical evaluation of the men admitted to the Army, but their examinations have become more hasty and inadequate, not by intent, but primarily because of the insufficient number of medical examiners available.

As a result of the lack of medical examiners the mental casualties are enormous. Military discretion prohibits our stating figures. More and more, as physicians leave their civilian posts, local facilities for examinations will be lessened. As we enter more extensive combat fewer qualified psychiatrists will be available at induction stations.

#### MILITARY IDEA DISPUTED

There is no sound basis for the claim that youth of this age make better soldiers. We say this without hesitation, even though we are not authorities in the military field. There is a very serious fault in the reasoning that has led to this conclusion. Presumably the conclusion grows out of the experience military leaders have had thus far with volunteers from these age groups. But actually our Army has not had experience with the sort of boys they would get in a draft. Their experience has been with volunteers only, the most matured part of this age group, as evidenced by their capacity to arrive at independent decisions and break ties with family and community. Some 18-year-olds are like 20, others more like 16. The draft of this age group will bring the whole range into the Army. The more immature will find themselves in a terrible situation, and so will the Army. The Army has had experience only with a small percentage of this age group. Our conclusions as medical men are based upon knowledge of the 2,000,000 or more which trail them.

#### NAZI PLAN NOT FOR US

One of the arguments for the immediate drafting of this lower age group will be that Germany considers this group valuable from a military viewpoint—even down to the age of 16. We should remember, however, that there is a difference between the boy of this age in Germany and the boy of this age in



the United States. Our adversaries, the Fascists, find the drafting of youth quite harmonious with their purposes, for it prepares youth to fit in with their philosophy. The aim of the German system has been to mature—or premature—the youth at an early age to equip them physically through hard labor and mentally through early regimentation for army life and combat service. This is in marked contrast with the preparation which our youth have had.

Even England, which has been pressed to the wall in the search for manpower, does not treat her 18- and 19-year-olds with the lack of discrimination which is proposed in the bills now before Congress. While all men in England are registered at 18, they are not called for military service until 6 months later. Then they are given a thorough physical examination, and if they pass they are permitted to join the branch of service they prefer or, if highly skilled, they may be ordered back to the jobs they have left. If they do not pass their physical examinations, they may be given some sedentary job with the armed forces or, if needed in agriculture, may be allocated to a farm.

In other words, England, in spite of greater pressure for manpower than we have yet felt, treats its 18-year-olds differently, at least, from the way it deals with other draftees. The bills before us make no discrimination between the age groups.

Looking at the problem from the standpoint of society, the fact should be remembered that the years between 18 and 20 are years when young men are finding themselves, emancipating themselves, developing personal strength by being on their own. If this proposal to draft the youths is carried out, they will step out of the state of dependence on their parents to a state of dependence on an authoritarian organization, the Army, and, following the war, they will have no pattern of individual civilian responsibility to return to as a guide to their future living. They will be the best sort of material for the support of a totalitarian ideology, but not for the democracy for which they have fought. In our anxiety to win the war we must not lose sight of the necessity of creating a free world after the war.

#### FATHERS SIMPLER PROBLEM

We believe we have given full consideration to the fact that it is a great hardship for a child to be deprived of his father or a wife of her husband, but we regard even this as not so serious as subjecting the 18- and 19-year-old group prematurely to combat experience. It seems to us that this age group is our most important reserve of manpower and should be safeguarded to the last. If the Government is preparing for a long war, they might be placed in a quasi-military status now and conscripted for military service later. If it proves to be a short war, they will be equally needed in building the post-war world.

Should not such alternatives be considered, therefore, as will prepare them physically and emotionally for later service? Many of them should be given all possible opportunity to complete the technical and professional training that will replenish the Nation's exhausted skills for use both in the war and in the post-war period. This kind of training is particularly applicable to the boy with city background and to the boy who would normally go to college.

Many others with agriculture backgrounds are going to be needed on farms, from which they can pass into military life far better qualified for rendering useful service than they otherwise would have been.

We would particularly protest against conscripting this age group for combat service merely because it seems to be the line of least resistance or because they in their ignorance and inexperience will be more reckless soldiers than older men. We shall have a large enough proportion of mentally broken men

from the older groups without unnecessarily ruining these youths.

Summing up our argument, it is our best judgment that the 18-19-year-olds must be regarded as our national reserve, and therefore as the last to be conscripted for military service; that drafting them now would be fraught with serious hazards to the Army, to the youths themselves, and to the future welfare of our country.

DAVID BECK, M. D.,

*Mount Sinai Hospital.*

LELAND E. HINSIE, M. D.,

*Columbia University Medical School.*

GERALD R. JAMIESON, M. D.,

*George S. Stevenson, M. D.,*

*Medical Directors, National*

*Committee for Mental Hygiene.*

THOMAS V. MOORE, M. D.,

*Department of Psychology and Psychiatry, Catholic University of America.*

FRANK J. O'BRIEN, M. D.,

*Associate Superintendent*

*of Schools, New York.*

WILLIAM L. RUSSELL, M. D.,

*New York State Psychiatric*

*Institute and Hospital.*

NEW YORK, October 14, 1942.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, the arguments made by the distinguished gentlemen who advocate the taking of these younger classes would seem to give an appearance of verisimilitude to a bald and unconvincing statement of fact. That is the nearest approach I can think of at the moment to a real definition of the arguments which have been made. Gentlemen came before the Military Affairs Committee and hypnotized its members—pardon the remark. They were asked:

"Do you want this proposal made a part of the law?"

"Yes, sir."

"Is it imperatively necessary?"

"Yes, sir."

That was all. Thereupon it was unanimously decreed. Did it not occur to any of the committee at any time that there might be some Member of this body who had sufficient sympathy to speak for little boys? Did it not occur to the committee that there might be some Member of the older tribe who would speak a word for lads? It did not occur to anybody. No one was given any time. So it was decreed that 18 years should be the minimum age for the draft.

Youth, O youth! There is only one time in our lives when we can feel it. We have all experienced the happiness of youth. We have all loved the youth that dared great things in its ambition and love of adventure. Youth gives us a little of the love of life which is in our young. Youth comes along with us day in and day out, year in and year out, as we tug at its hand and as it walks by our side. Youth is everything to us. It is youth that we pray for in this particular time.

Do what you please, Senators. You may take the youth of the land and throw it to the dogs. You may do with it whatever you see fit. Some of us pray for youth, and beg you to pay a little heed to its cry and its interest. That is all. It is youth that we plead for. It has gone from me. It has gone from many who are here. It is gone forever, but the recollections of it are the keenest and most ardent we can have. Youth is everything.

We are told that we must take youth and give it to the arbitrament of war. Give it some other opportunity than merely to die. That is all I ask. Give youth an opportunity, and youth will always pay back a thousandfold what we do for it.

Mr. GILLETTE obtained the floor.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GILLETTE. I yield to the Senator from Nebraska if he merely wishes to make a brief statement.

Mr. NORRIS. I was about to offer an amendment. For that purpose I probably should have the floor in my own right.

Mr. GILLETTE. I shall not consume more than 3 or 4 minutes.

Mr. President, the Senate did a very unusual thing—and in my opinion a very improper thing—in agreeing to the motion of the distinguished majority leader to refer the Lee amendment to one of the standing committees of the Senate. I have no intention of reopening the subject matter of the Lee amendment to discuss its merits or demerits. Neither do I intend to move for a reconsideration of the vote by which the motion of the Senator from Kentucky was agreed to.

Nothing I shall say will be in criticism of the Presiding Officer, the Senator from Kentucky, or the Parliamentarian of this body.

There is no element in representative government which ought to be more jealously guarded than the right of amendment of a pending proposal. When the right of amendment is destroyed, the very heart of parliamentary action is destroyed. The action taken yesterday did exactly that. I admit that I am to be criticized because I was not alert. I did not reach the Chamber until about the time the roll call started, or I should have raised a point of order.

The Lee amendment, or any amendment of that kind, has no substance, no being, and no excuse for being, except for consideration in connection with the proposal which it seeks to modify. In this body we do not raise the question of germaneness. When an amendment is presented by a Member of the Senate to a pending proposal he has the right to have it considered in connection with the proposal. In my opinion no more destructive action can be taken than to take an amendment away from the substantive proposal which it seeks to modify, and refer it to one of the committees of the Senate, even with instructions to bring it back as a separate bill.

Many amendments which are proposed could be made the subject matter of separate bills if the Senators sponsoring them chose to do so; but the Senator from Oklahoma sought to have his amendment considered in connection with the conditions surrounding the service of 18- and 19-year-old men. To prevent its consideration and deprive him of the right to have his amendment acted on is to establish a precedent which might enable the Senate to consider a motion to send to some committee any amendment which might be offered to a pending proposal, thus depriving the sponsoring Senator of the right to have



it considered in connection with the measure to which it is offered.

As I say, I have no intention of moving to reconsider the vote by which the motion of the Senator from Kentucky was agreed to. I was not present in time to raise the point of order; but I did not want the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to show an account of a proceeding which could be pointed to in the future as a precedent to sustain the action of a parliamentary body in depriving members of the body of their right to present amendments and have them considered in connection with the pending proposal. Such action would destroy what I believe to be a fundamental of parliamentary rule as applied to representative government.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment which I propose. I wish to read it. The amendment would add a new section to the bill, section 5. It reads as follows:

Nothing in this act shall be construed to authorize the sending of troops inducted into military service by this act into combat service who are less than 19 years of age unless such troops have had at least 1 year of training.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McFARLAND in the chair). The amendment of the Senator is not in order at this time.

Mr. NORRIS. I understood that the committee amendments had already been acted upon. I am informed that I am in error about that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The committee amendments have not been acted upon.

Mr. NORRIS. So my amendment is not in order at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the first branch of the committee amendment, on page 2, after line 18, being subsection (i) of section 4.

CORPORAL WILLKIE AND PRIVATE LUCE LAY DOWN THE STRATEGY

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, I hesitate to take a moment when the Senate is pressing for final consideration of the proposal to draft 18- and 19-year-old boys; yet I know of no other time which might be mine. A little later I shall desire to address myself briefly to the pending subject. For the moment I am departing entirely from it, in order that I may address myself to another subject, which it seems to me is as challenging as any before us.

Mr. President, Wendell Willkie may have had a great many votes recorded for him in 1940; but I hope the world, and particularly our Allies, realize how largely these votes were not so much votes for Willkie as they were votes against an order, votes against a cause, and that Willkie got those votes in spite of himself. Life magazine to the contrary notwithstanding, Mr. Willkie does not speak for too many Americans. If he made his recent trip abroad as a special-delivery-letter messenger, let it be said that there are numberless Americans, including many who voted for him, who will protest his being paid more than the standard 10 cents special-delivery fee which prevails for service of this kind.

Like many others, I feel that it was a grievous blunder to have sent Corporal

Willkie abroad or to have let him go with any seeming authority. Our Allies and our enemies perhaps do not know the Corporal as we do. We know he loves to talk, even when he says things he does not mean. He has a quaint way, a way hitherto unknown to men who have honorably aspired to the Presidency of the United States—a quaint way of explaining his free talk when it catches up with him. He merely says, as he once said to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "It was a bit of campaign oratory." After all, in Moscow, Chungking, and London, in Tokyo, Rome, and Berlin, they might not understand the Willkie baloney, however prominent might be the campaign oratory label upon it.

Then, too, let us hope that abroad they are not taking Private Henry Luce too seriously, even though he is the publisher of Life, the March of Time, and another publication or two.

He is one of the boys and girls who helped make Willkie look like Presidential timber for a time. He was a prime figure, long before Pearl Harbor, in selling America the notion that Britain was fighting our war, that it was our job to fight the things, including Hitler, among other things, that were making life difficult for Britain. Now in his Life magazine of October 12, the same Luce, pretending to "speak for a large portion of our 134,000,000 fellow citizens," threatens the people of England with our withdrawal from the war unless England changes her cause and makes her cause different from our cause in this war. Definitely, Mr. Luce and Life, combined or separately, do not speak for a large portion of the American people when they contribute to the break-down or injury of the unity of our country and our Allies in the prosecution of the cause which holds our very existence as a nation in its lap.

The quicker our Allies and our enemies know these Willkie and Luce birds, the quicker will they understand that their scolding and their screaming does not emanate from the American eagle. It seems to me that we should cause both Allies and foes to know that there is unity here in America; that the Willkies, the Luces, and the Winchells may spout their very heads off and not destroy the unity to win which exists here and which we want continuous sharing of by our Allies. Let those self-exaggerated individuals do what they will, our Allies should be made to know that we are a patient 134,000,000 of people who did not all let themselves in on the Willkie-Luce-Winchell seeming theory that we could whip the world in 6 days and spend every night of that week enjoying the dangerous explosions and sharp, rifle-like reports emanating from photographers' light bulbs and forced champagne bottle corks in the famous halls of Stork clubs.

Frankly, we ought to let England know that the campaign oratory disciple, the publisher with the exaggerated opinion of himself, and the keyhole artist do not reflect American opinion when they make their effort seem to indicate that we are not united here at home, that we demand a second front before we can make it last and count in winning the war, or that we are demanding of Eng-

land something other than a continual helping hand in this titanic task of preserving our lives as nations.

Mr. Luce, in writing his Life editorial, addressed to the people of England, has committed an act fraught with more trouble than all that the fifth columnists in the land afford. Berlin and Tokyo glow in the opportunity the editorial has afforded them to sell to their people their propaganda of a split in the Allied cause. The editorial has not helped to win any new or better understanding in the land of that Ally whose cooperation is so essential to our success in these dark and difficult hours.

With our country at war with the mightiest foes we have ever had to face, a mighty one to the east and a mightier one to the west; with our country struggling with difficult production problems, agriculturally and industrially, with a threat of a new and modern draft of the whole manpower of the Nation that could reach every individual in our land; with a prospect that by July next there will be 300,000 of the smaller business enterprises dead, as prophesied by Wayne Taylor of the Commerce Department; with a burden of tax greater than ever before, a tax going even to the individual with so little income as \$12 per week; with the great prospect that our own Government will be reaching into the high schools and colleges for the boys to be sent across oceans to fight brutal foes; with our country facing complete reformation of our economy, and, if not bankruptcy, then a per capita debt of \$1,500, \$3,000 or more upon every man, woman, and child in America; with an annual governmental expenditure already greater than the total expenditure by our Government from 1789 to 1933; with our own American way challenged by a system that already has over 2,000,000 people, exclusive of the numbers of fighters in the Army and Navy, upon the Federal pay roll, and with a civilian pay roll of 1,100,000 people in the War Department that costs more than does the pay roll of the entire Army; with our very life as a nation depending upon ability to deny victory to the Axis Powers—with all these challenges at our door, I submit that this is definitely not the time to be making the slightest degree of war against such Allies as we have and desperately need. Yet, there are those who bear reputations of American leadership, who have played a part in shaping American policy, who have a large hearing however small their following—there are those who are harshly criticizing, severely prodding, bluntly and ungenerously threatening an ally in a way that could destroy their will to win with us, in a way that could force that Ally to question our good faith in this war effort. In spite of our precarious position, there are those who seem to have been quick to forget what they once preached concerning how largely our future was dependent upon the continued effort of this Ally.

Take a look at the Life editorial of which I speak, an editorial which seems to speak for Mr. Willkie as well as its writer, Mr. Luce. Says Mr. Luce in the editorial addressed as an open letter to the people of England:



We assure you that we do speak for a large portion of our 134,000,000 fellow citizens. \* \* \* If your strategists are planning a war to hold the British Empire together, they will \* \* \* find themselves strategizing all alone. Take this matter of the second front. \* \* \* It does seem to be most dreadfully urgent. \* \* \* Before he left on his present trip, Wendell Willkie had refused to commit himself on the second front. But after he had \* \* \* talked to Josef Stalin \* \* \* he did commit himself and even urged us to "prod" our experts. From a United Nations standpoint it begins to look as if there should have been a second front long ago.

Nice going, is it not, for those two great strategists, those two great military experts, Willkie and Luce. But that was not all. Mr. Luce further says in his editorial:

So here is one concrete concession that we demand of you. Quit fighting a war to hold the Empire together and join with us and Russia and your other Allies to fight a war to win by whatever strategy is best for all of us. \* \* \* If you cling to the Empire at the expense of a United Nations victory you will lose the war. Because you will lose us.

Let us try to analyze all that scolding. When, Mr. Luce, was there any considerable American thought, before or after Pearl Harbor, before or after we became a British ally, that Britain was not fighting to save her empire? There was never any secret about that. You who held brief for the British long before we got into this war did tell us there were some additional causes for which Britain fought, but you never maintained that the British were ready to abandon their empire.

And, Mr. Luce, what is so unreasonable and so unexpected about a British desire to maintain her empire? Certainly if she keeps her empire, Britain will have helped us to win the war in order to keep it, will she not? Britain trying to save herself, her empire. Why, Mr. Luce, is that any different than our own will and desire to save our own country from the Axis? Why do you expect the English to approach this war task in any different manner or for any different purpose than those that move us? Britain fights for her life, just as America fights for her life.

Let us analyze the Luce-Willkie play as represented by the editorial in question. We can forget that line about Willkie urging Life to prod our experts. That is expected of those who work as closely together as Luce and Willkie have worked. But we cannot forget the heartless, bitter thing that might be produced by these prodding pretenders.

We have trained men, and Britain has trained men, men who chose and consented to make it their business to know how to win wars, how to make blows count, how to bring victory with least waste of lives and fortunes.

We all are impatient for that hour which will bring victories. But you, Mr. Luce, and you, Mr. Willkie, have no faith in those military leaders in whose hands the present terrible task is placed. You seem to think that you know how a war ought to be fought and won. You would prod these leaders to the use of these 18- and 19-year-old boys in an awful

adventure before they, the leaders, knew they were ready. You would prod them into perhaps another Dunkerque, or another Dieppe, just because one of you had been delegated to carry a message to Moscow and Chungking. You would not even think of counseling with the fine Canadian fathers and mothers, who might have something to say about another Dieppe. Great generals, you two.

The Willkie-Luce challenge ought to have angered our Allies, as it did; and it ought to anger everyone of us who has any responsibility in the conduct of the war. May God and the fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters of both America and Britain have mercy upon such as would succeed in prodding our military leaders and strategists into pouring lives onto a futile second front one second before such a move can win, and a blow can be struck that can be made really to count. Where, oh where, is the conscience of men, uneducated in military planning, who would take so vital a responsibility out of the hands of trained, courageous military leaders, and themselves determine the course that could be the bloodiest and at the same time the most futile move in all the history of the world? What is to be said of the responsibility of men who would seem to say to the people of England "Now you open a second front or we Americans quit." That is what the Life editorial seemed to say.

The editorial said more than that. It said in effect that we did not have enough second fronts now, with American boys fighting, bleeding, and dying on fronts farther from home than we have ever previously sent American fighters. Do not stop to know how adequately prepared we are for more fronts; let us have another! That seems to be the tenor of the Life editorial, obviously inspired by that "great" campaign orator Wendell Willkie.

Let others speak up! Leave no reason for the English and for our American military leaders to believe that this Life editorial speaks for the American people. In their leadership we place our confidence. With them we want no more second fronts until we are prepared to make the blows these boys of ours strike fully worth every sacrifice called for. No son ought to be asked to offer the supreme sacrifice until there is far better preparation for the battle than prevailed at certain European fronts or than was had for at least a time on the Pacific front where our men have died and our ships have been sunk while the brave fought for time, to the end that others might be made better prepared for the mighty and we hope final blows to be struck.

It is so easy to sit in the gallery of scolds; where sit Willkie and Luce, telling our own generals and our Allies without further delay, to send more Australians, more South Africans, more of our own neighbor Canadians, more of British sons to more of such slaughter as they have already suffered. But for my part I am ready to let our ally, Britain, have the full benefit of every doubt, give them credit for perhaps concentrating allied forces and making ready to strike a solid blow rather than splitting

and spreading themselves so thinly upon many fronts that they cannot hope to be truly effective anywhere. We ought to have learned by this time the great disadvantage of spreading as thinly as we did our limited forces around the face of the globe and not being prepared to strike as forcefully anywhere as we shall do when men and machines are ready in larger numbers.

Mr. President, some would put me in the light of a pretender for what I say today. My utterances will be represented as those of a hypocrite seeking to get onto what he believes is a popular wagon. I lay no claim to having been other than a sincere critic of an alliance for our country in this war. Until Britain became our Ally last December, I criticized British purpose, her empire building, her distance from the things her spokesmen preached as causes for the purpose of inviting our cooperation in another war. I wanted to keep our country out of the awful tide which now engulfs the world. I shall probably criticize Britain again when we are free to plan and shape our place in a world that shall have finished with this war. I do not like empires. I do not like the idea of permanent union with empires; but since we became allied with Britain, in the cause of saving our own country and others from Axis domination, I have wanted only to aid Britain because aid for her was aid for ourselves in the most difficult and critical cause ever faced by my country. The Luce-Willkie policy, on the other hand, seems now to have been that of praising and helping Britain before we became her Ally, and condemning and prodding her after accomplishing our alliance with her.

I am frankly angered by the kind of pranks we see played by the Luces. They did not like noninterventionists—isolationists they called us. They placed us in the worst possible light their publications would permit, because we wanted no alliance with Europe and her jealousies and hates. But, having witnessed the abandonment of nonintervention, and our country having become involved in the most terrible war of all time, now come the same Luces with attacks upon those whose alliance we must have if we are to endure and save our own American face. Who could be other than angry? I but hope our Ally will not believe that Luce reflects American thought in his effort to undermine that Ally.

During the campaign—some called it a crusade—of 1940 and 1941, when we were putting all our eggs in or taking all our eggs out of intervention or nonintervention baskets, representations were sometimes made which in the light of later developments appear to have been poorly founded. I know that developments have made some of my own representations appear in that light. I gladly acknowledge this, though insisting that on the whole my contentions offered in support of a policy less challenging than the one our country pursued are not without large substantiation through day by day experiences.

But these things are hardly of consequence today, when we have on our hands the very positive obligation of winning this war. It definitely is not



the time to be throwing "I told you so's" in this or the international arena. Nor is it the time to be reflecting upon our Allies. Whatever we may have thought and said of our Allies-to-be prior to last December, today they are a part and parcel of our own cause, the most critical cause of all time. If ever we needed allies, that time is now. For that reason, I resent the attitude of some presumably responsible Americans who would now jeopardize our own security by damning our Allies.

I said time and again before our involvement that the war then being fought in Europe, Asia, and Africa was not our war, and that the preservation of the British Empire was in no sense our task. I offer no apology for such utterances. Were we not involved in the war, I would still be saying these things, which I felt highly justified. But, for the life of me, I cannot appreciate the advantage or good sense of even intimating these thoughts, as Henry Luce and his *Life* magazine have done, in an hour when we know this war is ours, in a time when certainly the preservation of the British Empire in the minds of some of our Allies is quite as important a cause as is the cause of preserving America in our American minds.

I have said upon many occasions that if we got into this war we could expect our Allies would take every possible advantage of our alliance, place every possible burden upon us. But this is not the time to be attacking our Allies with charges of bad faith and cowardice, and giving the enemy the chance to build home morale through the "break among the Allies," as represented by the great Luce and the self-appointed generalissimo of the great minority party.

Surely I said as early as August 10, 1937, here on the Senate floor, that if we did not put a stop to the business of sending scrap iron to Japan we would one day find ourselves sending our sons into the Pacific to collect this scrap in their own bodies for return for American burial. But I would resent it if any of our Allies were now to charge my country with bad faith because of that. Our Allies, not even China, are not so charging, because I expect they realize that all of us have just one job to do—a job that is not going to be other than jeopardized if we permit ourselves to be involved in interallied skirmishes. Why do not such spokesmen as Luce practice toward our Allies what we expect them to practice toward us?

I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in my remarks at this point an editorial from the *Saturday Evening Post* entitled "Japan Needed No Agents."

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SPENCER in the chair). Is there objection?

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the *RECORD*, as follows:

[From the *Saturday Evening Post* of October 17, 1942]

#### JAPAN NEEDED NO AGENTS

A few weeks ago the FBI tossed out a dragnet and hauled in two bizarre characters charged with acting as Japanese agents without registering as such with the State De-

partment—all this, of course, before Pearl Harbor. One of their assignments was to buy the moribund *Living Age* as a means of distributing articles favorable to Japan.

Since the men were paid by the Japanese, it is obvious that they should have registered as agents. But, now that it is not unneutral to bring it up, attention might profitably be directed to the aid given, entirely within the law, to Japan in ways far more profitable to that aggressive nation than anything that seems to have been accomplished by the two journalists mentioned above. Shipments of oil, scrap iron, planes, and machine tools continued when it should have been obvious that Japanese policy toward China was certain to lead to war.

More unpleasant to recall is the fact that, when the State Department finally got round to a "moral embargo" on war planes, American designers and engineers were sent to Japan to instruct Japanese manufacturers in the art of making war planes. As Ray Cromley put it in the *Wall Street Journal* recently, "It is probably not far from the truth to say that every airplane which Japan has on the front lines today was produced in part—and a critical part at that—with the aid of American machine tools" and "under the supervision of American engineers." A year before the war, Mr. Cromley reports, a Japanese businessman told him that Japan's aviation industry was dependent on American machine tools. That was more than a year after Japan had broken off the commercial treaty of 1911 with the United States, 2 years after Mr. Hull had warned American manufacturers to cease supplying Japan with weapons.

All this is water over the dam, and the subject is mentioned merely to remind us that the humanitarians and friends of China who protested the arming of Japan from American resources were not such crackpots as they were thought to be. In those days Japan needed no agents, registered or otherwise. She was doing quite well with the constituted authorities.

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, before we were allied in this war I said the British were largely responsible for the war, quoted British leaders like Lord Lothian as my authority for such declarations. But in this war, so directly involving the survival of our own country, I am not pulling a "Luce" and fighting an ally so essential to our success as is Britain.

Before America became involved in this war I entertained sincerest conviction that we were in no degree dependent upon Britain or her Navy if we but provided our country with the modern defensive weapons. I quoted freely men who were saying: "The whole business of invasion across the sea against ample land-based air power no longer is in the book of possibilities; the bomber has made the American coast impregnable to invasion," as Lt. Col. Thomas R. Phillips expressed it in the publication *Army Ordnance*. But with our energies spread over the entire globe, with war on many fronts far from our shores, I am hardly so dumb as to feel that we can do the job now before us and alone save our own shores without allied help, at least on distant fronts.

Oh, yes; I freely criticized Britain for the play that moved us into the preceding war. I marshaled and portrayed the parts played by the British Vickers Co., the boasting of Churchill on what would happen if only America could be made to shed a bit of blood on fields of battle. I did all in my power to avoid affiliation

by America in more foreign wars, and helped develop the sordid story of munitions companies and profit appetites getting the world to war—a story so complete that President Roosevelt was once caused to say in a message to Congress:

The private and uncontrolled manufacture of arms and munitions, and the traffic therein has become a serious source of international discord and strife. \* \* \* This grave menace to the peace of the world is due in no small measure to the uncontrolled activities of the manufacturers and merchants of engines of destruction.

But I cannot be so magnificent a dun-derhead as to ignore the utter need for the highest degree of unity among the Allied Nations in this hour, a unity hardly attained by the kind of blowing the Willkies and the Luces are affording.

To be sure, before we were in the war I fought and voted against what I thought was the madness of the gigantic appropriations being asked for the huge battleships. There would be some cause for my going back now to those votes and justifying them, in light of late decisions dictated by the experience of this war against the continued building of the big ships. But that kind of action wins no wars. I have been ready to abandon that whole argument while my country was fighting for its life. Mr. Luce would open new avenues for controversy and keep pulling on strings of disharmony.

Today there are those—and they have not been discouraged or hindered by Mr. Willkie or Mr. Luce—who would have our Allies believe that we Americans were a frightfully divided people, with the leaders of the pre-war nonintervention cause playing to, and hoping for, a Nazi victory, riding with and encouraging the bund. The fact that I, 4 and 5 years ago, sought for legislation that would put the bund out of business does not enter into their consideration when this willful crowd sets out to prevent the attainment of unity. Yet that same crowd, not content with its stirring of disunity at home, reaches out to stir disunity among our Allies.

I, too, may and do believe that the British make a terrible mistake when they fail to recognize the claims of India, but I am not slyly suggesting to England that if she does not do thus and so about India, the people of America are going to quit the war and leave our Allies out on a limb.

I urged and helped to write the laws of neutrality while the move was popular, while the administration was for it, at a time when there could be cool deliberation. And then, in hours of less will to deliberate, hours when passion and hate were being tossed at us by the Luces, then bent upon getting us in the war, in hours when neutrality was being made unpopular by reason of failure to invoke the laws, I stood by and fought every play to wear away these laws intended to help us keep out of war. I fought the lifting of the arms embargo, the destruction of the cash-and-carry feature of the law, the whittling here and there of the law, and finally the lend-lease play, and the outright repeal of whatever remained of the law of neutrality. I charged British agents and British propaganda with responsibility in part for the destruction



of these laws, written in sober days when we dared to do things for our own country and its future. I did these things because I wanted to keep my country out of another war if there were ways of doing it. The Luce and the Willkies thought such a course criminal, unpatriotic, un-American, dictated by hatred of Britain. But with the coming of war to us, with our alliance with Britain in a common cause of self-preservation and victory, I was ready to forget all about why neutrality failed and who contributed to its failure. Luce, on the other hand, who in those days of undertaken neutrality was telling us Britain was fighting our war, now attacks Britain, our ally, when allies are scarce, to say the least. Luce no longer is ready to hold that Britain might be fighting our war.

I fought, before we were at war, the Union Now propaganda, the motion picture propaganda, and the control of the picture industry by foreign-born executives. I fought every influence that was striving to take us to war. Luce and his Life and Time magazines were then attacking me and all others engaged in like purpose, charging sabotage and pro-Axis sympathies to one and all who would not come all out for England. With our entry into the war we saw that these things were no longer to be an influence in our thinking if we were to win the war, and gladly abandoned any and all solicitation on the subjects. Luce and his magazines, on the other hand, seem bent now upon doing what they can to reflect upon such allies as we have and need in the gigantic task before us.

For no reason would I strive to dodge responsibility for the fact that I carried my opposition to involvement in the war up to the very moment of our being brought into it on December 7. On that afternoon I was addressing an America First rally at Pittsburgh, had been speaking of how diligently some people and forces had been striving to get us into the war, and was in the midst of recounting how Liddell Hart and other British authorities had published the word that perhaps the only way they, the British, could get us into another European war was through a war with Japan, when a newspaperman laid before me the slip I hold in my hand, with the message scrawled upon it:

The Japanese Imperial Government in Tokyo at 4 p. m. announced a state of war against the United States and Great Britain.

A reporter, and Mr. Luce's Time magazine, afforded the falsest kind of report of this meeting and my own part in it. I did not even fight that report as published, we had a bigger job before us. But Mr. Luce now does not think the job so large that we cannot do it alone if necessary, and he goes forward now jabbing and prodding our Allies, at a time when the great portion of Americans are not caring how we got into this thing, caring only that we, plus our Allies, can get out of it with credit and honor to ourselves.

What is this Willkie-Luce-Winchell combination up to, anyway? Are they just plain blind? Or are they playing

with a troublous mind that finds them remembering how they preached about the ease with which we could bring order to the world if only America would pitch her might into the British cause? Do they seek to justify that position, now that the task is proven less simple than they thought, by charging shortcomings to our Allies and our military leaders? They would do the allied cause a great service if they would settle down to their normal operation, as in Willkie's case, of running after-election inheritances of banking, moving picture, insurance, and shipbuilding positions.

It would seem to me that there was plenty for us Americans to be doing here at home in putting our ship in shape to win this war; so much, in fact, that we could well afford to refrain from practices toward our Allies so harsh as to invite their bitter anger. There is plenty to do here at home, plenty of room, especially for those critics who once thought our hand in this war would end it in a day, wipe out Tokyo in 20 minutes. Let those critics devote their energies to the manpower problem, a problem which was overlooked when they contemplated our entry in the war, a problem involving a war which needs twice as great a population as we have, according to some spoken plans. There are plenty of problems here at home. Let Mr. Willkie, for example, as an executive of a great moving-picture production firm, give a little of his energy to determining just how the movie and radio stars are being treated under the draft.

Maybe this is not the place to speak of it, but it should be noted that great effort is being extended to win a deferred status for certain stars. Here is Kay Kyser, for example, a great leader of a great band, explaining that his Government needs him more in his task of entertaining, and selling bonds, than in the military ranks. All of which may be quite true, but it does not seem to be the Government that initiated keeping Kyser at home. A theatrical booking agency office in Hollywood on August 31 received from Mr. C. J. La Roche, its New York agent, a long teletype message telling of how it had already handled a list of stars, including Kay Kyser. In addition to smugly claiming responsibility for the classification of Kyser and others as being more essential at home, that agency recited others of their clients for whom a like classification was being sought.

Mr. President, I have no war with Mr. Kyser. He may have, and probably does have, every cause on his side. But I do object to the obviously organized effort by pressure groups to bring preferred status to artists.

Returning now to a conclusion of the subject matter I was dealing with, I wish to say only that I hold no brief for other than a united front on the part of the allied cause. I want no stone placed in the path of those in whose hands rests the responsibility for the war's conduct. Both President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill have asserted that decision in the conduct of the war is placed with trained military leaders who have made conduct of war their life-long business. The Luce and Willkies ought

to be made to know that their campaign oratory is not the kind of ammunition these military leaders need, however explosive their words may sometimes appear to be. The Luce and the Willkies should be stopped from making any seeming charge that these Allied military leaders are lacking in courage or associated with cowardice. Do Mr. Luce and Mr. Willkie count themselves better qualified than the military leaders to determine the ability, the readiness, and the strategy of our forces in the military field? Men are bound to be accused of rotten bad faith when they deal loosely with spoken and printed words at a time like this. I for one resent the audacity which has invited the strong resentment of the English people toward not only Mr. Luce and the magazine Life, but toward the American people for whom Mr. Luce pretends to speak.

We win or we lose this war together, we Allies. We will never win it by tearing at our allies and seeking to hurry them or to prod them and our own leaders, before we are, in the estimation of those leaders, ready, fully ready, to make our costly blows count. We swim together or we sink together. The Luce and the Willkies would seem to be trying to destroy the only chance we have to win. If there is no way for democracy to muzzle them, then at least those who will can make it clear that they are not speaking for all of us.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MURDOCK in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the first branch of the committee amendment beginning in line 19, page 2.

Mr. McNARY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Gerry	Pepper
Andrews	Gillette	Radcliffe
Austin	Green	Reed
Bailey	Guffey	Reynolds
Ball	Gurney	Rosier
Barkley	Hatch	Russell
Bilbo	Hayden	Shipstead
Bone	Hill	Smathers
Brewster	Johnson, Calif.	Smith
Bulow	La Follette	Spencer
Bunker	Langer	Taft
Burton	Lee	Thomas, Idaho
Butler	Lodge	Thomas, Okla.
Byrd	Lucas	Thomas, Utah
Capper	McFarland	Tobey
Caraway	McKellar	Tunnell
Chavez	McNary	Tydings
Clark, Idaho	Maloney	Vandenberg
Clark, Mo.	Maybank	Van Nuys
Connally	Mead	Wagner
Danaher	Murdock	Wallgren
Davis	Norris	Walsh
Downey	Nye	Wheeler
Doxey	O'Daniel	White
Ellender	O'Mahoney	Wiley
George	Overton	Willis

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Seventy-eight Senator have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

The question is on agreeing to the second branch of the committee amendment, on page 3, after line 2, being subsection (j) of section 4.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, this branch of the committee amendment refers to the liability for training and service of persons convicted of crime. It reads as follows:



No individual shall be relieved from liability for training and service under this act, or held not to be acceptable to the land or naval forces for such training and service, solely on the ground of his having been convicted of any crime which is not a felony at common law, if the local board having jurisdiction determines that such individual is, notwithstanding such conviction, morally fit for military service.

It will be noted from the language of the amendment that it eliminates only those persons who have been convicted of a felony at common law. Consequently, many statutory felonies are not excluded. Some examples of these are embezzlement, forgery, kidnapping, and traffic in and use of narcotics. It is believed by the War Department that persons convicted of these and other statutory felonies should not at this time be included as a class made mandatory for acceptance for military service. Inasmuch as the present legislation involves military employment of young men 18 and 19 years of age, it is believed that the War Department should not be required by statute to accept persons convicted of statutory felonies until after careful examination has been made of the facts in each case. Although the proposed amendment qualifies the acceptance by placing the determination in the local board to see that the individual is morally fit for military service, it is believed more appropriate to eliminate from consideration any person who has been convicted of a felony denounced by statute. The War Department recommends, therefore, that the amendment be changed to read in accordance with the wording which I have already given to the clerk, and which I ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from South Dakota to the committee amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. In lieu of subsection (j) of section 4 it is proposed to insert the following:

(j) No individual shall be relieved from liability for training and service under this act, or held not to be acceptable to the land or naval forces for such training and service, solely on the ground of his having been convicted of any crime which may not be punishable by death or imprisonment for a term exceeding 1 year, if the local board having jurisdiction determines that such individual is, notwithstanding such conviction, morally fit for military service.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, I am rather curious about one aspect of this question. It probably has no immediate bearing on the question at issue, but suppose a man were serving a sentence of 2 or 3 years. If the amendment covers such a case what would happen to the sentence legally? Would it be in abeyance or suspended? Suppose a man were released from the penitentiary and served in the Army. What would happen when he got out of the Army? Would it be necessary to make some provision in the statute for a resumption of the sentence, or would the suggested provision automatically parole him or pardon him? What would happen to him?

Mr. GURNEY. It would not automatically parole or pardon him. It does

not go into that matter at all. If the Senator will look closely he will see that discretionary powers would still be left with the local board.

Mr. BONE. Would the local board have the power to say to the man, "When you come out of the Army, if you come out alive, you will then finish the remainder of your sentence."

Mr. GURNEY. It is not so written in the language.

Mr. BONE. I am wondering what the law in such a case would be.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. AUSTIN. I do not think that a prisoner serving a sentence of more than a year is within the reach of this proposal.

Mr. BONE. I heard it read for the first time just now.

Mr. AUSTIN. The amendment merely places the definition of the class within the present definition of what is a felony. The language in the original committee amendment was:

No individual shall be relieved from liability for training and service under this act, or held not to be acceptable to the land or naval forces for such training and service, solely on the ground of his having been convicted of any crime which is not a felony at common law, if the local board having jurisdiction determines that such individuals, notwithstanding such conviction, are morally fit for military service.

At common law the test of whether an offense was a felony or misdemeanor lay in the extent of the punishment provided. At common law a felony was an offense punishable by death or imprisonment in the penitentiary. The Federal Criminal Code, which governs all such offenses tried in the United States courts, provides:

All offenses which may be punished by death or imprisonment for a term exceeding 1 year shall be deemed felonies. All other offenses shall be deemed misdemeanors.

As I understand the amendment to the committee amendment, it is to change the words "which is not a felony at common law" to the words "which may not be punished by death or imprisonment for a term exceeding 1 year." So all those who are in the category of imprisonment for a term exceeding 1 year would be outside.

Mr. BONE. What does the Senator mean by "outside"? Does he mean that they would not be subject to the draft?

Mr. AUSTIN. They would not be liable for service and training.

Mr. BONE. But they could be taken into service, as I understand.

Mr. AUSTIN. Yes.

Mr. BONE. Let me pose the question somewhat differently. I believe the Federal statute provides that if a man takes a stolen automobile or other property across a State line he violates a Federal statute. Let us suppose the case of a young man who takes a stolen car across a State line. The Federal judge gives him a year and a day in the penitentiary. Thereafter the draft board calls him into service. Let us assume that he has served only 1 month of the sentence of 1 year and a day. What becomes of the

11 months and 1 day still unserved in his sentence? I am not suggesting that the provision be changed, but I am rather curious as to precisely what would happen in such a case.

Mr. AUSTIN. He never would get into the armed forces, because he could not get out of the penitentiary.

Mr. BONE. As I understand, it is desired to authorize the draft board to utilize his services if there is no other moral disqualification, aside from conviction of property theft.

Mr. AUSTIN. No; the language would expressly prohibit such service. If the amendment should become law, it would provide that:

No individual shall be relieved from liability for training and service—

And so forth.

Mr. BONE. That is precisely it. We would not relieve him of liability. Stating it conversely, as I listened to the language, he would be liable for service.

Mr. AUSTIN. Conversely, his incarceration in the penitentiary would not be a sole ground for relieving him; but the amendment would not grant authority to a local board to take him out of the penitentiary and put him into the Army.

Mr. BONE. I was constrained to ask the question because I know that local boards would run up against that sort of thing. Perhaps this inquiry may be helpful to them in trying to locate themselves in this field of law. I have found myself wondering what would happen to young men who were in jail or in the penitentiary.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. GURNEY] to the second branch of the committee amendment, on page 3, after line 2, being subsection (j) of section 4.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. DANAHER. Is it now in order to offer an amendment to the bill?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is.

Mr. DANAHER. I invite the attention of the Senator in charge of the bill to page 2, line 2. I wish to offer an amendment, after the name "United States" and before the period, to insert the following language:

Provided, That this section shall not apply to any such male who served in the armed forces of the United States between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918.

Mr. President, I have canvassed the import as well as the impact of the proposed language with many members of the Committee on Military Affairs who are familiar with the problem which this amendment would resolve. I have discussed the matter with various Army authorities, who in turn voice their approval.

Simply stated, the idea is that since under the proposed language section 3



(a) of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 is being rewritten, we would now provide that males, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20 years of age at the time, who volunteered during the last war shall not now again, having then served in the armed forces of the United States, be liable ipso facto to the operations of the pending bill when it in turn becomes law.

Thus, Mr. President, a very grave injustice, a very real inequity as against many patriotic citizens, can be prevented. I think the objective of the proposed amendment finds favor in all quarters.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, let me inquire of the Senator from Connecticut if the amendment would automatically remove from the draft all members of the American Army of 1917 and 1918?

Mr. DANAHER. It would not.

Mr. BONE. What distinction is drawn? I am not certain. Of course, I heard the language read.

Mr. DANAHER. In the first place, if we add the number of years which have elapsed since November 11, 1918, to the then age of a given individual who, let us say, then was 21, we find that, automatically, obviously today he would be 45 years of age or older.

Mr. BONE. I can understand that.

Mr. DANAHER. If he were 22 years of age at that time, he would be 46 today, and hence beyond liability for service under this act.

Mr. BONE. I can understand that he would be beyond the period when the Army would regard him as desirable as a soldier, for physical reasons.

Mr. DANAHER. But also he would not be desirable, anyway, if he were 21 years of age or older when he entered the service in the last war.

Does that answer the Senator's question?

Mr. BONE. I think I understand the point; yes.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DANAHER. I yield.

Mr. GURNEY. I know that the Senator from Connecticut has talked with many members of the Committee on Military Affairs. Of course, I cannot speak for the committee; but I have conferred with as many of its members as possible. They see no objection, except some of them say—and I agree quite completely with them—that the amendment to some extent provides a class deferment. I want to call that point to the attention of the Senate. Personally, I am inclined to believe that the amendment is a worth while and fair one. Personally, I should like to accept it.

Speaking in behalf of those who will be affected, those who served in the last war at a very young age, let me say that it may be that they themselves would not want to be put in the category of having received class deferment. In other words, as I take it, those who volunteered in the last war were extremely patriotic young men, and undoubtedly they retain their patriotism. They might not want to be put in a deferred class.

However, I feel that there is so much merit to the amendment that if the Senate felt inclined to accept it, I feel that it would be well to have it in the bill so

that it could be considered thoroughly in conference.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, I ask to have my amendment stated at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 2, line 2, after the word "States", it is proposed to insert a colon and the following: "Provided, That this section shall not apply to any such male who served in the armed forces of the United States between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, I should like to speak for a moment about the proposed amendment. In speaking about it I realize that a man may be greatly misunderstood. I think everyone feels that enough service is enough service; and service which has already been given at great sacrifice should be accepted as enough by the people of our country so long as there are great pools of men who have not served.

The sentimental aspects of the amendment are, therefore, to be commended. However, Mr. President, there are some practical aspects in regard to the amendment which I think indicate that the amendment would cause us to add to a breaking down of the great fundamental upon which the Selective Training and Service Act rests.

Originally, the theory of selective service, as it came out of the committee when it was first presented to the country, rested upon the notion, first, that every man should serve his country in the way in which he could best serve it; second, that when it came to choosing the men, the hazard should first of all be imposed by law; and, third, that when persons were being drafted and brought into the service, each individual should stand as an individual in front of his draft board, with no class distinction, no general deferment at all. The point was that every man should stand face to face with his Government, and should take his chances in regard to deferment entirely on the basis of individual merit, rather than on the basis of class.

Now we have broken down some class distinctions. We have been running our draft arrangements for over 2 years. So far as the 45-year-old men are concerned, and those men who came in the service as the result of the last amendment of the act, they are the men who would be affected by the amendment of the Senator from Connecticut. Most of those men have already responded to registration, and some of them have been called.

Mr. President, while I am on my feet, speaking against an amendment which should be commended because of its fine spirit, I want to make a plea not to add restrictions in the administration of the law, and, above all, not to add restrictions on those who are in charge of our troops, to limit them in being able to fight the war in the most effective way.

Amendments which have been suggested may result in not being able to

move troops as easily as troops should be moved. That point does not apply to the pending amendment, because if the amendment were agreed to, the persons covered by it would not be brought into the service. The point I have made is valid only to the extent that we are talking against general deferments, against general restrictions, and in favor of leaving as it is the system which has operated fairly well during the last 2 years and to which the people of our country have generously responded.

Mr. President, since I am speaking about the sentimental aspects of the amendment, I shall, while I am on my feet, speak about the bill in general entirely in a sentimental way.

On the question of drafting 18- and 19-year-olds there is little that one could add to the words of the President, the Secretary of War, and the Chief of Staff. None of those gentlemen is happy over the prospect. I think all of us should keep that point in mind. It is hard to draft anyone; and, therefore, it is hard to draft youths; and it is especially hard for me to talk against an amendment which would exempt a group that in all justice is entitled to be exempted, except to be exempted by class.

Any man over 20 would rather take a beating than to join in the drafting of any man under 20 for combat service. The whole proposal strikes at every fire-side in America. It is almost as shocking as war itself. Perhaps now we shall—everyone of us—raise our heads to see that this war is upon us, and shall take full steps to get it over with victoriously as soon as we possibly can.

Some of us have been asleep. The sweet dream will be affected by the new muster rolls.

The President, Mr. Stimson, the General Staff, and now Congress are faced with the hardest decision of this generation. Put bluntly it is whether we shall compete with our enemies or whether we shall lose the war.

What the 18-year-old youth thinks about it is an interesting consideration, certainly a factor. His thoughts are on the credit side of the proposal to lower the draft age. Youth is idealistic. Youth is incautious. Youth is daring. Youth is patriotic.

Perhaps we should look further. What does America at large, what do those already affected, and those who will be affected, think of the proposal?

To begin with, no one is happy over it. It is an ugly thought; but just what is there about war that is pretty? Not a solitary thing. No one was happy over war or over voluntary enlistments, and a mother screamed out in the very halls where the drawing took place when the first number in the first draft lottery was drawn. No one was happy over Bataan or Corregidor. There was nothing elating over the casualty list at Dieppe. Wars sink more grimly into human consciousness with each passing hour until they are over. We, this Nation, and each member of it, cannot escape, but must meet it head on.

When I was little, an 18-year-old boy was a man, more often than not doing a man's work and bearing tremendous per-



sonal responsibilities. A generation later such a one was a boy. Now he seems even less than that—or shall I say younger? He is taller, broader, stronger, better educated than his prototype, but all men live longer today, and this youth is relatively so young.

We heard from the greatest authorities on mental hygiene testimony which we cannot ignore. They pointed out that calling into service 18-year-old boys might interfere with their individual stability, and it will, because they have not reached the place where they can make stable decisions. But, Mr. President, the fact remains that not only in our forces but in the forces of our enemies the Army is young. The average age for the Navy is very close to 18 years and the average age of the marines is about 19 years. So, we can see that the response of youth has been very general or else these figures would not be possible.

Enigmatically, it is youth which, if we are realists, we must have and must use. It is that excellence of fitness which differentiates the enemies' armies from ours. It is a paradox of war that the human equation most valued and most valuable in peace, intrinsically and sentimentally, is most valued and most valuable in war. Curse our enemies if we must curse. They have set all the examples, and they are all, most confessedly, horrible. Fashions of war are decreed by the victorious, and until very recently our enemies' victories were sweeping. The enemy gets its manpower where manpower is strongest, from its young, alert, strong, and courageous men, its Fascist zealots who from babyhood have been taught that Germany is to rule the world. With a catch in our throats, we discover that these enemies cannot be met with slow-moving plodders of 40 and 45 years of age, men who never in the world could beat them to the draw in any form of combat. The gantlet we have had laid down to us is manpower, energetic, quick-witted, clear-eyed, fast-moving manpower, delivering fire power into our ranks, into our outlying possessions, and toward our continental ports.

Mr. President, let us never lose sight of the fact that the efficiency of the German Army from the beginning of the war came about as a result of a changed attitude in regard to the education of the German Army. The marvel of all times, so far as raising armies is concerned, was performed by Germany. The old treaty army permitted Germany to have only 100,000 men, and each of those 100,000 men was required to serve 13 years, the idea being to protect the career of any man who entered into the army, so that there could not be a rapid turn-over in the training of majors, colonels, and other senior officers. Germany met that situation by changing her whole fundamental military educational concept and so in the treaty army of 100,000 men every man was trained to his potential ability. If a boy had the ability to take the training of a brigadier, he may have marched for 13 years as a private, but he got the training of a brigadier.

What was the result? Within less than a year Hitler was able to expand his army from 100,000 to 4,000,000 men, lack-

ing only in none commissioned officers. The predominant characteristic of those men when they started fighting was that they had speed, they had ability. The German Army probably was not so effective, in the long run, in going through France, for example, and the German Army probably was not so effective in crushing the British at Dunkerque, for the simple reason that youth has an impulse to fight so fast and so rapidly that the Germans were found without support when they made the final effort. That we do not know for sure; it is merely a surmise; but it seems to be true from what we have read and what we have heard.

The German Army is made up of zealots; they are young. So far as the Japanese, our other great enemy on the other side, are concerned, the men in their Army have been trained from their very youth. If we are going to meet youth, sad as it is to say it, we have got to meet them with youth.

Mr. President, we did not ask for Pearl Harbor. We did not ask for Bataan. We did not ask for Corregidor. We did not ask for reduction of the age for selective service. They came to us, one not more nor less than the other, from the outside as grim messages to defend or die. There is now no alternative but to defend.

Unless there is a drastic turn of events, our new 18-year-old selectees will spend at least 1 year in training. There is no provision in the bill about it, but that is the course the selective service is following, and it is better to let it proceed in its natural way than to have a provision requiring it. At any rate, that is the plan, and it will undoubtedly be followed, because it has worked, and, in the logic of events, it will be adhered to as strictly as the situation permits.

Mr. President, no one can predict the turn of war. For example, if the homeland were invaded, not only the 18-year-old boys in training but the whole civilian population, men and women of miscellaneous ages and states of health, even children, would defend their cities, their cities' streets, and their homes. A nation which would do less has no business responding to acts of aggression with war declarations of its own. It would seem likely, then, that any emergency which would divert the War Department from its resolve to withhold 18-year-old boys from battle would divert us all. It, then, is reasonable to presume them in that intervening year, not as being endangered but actually as being protected from danger by learning how to take care of themselves, by toughening up, by becoming physically fit. If all they are destined to get out of this war is training, by any stroke of good fortune, the net result will be to add 10 years to their lives, to have the social benefits of group and team living, and so to order their eating and sleeping habits at an impressionable age as to regulate their health for all time to come.

That is the bright side of the picture. It is my belief that, unfortunately, the war will last much more than a year; yes, several years. It would be mental blindness for me, as a legislator, to presume that the vote about to be taken is

actually for the purpose of conferring individual benefits upon these young men. On the contrary, the proposal, in large, is very painful to me. But as a matter of straight training, without combat, the experience will be seen to be on the credit side of the ledger.

And let us look at another point. I am convinced that a year from now we will have to call upon this year's 18-year-olds, who are next year's 19-year-olds, for service in the armed forces. If we have given them a year's training, meanwhile, then it will at least not be unkind to them to place them in competition with their no-better-trained enemies. But if we deny them this training and suddenly call them up for instant service, we ourselves will be guilty of participation in their slaughter.

I am one who believes a 24- or a 28-year-old youth is a precious national possession, with a long-life expectancy, and decades of joy and service before him. I feel no different toward a 19-year-old boy. They are all boys to me. There is little relative difference, in the long run, between their prospective peaceful futures. It is as abhorrent to nip one of their careers in the bud as another. As a matter of fact, the 19-year-old youth is more likely to survive an assault—he can see better, shoot straighter, move faster. It is harder to see them go because they look so young. What a pity, in the very large picture, however, what a pity it is that it is a war fought by such young men. It would be better, if someone had to fall, if it were someone who had largely lived out his life, had enjoyed American bounties to the full, had used his freedom over and over again for decades, and who, having had the benefits, felt some degree of urge to pay back. But war is never ideal. It is, in our case, one of the heaviest tolls we have to pay for continuing an eternal liberty.

Congress, in summary, has a heart, indeed, and will not go further than the necessities require, and will go even that far with reluctance, but we are faced by the facts of war.

**THE PRESIDING OFFICER.** The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DANAHY].

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I should like to make an inquiry of the distinguished Senator from Connecticut. As I understand, his amendment would eliminate veterans of the World War, members of the American Legion, who had volunteered.

Mr. DANAHY. Only at their option. In other words, actually it would apply to a very small class. There are those who, by virtue of their family situation or what not, perhaps influenced by a feeling as to their own state of health, today are unable to render the type of service which would be called for under section 3 (a) as amended. Indeed it applies in favor of the older men whom the Army authorities themselves say they do not want. The proviso merely says that the liability for service under section 3 (a) shall not apply to such individuals. However, they would have a perfect right to waive their exemption if they chose



to do so, and if they wish to serve and are able to do so, as they did before. But we know that there are cases of truly patriotic young men who responded to the urge, in the zeal of youth, and went into service and served 27 or 30 or 33 months in France during the last war, who now, having reached the age of 43 or 44, find themselves in a peculiar situation. They are amenable to a draft which takes them as privates, no matter what rank they once held, and reduces them to the level of the merest tyro so far as their status or rank may be concerned. As to that type and that group of persons, the amendment would afford a degree of protection, at their option.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Let me inquire of the Senator whether the amendment which he has offered and now sponsors has been presented at the request of the American Legion itself.

Mr. DANAHER. Oh, no; no organization requested me to offer it. I have had no communication at all one way or the other from the American Legion on the pending bill, so far as I know.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I understand. I am going to assume the very laudable position which has been taken by my eminent colleague the Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS]. I very much appreciate what the Senator has said in regard to the matter, and I deeply appreciate the efforts of men who participated in the last World War. I have always felt that we won the war. In other words, if it had not been for the veterans of the United States of America, the Allies would have lost the last war. A lot of people do not agree with me on the that subject, but I still contend, and shall always contend, that the last war was won by the Allies on account of American heroes.

In this connection let me say that I appreciate the efforts which were put forth by every American in the last war to bring about a victory for the Allies. I have voted here for every measure intended to be of benefit to the veterans of the last war. I shall always be found voting for the benefit of the veterans of the present war, because I know that when the war is won victory will come only as the result of the spending of American dollars and the spilling of American blood.

I think the gesture on the part of the Senator from Connecticut is a fine one and actuated by a commendable thought. However, the able Senator has told us that his amendment has not been introduced at the request of the American Legion, or any other organization, or any individual member of the American Legion who courageously volunteered in the last war to save democracy and to stop all wars for all time. In the present instance, if we are to permit any amendment to be offered to the pending bill, regardless of how commendable it may be, we might as well accept the amendment of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. LEE], the amendment of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. BILBO], the amendment of the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL], and a great many other amendments which have here been offered.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MURDOCK in the chair). Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. McNARY. I have just returned to the Chamber. What is the particular objection to offering amendments to the bill and having them adopted? I am merely curious to know what position the Senator is taking.

Mr. REYNOLDS. The position I am taking is this: The able Senator who presented the pending amendment told us that he is personally responsible for the amendment, that it was not offered at the request of the American Legion, or at the individual personal request of any member of the American Legion, and we do not know whether any of the members of the American Legion who volunteered during the last war would wish to be exempted. I am objecting to the adoption of any amendment to the bill, on the ground that, as I understand it, the position of the War Department is that they do not want any strings tied to the proposed amendment to the Selective Service Act which is now under consideration.

Mr. McNARY. That may be; but that is a question of policy. I thought the Senator was discussing the delay which might be caused by the Senate writing an amendment into the bill. In its present form the bill must go to conference. It contains language which was not included in the House bill. If no further amendment whatsoever should be written into the bill by the Senate, it would have to go back to the House for action, either on the floor, or by reference to conference committee. So the question of delay is not at all involved from a parliamentary standpoint. I have seen in the press it would involve delay, but it would not in any way effect any delay, because affirmative action must be taken by the House upon the bill as it is presented to the Senate by the Military Affairs Committee, and with respect to the bill as it passed the House.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator from Oregon is correct in part, except that any technical amendment which the committee of the Senate might suggest, or which the Senate might adopt, which would not be ground for a fundamental controversy, such as the amendment we considered yesterday, or others that we might consider, would not delay the legislation. The House could agree to the amendment, or, if it went to conference, it might not cause a delay. But any controversial amendment which would have to be debated in conference, or upon which a vote had to be taken in the House, would necessarily throw the final action over to some time next month.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, that, as well, is partially correct and partially incorrect. I am speaking of the parliamentary situation, which has been misunderstood by many of those who have discussed the matter on the floor, and written articles about it. The bill as

proposed and reported by the Senate Military Affairs Committee contained two provisions which are strangers to the bill as it passed the House. If the bill now before us for consideration is accepted in its present form, in the virgin form in which it was brought out by the committee, it will have to go back to the House for action. That is what I am discussing. The House presumably must have a quorum in order to transact business, under their rules, as we must have. However, there are two alternatives. The House may agree on the floor in open session to accept the Senate amendments, but that is action; or the bill must be sent to conference, and that is action. The House must speak, and speak through a quorum of its membership, if we pass the bill today in just the form in which it is introduced. That is the point I am making. I am not arguing in favor of the acceptance of any amendments; only in favor of the rule. If we write any other amendments into the bill, they will not at all affect the parliamentary situation. However, such action may, as the able and distinguished majority leader has said, cause more controversy and argument in the House than otherwise. I simply wished to make that observation. I thank the able Senator from North Carolina for yielding to me. As I stepped in, I thought he was arguing against any amendments because acceptance of them would create a little havoc from the parliamentary standpoint.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I am very glad to have been able to yield to the distinguished minority leader, and I agree with him that the acceptance of the amendment probably would not result in the consumption of any more time than otherwise would be consumed, but at the same time I want to let the Members of this body know that I individually oppose the adoption of the amendment and shall oppose the adoption of any other amendment to the bill.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from North Carolina what possible objection there can be to the amendment? The amendment would give the heroes of the last war the right to volunteer and not be drafted. It would in effect say to them, "You can come in without being drafted." Does the Senator want to put a hook in the nose of such a man and drag him in?

I think it is a very good thing to place a hero of the last war in a position where he can assert his patriotism. I hope that word will be spelt p-a-t-r-i-o-t-i-s-m and not p-a-y-t-r-i-o-t-i-s-m. There seems to be some of the counterfeit kind in existence. I think the amendment is a good one. I think it is right to give the men, in effect, the privilege to volunteer rather than to be drafted. The amendment says to them, "We recognize what you have done for us heretofore. If you want to do it again, it is up to you." We should say that rather than say, "You shall do it."

Mr. President, I favor the amendment. I am sick of some of us asking, "What do you want, boss?" We had just as well adjourn and go home if we must take the ipse dixit of a band at the other end of the Avenue. I thought we cooperated,



but we "co" and they "operate." [Laughter.]

Mr. President, I have sat in my seat and had very little to say with respect to this matter, but when men who look as if they are of age physically, though not mentally, come here and begin to exhort me to shut my mouth and to abrogate every element of manhood, and simply bow down to the ipse dixit of a little band of men, I say, "No; I shall not do it."

I think there should be no objection whatever to the amendment. I am not willing to accept the statement, "You must not touch the holy of holies which has been baptized by the grace of those who have us in their hands."

Mr. President, I am surprised that the Senator from North Carolina, the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, should take the position he does. I say it is time for us to begin to exercise the vacuum which some of us call the brain. Let us exercise it and act like men. We simply receive our orders.

The other day I went to a department and found the officials in profound conference. I could hardly get a hearing from the head of the bureau. I knew then that the officials were cooking up an order for the rubber stamps to accept and say "Yes, sir" to. That is all we are doing. If we could convert into actual rubber the artificial expression of rubber stamps here [laughter] and convert all this gas into actual gas there would be no shortage of gasoline or rubber. [Laughter.]

Mr. President, it is time for us, if we are men, to act like men. If we are not men, let us adjourn sine die and go home.

Mr. President, I have not taken up much of the time of the Senate. I did not feel disposed to enter into the profound, statesmanlike debate which I have heard, and which is floating about in this body. I used to be proud of being a Senator, but I do not know that the bristles of my pride are very high now.

Mr. President, if I continue I may say too much. So I will quit. I hope the amendment will prevail.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I wish to ask a question of the Senator from South Dakota. The amendment seems to exempt from the first section of the bill all those who have served in World War No. 1. That seems to be the object of it.

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct. That is what the language does do.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have not received from any of those men any request that they be exempted.

Mr. GURNEY. Neither have I. I made the statement—

Mr. BARKLEY. I think they would be more apt to resent the proposed action on our part than they would to approve it.

Mr. GURNEY. That is the statement I have already made, if I may interject.

Mr. BARKLEY. The American Legion, and all the organizations which represent the men who served in the last war, have been outstanding in their advocacy of the policy of the Government in respect to the war, and I cer-

tainly would not want to vote for an amendment which would put them in a separate class, in which they do not wish to be put.

Mr. GURNEY. I made the statement when the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DANAHY] submitted the amendment, that I was quite sure that the men affected themselves would be the first ones to resent having the amendment placed in the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DANAHY], on page 2, line 2. [Putting the question.] The "noes" seem to have it.

Mr. DANAHY. Mr. President, I ask for a division.

On a division the amendment was rejected.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I offer the amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. At the end of the bill it is proposed to add the following new section:

SEC. 5. Nothing in this act shall be construed to authorize the sending of troops inducted into military service by this act into combat service who are less than 19 years of age unless such troops have had at least 1 year of training.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I do not intend to take up much of the time of the Senate to discuss the amendment. Much of yesterday was devoted to discussing certain phases of the amendment, and I have an idea that the majority of the Members of the Senate have reached a decision with respect to it. I have not submitted the amendment in the form that would suit me best. I would have preferred to have put the age at 20 years instead of 19 years.

Mr. THOMAS of Idaho. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield.

Mr. THOMAS of Idaho. In connection with the Senator's amendment I wish to say that I also submitted an amendment several days ago, which has been printed and lies on the table, which covers practically the same matter. I shall first ask that the amendment which I submitted be read at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield for that purpose?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment intended to be proposed by the Senator from Idaho [Mr. THOMAS] will be read.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. At the end of the bill it is proposed to add the following new section:

SEC. —. Section 3 (a) of such act, as amended, is hereby amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof a colon and the following: "And provided further, That no man under 20 years of age who is inducted into the land or naval forces under the provisions of this act shall be ordered into actual combat service until after he has been given at least 12 months of military training."

Mr. THOMAS of Idaho. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield.

Mr. THOMAS of Idaho. I wish to state in connection with my amendment, that so far as the drafting of the 18- and 19-year-olds is concerned I, of course, regret very much to have to vote to draft those boys. So I conceived the idea of the amendment which I submitted.

I want it distinctly understood that I am in favor of, and expect to favor by my vote, the war program. The President of the United States has gone on record as asking for this measure, the Chief of Staff of the Army and other Army officials have also insisted that they must have it in order to prosecute a successful war, and, of course, I am not going to quarrel with their position. I shall accept it and go along.

It seems to me, however, Mr. President, that at the present time there is no immediate demand for these boys. There is time to give them the necessary training. As a matter of fact it will take 12 months before they can be gotten into the Army anyway. The amendment submitted by the Senator from Nebraska replaces the subject matter of my amendment, and I shall not press my amendment, but shall support the Senator's amendment.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Idaho. I think I had said when I was interrupted, that when providing that the boys should have 1 year of training before they could be taken into combat service, I had placed the age at 19 years. My amendment would apply to those under 19 years of age. I myself would rather place the age at 20 years. I placed it at 19 years, however, after consulting with a large number of Senators who are of the opinion, as I am myself, that the amendment, in order to stand any chance of adoption would have to provide that the age be 19 instead of 20. That is the reason I phrased it in that way.

Mr. President, I have listened with the greatest of interest to the discussion which has taken place yesterday and today regarding our Army. I have read, and have heard read, testimony from so-called experts and leaders in our Army, as to the quality of soldiers when we consider their ages. From all that evidence I have reached the conclusion that soldiers from 18 to 20 would improve our Army or any army. An army of 18- and 19-year-old men would be the best army on earth. Therefore, when we are considering the one thing we wish to do, which is to do everything we can to win the war, it seems to me that we must surrender our belief that boys of 18 to 19 are not old enough to be taken into the Army.

It is difficult for me to surrender that belief, and no doubt it is difficult for many other Senators to do so. I have reached the conclusion from the evidence and from history—and I believe it is a fair conclusion—that by taking these boys into the Army, thus lowering the



average age of our Army, we can improve the quality and the degree of invincibility of our Army. It is true in the case of other nations. We have been told by the Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS] and also by the Senator in charge of the bill [Mr. GURNEY] that the committee reached the conclusion, from the evidence before it—and I do not believe it can be successfully denied—that these boys will make our Army more efficient than it would be without them.

We are talking about winning the war. We are talking about getting an army best equipped to win the war. Of course we want to make it as nearly invincible as possible. We want to improve its quality. Reluctantly though we may reach the conclusion, it seems to me that we must reach the conclusion that younger blood coming into the Army will improve the Army, and that we can do a better job and win the war more quickly than we otherwise could. It seems to me that that ought to be sufficient to cause us to vote for the principles involved in the bill. It has moved me very greatly in favor of the bill.

Yesterday I called attention to one thing which it seems to me we ought to meet on the floor of the Senate if we can. Our military men have been telling us for years—and we all believe it; I think it is apparent to the layman—that in order to get a good Army we must have one which is well-trained. While the period of training is indefinite, it has usually been said that a year's training is the minimum. It ought to be more. Military men have so stated. Our hearings are full of such evidence. There is no dispute about it.

Immediately after the bill was introduced to take boys of 18 and 19 there came the cry from the country—perhaps mostly from the mothers of the boys—"My boy is too young." History is full of testimony from experts that a soldier ought to be trained for at least 1 year. We ought not to take an 18-year-old boy and put him into combat without adequate training. So the suggestion was made to amend the bill so as to make sure that he would not be put into combat service until after he had been trained for a year.

There immediately arose a cry, which has gone all over the country, from the same men who have been telling us all along that a year's training is necessary, "We do not want that amendment in the bill. We do not want any restriction."

As I said yesterday, what conclusion must follow? The people of the country, and especially the mothers of the boys, immediately say, "Such a provision would only do what you have always said was necessary with soldiers of all ages." I wonder why there is any objection to following that plan and putting it in the law.

Probably our leaders intend to give the boys a year or more of training before they are put into combat service. The conclusion that is drawn all over the country, that it is proposed to put men into combat service without a year's training, may be unjustified; but I submit that it is a universal feeling. Rightly or wrongly, the mothers of the boys have

the idea that their boys are to be put into combat service before they have had a year's training.

So far as the 18-year-old boys are concerned, we can relieve that anguish by adopting this amendment. It is exactly in line with what the military authorities have always said ought to be done with every army. Why not do it? Why not relieve the anxiety of mothers and other relatives of these boys by assuring them that the boys will not be rushed into combat service until they are adequately trained? That would not fully compensate many of them. It would not alleviate all the agony and heartbreak, but it would probably go as far as we can go.

As the Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS] has so well pointed out today, our sentiments, our sympathies, and our hearts revolt against taking these boys. However, we are confronted with the proposition that by taking them we can improve our Army, and probably shorten the period of the war. We can make our Army better. We can put our Army at least on an equality with the armies of our enemies, because they have 18- and 19-year-old boys, and they are trained. Why not say to the relatives of our boys that they will not be put into combat service until after they have had a year's training?

Mr. President, I do not want anyone to get the idea that this amendment is in any way motivated by anyone anywhere who does not want to make our Army as nearly perfect as it can be made. I believe that is the feeling of the Senate. Under ordinary circumstances we would not want to take these boys; but we feel that if we can make the Army better by taking them we can lessen the pain, suffering, and agony which must come in the aggregate from this great catastrophe.

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. ANDREWS. How many years of training are required of the cadets at Annapolis and West Point before they are allowed to go into combat service?

Mr. NORRIS. I think in each case the period is 4 years.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. In that connection, it ought to be pointed out that the cadets at Annapolis and West Point are being trained as officers, to command troops.

Mr. NORRIS. I realize that.

Mr. BARKLEY. That training, of course, is necessary. The same course is pursued in time of peace as in time of war. If there is any difference at all, the period of training is reduced in wartime. It was reduced in the last war.

Mr. NORRIS. Probably because of the need for more officers.

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes. So the illustration is hardly an analogy.

Mr. NORRIS. I am not offering it as an analogy. I merely answered the question which the Senator from Florida asked me. I think it is perfectly proper to bring up such a question in this discussion. I am not complaining about it.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield.

Mr. WILEY. I heard the distinguished Senator's amendment read. I wonder whether such an absolutely mandatory provision might operate in such a way as to embarrass us. Suppose that 9 months from now, after the boys shall have had 9 months' training, there should be necessity for replacements in a certain part of the Army—for example, those manning anti-aircraft guns. Would it be impossible to make such replacements from among these boys?

Mr. NORRIS. I doubt very much whether such a situation would apply. This amendment applies only to soldiers who are taken into military combat service through the instrumentality of the act. I am inclined to think that the soldiers to whom the Senator is referring are not taken in under this act.

Mr. WILEY. I heard the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. GURNEY] and also the Senator from Nebraska state that a year is required to prepare an unseasoned man for combat. Replacements might become necessary in certain branches of the service. For example, a boy who is taken into the Army might have 6 months training as a flyer, and he might be needed on some front. If I correctly understand the Senator's amendment, he could not be taken to that front.

Mr. NORRIS. There might be such instances which would apply to boys taken in under this act; but there would not be one chance in a million of that condition coming about. There would always be a way of sending somebody else.

Our fighting in this war is not in our country or on our shores—at least up to the present time. We do not conceive that it will be for some time, if ever. Most of us believe it never will reach our shores; but assuming that it might, certainly it will not happen soon.

We cannot send a boy to the Solomon Islands the first day after he is inducted into the service. I do not think any difficulty ever would arise in enforcing the amendment.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, the distinguished senior Senator from Nebraska has made such an eloquent plea that I should like to commend him for his remarks. I would inquire whether his amendment applies only to 18-year-old boys or whether it applies to 18- and 19-year-old boys.

Mr. NORRIS. I shall read the amendment as I first wrote it:

Nothing in this act shall be construed to authorize the sending of troops inducted into military service by this act into combat service who are less than 19 years of age unless such troops have had at least 1 year of training.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Would the Senator be willing to change the amendment to include—

Mr. NORRIS. Twenty-year-olds, instead of 19-year-olds?

Mr. O'DANIEL. Yes.

Mr. NORRIS. I do not know whether the Senator was in the Chamber at the time when I commenced my remarks. I stated that I should prefer to have the



amendment in that form; but I put the age at 19 because from the votes we have had and from the debates we have heard and also after consulting with a great many other Senators, I thought that the amendment probably would not be agreed to by the Senate if I put the limit at 20 years of age, and that the ones for whom it would do the most good would be the younger soldiers.

Mr. O'DANIEL. I should like to offer a substitute making the amendment the same as it was when offered by the Senator from Nebraska, except changing the age from 19 to 20.

Mr. NORRIS. If the Senator will offer an amendment to the amendment, to strike out "19" and insert "20", I shall vote for it. I should prefer to have the law read that way; and if the Senator's amendment to my amendment should prevail, such a provision would be in my amendment.

Mr. O'DANIEL. I shall offer such an amendment.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President—

Mr. NORRIS. I yield to the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. SMITH. I desire to ask the Senator if he does not think that under the present language of his amendment only the boys 18 years old would be exempted, but those 19 years old would not be exempted?

Mr. NORRIS. That is true. That is what the Senator from Texas was talking about.

Mr. SMITH. I think the amendment would be stronger if it provided that the 18- and 19-year-old boys contemplated to be drafted under the terms of the pending bill should be given a year's training.

Mr. O'DANIEL. That is the substitute amendment I wish to offer.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I am deeply in sympathy with the objectives and purposes of the Senator's amendment, but as I read it hastily it seems to me that a boy might be inducted into the service when he was 18 years, 11 months, and 3 weeks old, and under the terms of the amendment he could still be sent overseas a week later when he became 19 years of age.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; that is true.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. It seems to me that we should guard against sending the boys overseas until they have had a year's training. I know of cases in the last war of boys who were in the front lines before the armistice, boys who had been inducted only 6 or 7 weeks previously, and I happen to know that some of them had never fired a rifle in their lives. I thought of this great country with its tremendous reservoir of manpower, and I thought then and I think now that that was a disgraceful situation. I do not believe we should permit anything of the sort.

I have great respect for the views of the Army leaders on any military matter, but we all know that the Army has announced its policy against sending boys into combat before they have had a year's training. It seems to me that unless we write into the law the policy which they said they would follow, a premium will be put on carelessness and

lack of industry in ascertaining the status of the boys, and we should have a great many 18- or 19-year-old boys sent abroad in 6, 8, or 10 weeks after they were inducted—boys who never had had the opportunity of any training at all, and, as I say, in some cases had never even fired a rifle.

It seems to me that if we are to take this action at all we should take it in such a way as to make sure that the boys have had a year's training.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I generally agree with the observations of the Senator from Missouri, and I appreciate the observations of the Senator from Nebraska. I may add that, instead of keeping books in the war as to who is doing most, it seems to me that if Great Britain, which has been in the greatest danger and, it might be said, in the front line, cannot use her men until they are 18 years of age, this country would be more than generous in doing its part if we adopted whatever language is necessary to accomplish the result suggested by the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield.

Mr. GURNEY. The Senator remembers the short conversation we had last evening, at which time I discussed with him the fact that the Chief of Staff had sent us some information on this very question.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. GURNEY. Will the Senator yield while I proceed to state a little other information?

Mr. NORRIS. I think every Senator should have ample opportunity to discuss the matter. I am about to yield the floor. Of course, the Senator will have all the time he needs. I should be very glad to have him present the information which he has, but I desire to conclude my remarks.

Mr. President, I desire to yield the floor in order that the Senator from Texas may offer his amendment. I shall vote for it if he offers it. I think his amendment will improve the language.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield.

Mr. WHEELER. The Senator's amendment reads:

Nothing in this act shall be construed to authorize the sending of troops inducted into the military service by this act into combat service who are less than 19 years of age unless such troops have had at least 1 year of training.

It seems to me that the language there used is somewhat ambiguous, in that it provides that—

Nothing in this act shall be construed to authorize—

The Army could send the boys, could it not, if there were nothing in the act to authorize it?

Mr. NORRIS. Probably.

Mr. WHEELER. Why not say directly that they shall not do it, instead of simply saying, "Nothing in this act shall authorize it."

Mr. NORRIS. I think probably that would be an improvement.

Let us see how this would be:

Nothing in this act shall authorize.

Strike out "Nothing in this act shall be construed."

Mr. WHEELER. Yes.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I modify my amendment in that respect, so that it will read:

Nothing in this act shall authorize.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, that would not cover the matter at all. I think the language should be put in the prohibitive form.

Mr. WHEELER. Yes; I, too, think that the language should be put in the prohibitive form. In the amendment the Senator provides that "Nothing in this act shall authorize," but even then the Army could take the young boys regardless of the provisions of the act.

Mr. NORRIS. The language would apply only to soldiers who come under the terms of the act. So far as I know, it is the only law that authorizes the induction of 18- and 19-year-old men.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, let us consider the language—

Nothing in this act shall be construed to authorize the sending of troops inducted into the military service by this act into combat service.

Mr. NORRIS. Let us see if the point would not be covered if we modified the amendment so that it would read:

Nothing in this act shall authorize the sending of troops inducted in the military service by this act into combat service who are less than 19 years of age unless such troops have had at least 1 year of training.

Would that language meet the objection?

Mr. WHEELER. I do not think it meets the objection.

Mr. NORRIS. If the Senator can offer an amendment which would meet the objection, I should be glad to have him do so.

Mr. WHEELER. I say that the language suggested by the Senator would not prevent what we seek to prevent. What we seek to prevent could still be done notwithstanding the language the Senator has suggested; but I think that satisfactory language can be worked out.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me so that I may make a suggestion?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. If the Senator had used the numerals "19½," instead of "19," the following situation would have evolved: Anyone 18 years of age, even if he had been drafted on the very last day when he was 18, and the next day was 19, could not be sent abroad until he had had at least 6 months' training. There would be so few boys in that extreme category that almost all of them would have had 9, 10, or even 18 months' training, if the figure were fixed at 19½, so that the yearly provision would apply to boys 19½ years old.

Do I make my point clear to the Senator?

Mr. NORRIS. No; I do not quite understand.



Mr. TYDINGS. If the Senator will hand me his amendment, while he is yielding to some other Senator I shall attempt to frame the amendment to cover the point.

Mr. NORRIS. Very well.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield.

Mr. ELLENDER. The purpose of the amendment, as I understand it, is to make certain that no soldier inducted shall go into combat unless he has had 1 year's training.

Mr. NORRIS. I would not say that in such broad terms. I should like to have it that way, but I have said 19 years.

Mr. ELLENDER. Why should it not apply with equal force to anybody inducted, whether 18, 19, or 25?

Mr. NORRIS. It might apply to the whole Army, but we are legislating today for two classes of soldiers, the boys who are 18 and 19 years old. They are affected by this proposed legislation. If the Senator wants an amendment which shall apply to everyone in the Army, that is a different matter.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield, and if so, to whom?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield first to the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. ELLENDER. That purpose could be accomplished by striking out from the Senator's amendment the words "who are less than 19 years of age." By so doing the amendment would then read:

Nothing in this act shall be construed to authorize the sending of troops inducted into military service by this act into combat service unless such troops shall have had at least 1 year of training.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I think the Senator would accomplish what he has in mind if his amendment were made to read as follows:

That nothing in this act shall be construed to authorize the sending of troops into combat service who were less than 19 years of age at the time of induction unless such troops have had at least 1 year of training.

If the words "at the time of induction" were inserted the amendment would include everyone under 19 down and would require that they have at least a year's training. I think that is what the Senator has in mind if I understand him correctly.

Mr. NORRIS. I thank the Senator, and I yield the floor.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, in view of the conversation I had with the Senator from Nebraska last evening and before the discussion proceeds longer on the 12-month training proposal, I should like to call the attention of the Senate not only to the definite views of the military authorities as presented by the Chief of Staff but I also have some other important information. I hope all Members of the Senate will listen as I read the letter addressed to the Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee,

the Honorable ROBERT R. REYNOLDS, dated October 23, 1942, and signed by the Chief of Staff. The letter is as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF,  
Washington, October 23, 1942.

Hon. ROBERT R. REYNOLDS,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR REYNOLDS: In the discussion of the proposed legislation to lower the selective service age, the proposal has frequently been made that a provision be written into the law that would make 12 months' training mandatory before any individual under 20 years of age could be sent to a theater of operations.

I believe that this originates partly from a desire to avoid the unfortunate instances of the First World War, in which many men were sent to front-line combat before they had had any reasonable amount of training; and second, on the assumption that, since the War Department has frequently stated that it takes 12 months to train a division, there should be no objection to guaranteeing 12 months' training for each enlisted man.

Such a limitation would impose an almost impossible administrative problem for the War Department. There is a marked difference between the training of an individual soldier and the training of a complicated machine like a division. Every soldier receives approximately 3 months' basic training. In this period he is hardened physically and trained technically, as well as given an understanding of discipline. He is taught how to care for himself in the field; how to employ both his primary and secondary weapons; and how he and his weapons fit into the squad and platoon. Upon completion of this course, he is a qualified rifleman, machine gunner, mortarman, etc., depending upon which course he pursued in the replacement center.

Upon completion of his basic training the soldier is assigned to a tactical unit. If the unit is new (that is, recently organized) there then begins the team training that every unit must have before it can be considered an efficient combat organization. The length of time required for this team training varies, of course, with the type and size of the unit. A squad of 12 men who have had proper basic training can be trained as a team in a relatively short period of time. A battalion takes considerably longer. A division, which is a complicated organization involving the combined use of many arms, must have a long training period before it becomes a real combat organization. For this, 12 months is the minimum, and during this 12 months' period units that make up the divisions go through periods of small unit training, advanced unit training, training with the combined arms, and then extensive field maneuvers with the division acting alone and in combination with other divisions, and corps and army troops.

To get back to the training of an individual soldier, the length of his training before he can be fitted into an experienced tactical unit varies according to the type of unit and the duties for which he is trained. A few examples will illustrate what I mean by this:

In the Air Corps, a soldier selected for ground crew (mechanics) training, first receives a period of basic military training. He then goes to an Air Corps technical school, and the length of his training there depends upon the specific specialty in which he is being trained. The period may vary from 18 to 36 weeks, and when he graduates he is, for example, a finished airplane engine mechanic, and can be immediately assigned to and used in a bombardment group as a mechanic, whether it is still itself in training or is in a combat theater.

A radio operator receives his basic training and his training as an operator simultaneously. In from 3 to 5 months he is an

effective operator, trained in Army radio procedure and, as in the case of the airplane mechanic, can take his place in a signal company of a combat division, whether that division is still in training or is being committed to combat.

A rifleman, when he finishes his 13 weeks basic training, is prepared to take his place in an experienced squad at any time. If 8 or 10 men in the squad have had "team" training, the trained basic rifleman can be inserted in the squad without detriment either to himself or his unit.

I could give you many other examples where it would be unnecessary and undesirable to hold a man out of a combat theater for 12 months. It would be almost impossible for the Army to operate under any such mandate. We would, in effect, have to put thousands upon thousands of men "on the shelf" after their essential training had been completed before we could use them. In the Air Corps alone possibly 500,000 such men would be involved. Incidentally, the Navy and the Marine Corps enlist men of 17, and I am told that the average age of the entire Corps is below 20.

The proposal would create so many obstacles of this nature that I cannot too strongly emphasize the importance of giving us this legislation without crippling limitations. Trust our judgment and our own insistence that we fight only with properly trained units, to see that each soldier has adequate training before he enters combat. I am certain Members of Congress do not wish to hamper the War Department in the execution of the tremendous task we have before us. These proposals, I am sure, arise through a lack of understanding of the problem presented. Our enemies are desperate and implacable. Our task is extremely difficult.

Faithfully yours,

G. C. MARSHALL,  
Chief of Staff.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I will yield in a moment if the Senator will permit me.

Yesterday I made the request that no amendment of a controversial nature be adopted by the Senate because it is very important and imperative, using the words of the Secretary of War, that this force be brought in as early as possible. Since then the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], the majority leader, has made the statement that with controversial amendments added by the Senate which would require explanation on the floor of the House, the enactment of the proposed legislation might be delayed until after election day, when the House Members would be willing to return and pass on the additions which the Senate had made.

For the information of the Senate, I wish to say that within the last 10 or 15 minutes, while the senior Senator from Nebraska was speaking, I have received a letter from the White House, dated October 23, 1942, signed by Franklin D. Roosevelt, reading as follows:

Hon. CHAN GURNEY,  
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Concerning the proposed legislation to lower the selective-service age now before the Senate, I have been told that several limitations will be proposed in the form of amendments. It appears to me that the complicated administration necessarily involved in the handling of large numbers of men by the Army, as well as the urgent necessity for correcting the present deficiencies as to age, make it important that



limitations other than those now included in the bill be avoided.

Sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS].

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I find it quite difficult to vote for a bill approving the drafting of boys 18 and 19 years of age for military service. I stated some time ago that the Army authorities had a plan, and that I was going to follow them, and I shall be compelled to do so, in view of the situation which confronts our country today. So I shall vote for the bill, although I dislike to do so.

The sending of boys 18 and 19 years of age into foreign countries under the circumstances which surround them is, indeed, a weighty, important, and an unpleasant task to me. I regret that I must vote to do so. My regret is all the keener because every day I see young men of draft age in this city in the departments of our Government; we meet them daily; we know they are here, and they have not been called into the armed forces. Some of them are married, and in many cases their wives are working. Personally I would a great deal rather send these older ones to fight in foreign countries than to send boys 18 and 19 years of age.

I am not a military man. I do not claim to be. I have no desire to attempt to give advice in military affairs, but just as a plain, ordinary, every-day citizen it seems to me that our draft lists should be gone over, and we should select more men who are older than 20 years and are now somehow, in some way, escaping service in the Army. If there is a Senator on this floor who does not know that there is in Washington almost an infinite number of such men who are over 20 years of age and who are not going into the service, let him say so.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, is the Senator from Tennessee offering a challenge?

Mr. McKELLAR. I am offering a challenge. Does not the Senator from Kentucky know that in the city of Washington, in various departments of the Government, there are young men between 20 and 25 years of age who are eligible for military service, but who have been deferred for one reason or another?

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not happen to know that. I do not frequent the departments in Washington, and I do not see men in the various departments. I do not think it is quite fair to make such a charge against all men above the age of 20. Does the Senator from Tennessee know how many of those men have been called for examination and rejected, and therefore are not eligible to enter the Army, and does the Senator know how many all over the country who are above 20 years of age have been examined and rejected for military service?

Mr. McKELLAR. I know there are a great many.

Mr. BARKLEY. No Senator in this body could take a census of the United States.

Mr. McKELLAR. No; I realize no Senator could take a census, but I know there are many young men in the departments of the Government who are in the categories to which I refer, and I examined some of them when they appeared before me as witnesses. Mr. President, and Senators, I would rather send them than to send boys who are 18 and 19 years of age. But our military authorities, who I am sure know a great deal more about the subject than do I or any of us, have said that 18- and 19-year-old boys are necessary, and I shall vote for the bill, with many regrets. However, Mr. President, I do not propose to vote to send these boys into foreign countries without having them prepared. If there ever was a war in which boys should be trained before they go into combat, it is the present war. And why? We can supply the answer by applying plain, everyday, common sense. We are sending some boys to Iceland, where it is intensely cold. We are sending some boys to milder climates, where it is very pleasant. We are sending some boys to some of the hottest climates in all the world. We are sending boys to almost every part of the world, to places with which they are unfamiliar. This is a strange war. The expression "all-out" war is frequently used and frequently abused, but it seems to cover the entire globe.

These boys should be trained before they are sent away. Representatives of the Army have told us they should be trained. We made preparation for their training, and have appropriated vast sums for that purpose. We are furnishing all kinds of materials, such as airplanes. We have spent millions of dollars, perhaps billions, for training planes, in which those who are engaged in aviation may be trained. Why should they not receive the training? There is a large number of men who are already in the service. Surely we should not send untrained boys to all parts of the world, to places about which they know nothing, frequently boys but 18 years of age. That they should be sent without training is unthinkable and indefensible. They should be trained.

Mr. ROSIER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Tennessee yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from West Virginia?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. ROSIER. Like the Senator from Tennessee, I very reluctantly support the bill to draft 18- and 19-year-old boys. I have listened with a great deal of interest to the argument advanced that young boys make better soldiers than do older men. Yesterday I heard stories about older men being frequently found in the hospitals. As this debate has proceeded, and argument has been made concerning the young men, and about how this is their war, it has occurred to me, though I may be rather illogical in my thinking, that if youthful vigor, enthusiasm, courage, and daring are so essential in the ranks of the Army and among fighters, that it might be desirable to have a little youth, vigor, dar-

ing, courage, enthusiasm, and good physical strength among the people who are running the war. Had the able Senator ever thought about that?

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes; I had thought about it. The Senator puts it very strongly, and it is submitted to the Senate for that purpose.

Mr. President, I wish to say that the matter does not concern me personally, because all of my large number of nephews—I have no children—are in the Army, or in the Navy, or the Marine Corps, and I am very proud they are there. So that the question does not concern me directly. But I ask the question, How can we ever defend ourselves if we send boys 18 and 19 years old into foreign lands, all over the world, without training? They cannot make good soldiers without being trained. Their youthful vigor will mean little in foreign countries unless they are trained. They ought to be trained; they must be trained in order to do their work. Everyone admits that; the Army admits it; we all admit it. Then why not do what we ought to do?

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SMATHERS in the chair). Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. WHEELER. The letter sent by General Marshall telling how difficult it would be to carry out the provisions of the bill if the amendment were included in it is not dissimilar to other department letters which come here at times when we try to amend measures affecting them so as perhaps to make it a little more difficult for them to operate. Every department wants us to turn over to it carte blanche power so it will be able to manipulate the law and make it easier for itself. But, after all, the responsibility is ours, and not that of the head of any department.

Mr. President, I have great respect for General Marshall, but General Marshall is not infallible. He has on several occasions previously made statements as to what was necessary to be done for the Army, and he has had to contradict them later. Neither is the head of the War Department infallible. Neither is the head of the Navy Department infallible. But we in the Congress have a responsibility to see that these boys are trained before they are sent to every country in the world. That responsibility is ours, and we ought to have the courage to stand up and say whether we want the boys to have what we consider to be sufficient training.

I have hesitated for some time with respect to what my course should be. I do not have any boys who will be affected by the 18-year-old provision. But when a Senator stands on the floor of the Senate and says that every boy 18 years of age will make a better soldier than one who is older, I say that I have raised a family of boys, and I know that there is just as much difference between some boys 18 years of age and some boys 19 years of age as there is between daylight and darkness. Some boys have not matured



when they have reached 18 years of age. Some boys have matured when they have reached 18 years of age. One cannot say that a boy 18 years of age is mature and will make a better fighter than an older soldier, because many boys of 18 are mere children, mere babes in the woods. Let us give them a year's training. We ought to insist on that. So far as I am concerned, Mr. President, if the provision giving these boys a year's training is not written into the bill, I shall not vote for it.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I shall not criticize anyone. I shall not criticize our leaders. I shall not criticize any of our generals. I know they are all doing the very best they can. I know that they are tremendously interested in winning the war. I know how they feel about it; I know they are doing what they think is right; but I simply cannot find it in my conscience to turn over young boys 18 and 19 years of age, to be sent at will to any part of the world, without a guaranty that they shall be trained. If they should be sent away without training, that would be our responsibility, because it is in our power to provide for their training. I feel that the least we can do is to assure training for them before they are sent to foreign fields.

Mr. President, it was said in a letter from General Marshall read awhile ago that there would be trouble in enforcing such a provision. There would be no more trouble in enforcing a draft law containing such a provision than there would be in enforcing other measures. If they were to say that they intended to send such boys as they like to foreign countries without training, we would not pass this bill. We all know that to be so. The Army officials have testified time and again that the men ought to be trained. Why not put such a provision in the bill? How can there be any dishonesty, or misunderstanding, or misconstruction, or misconception about it if we put such a provision in the bill? Every one of us here knows what the issue is. It is purely a question of training these young boys before we put them in the Army, and we ought to do our duty and require training to be given. We ought to do it in the interest of the Army, because we know that if untrained boys are put in the Army we will not have a good Army. That is all there is to it. It will not be because of any fault on the part of the boys, no, but because of the lack of training.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. O'DANIEL. I have prepared a substitute for the Norris amendment, which I believe is plain and understandable and carries out my wishes. It reads as follows:

No person under 20 years of age inducted under this act shall be placed in actual combat duty beyond the territorial boundaries of continental United States until after he has had at least 1 year's military training following his induction.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I will ask the Senator from Texas to wait. I shall be through in a moment. I prefer his proposed substitute, I will say, and

I think the Senator from Nebraska prefers the substitute.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. I will say that I do prefer it. I told the Senator from Texas that I preferred his substitute, and that I shall support it and vote for it. I do not want to modify my own amendment to that effect, however, because the parliamentary situation is such that if the substitute is defeated we may still have my amendment acted upon favorably. The substitute offered by the Senator from Texas goes further than mine, but does not go any further than I think it ought to go.

Mr. McKELLAR. I shall vote for the substitute, and if we cannot obtain favorable action upon it, then I shall vote for the Norris amendment, because I think it is our duty to do so.

Mr. President, I have no interest in the matter other than the success of our arms. We want to win this war. In order to win we must train our soldiers. I shall appeal to my colleagues, in the interest of the safety of our boys who, by this act, we are sending into the armies of the United States, to stand together and unanimously—I wish it could be so—as one man adopt the amendment, so there cannot be any question about the training of our boys before they are sent into the Army.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I am sure that no Member of the Senate looks with any equanimity at all upon the necessity of voting upon this issue of drafting boys under 20 years of age. It is only because of the imperative necessities of the war, in what appears to be the Nation's extremity, that Congress ventures to make the extension of the draft at all.

When it comes to providing, as does the amendment of the Senator from Idaho [Mr. THOMAS], printed yesterday and available upon the floor, for a year's training, as the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] offered from the floor today does, and as the substitute now offered by the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL] does, I can tell, from what has been said here upon the floor both publicly and in private conversation, that a substantial number, indeed I think a majority, of the Members of the Senate, believe that some provision of this kind should be written into the bill to protect the boys. I know that is my feeling, Mr. President, and yet I am perfectly well aware of the arguments which can be made and are being made by the War Department against it.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I yield.

Mr. GURNEY. Does the Senator have any information that any of our troops now in combat zones were not thoroughly trained before they were sent to such zones?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Certainly not, and it is precisely because of that fact that I believe we should continue to follow that policy.

I was about to say, Mr. President, that because of my deep concern about this problem, 2 or 3 days after the Committee on Military Affairs had acted, I invited the Chief of Staff to come to the Capitol to discuss the bill with a group of Senators. He was good enough to come, and he explained to us, in the most persuasive manner, the reasons which have impelled the War Department to ask that there be no restriction upon the utilization of these boys.

He gave two reasons. He pointed out that the United States is now engaged in a double effort, as it were, to build a new Army upon the one hand, and to maintain the old Army on the other hand. With respect to the building of the new Army, there was no thought in his mind that draftees with less than a year's training would be sent into combat. With respect, however, to the maintenance of the Army already in being, as I understood General Marshall, his opinion was that no restriction should be placed by the Congress, through an amendment of this character, upon the legal power of the commanding officers to use draftees of less than a year's training to fill vacancies which may occur in the already trained armies. No one can listen to General Marshall without being impressed by both his character and his ability. He is, I believe, extremely well fitted for his great responsibilities, but able as he is, I cannot escape the conclusion that a year's training should be required for these boys.

As I read the amendment, it would bar the use of these boys only in actual combat service. That means that they could be used in all other tasks.

It is said that the average age of the Navy is under 21. That is correct. It is said that the average age of the Marine Corps is under 20. That is correct. However, we must not forget that the fact is that most of the boys in the Navy, which is a mechanized organization, have had a full year's training. That is the testimony of naval officers to me in personal conference. Naval equipment is such that long training is unavoidable.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wyoming yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. WALSH. Is it not a fact that before any officer is commissioned in the Army or the Navy he is obliged to go through a physical and mental training, and for weeks—and in some cases months—study, prepare, and fit himself for the service which he is to perform as an officer?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. There is no doubt about it.

Mr. WALSH. If that be so, is there not equal reason why youth 18 years of age should receive such training? The youths who will be obtained under this draft will be among those who are least matured, because the physically strong and healthy boys, the athletes, are already enlisting in the Army and Navy. Are not youths of 18 entitled to weeks



and months of physical and mental preparedness for service in the Army?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. From my examination of the testimony and from inquiries which I have diligently made, I can come to no other conclusion.

Mr. WALSH. May I make a further suggestion? Ever since the war began I have had called to my attention repeatedly some reasons for the superiority of the German Army. I do not know whether those reasons are sound; but it is alleged that strenuous mental training is one of the reasons for the success of the German Army. The Germans consider mental training a part of physical training. A man should know how to act under particular circumstances, and exercise his judgment. I have no evidence or proof of that, except that much has been written and stated on the subject.

It seems to me that the fathers and mothers of these boys, and we who are asked to vote for this measure, should have some assurance that the boys will receive some minimum of physical and mental training, and education in the use of munitions of war, before they are sent into combat zones.

While I am on my feet, I should like to make another suggestion, with the permission of the Senator. I am sure the Senator will agree with what I am about to say.

The sad thing about the proceeding in this Chamber today is that nobody can give assurance to us or to the people of the country that we have exhausted the manpower over 20 years of age. If such assurance were forthcoming we should be passing this bill through this body with cheers instead of getting up and beating our breasts and saying that we are reluctant to do it. We should have no hesitancy in saying, "Everybody else has done his part. Now it is up to the boys of 18 and 19."

The people of the country do not believe that our manpower has been combed, and that there has been an honest-to-God effort to get into the Army the fit and capable manpower above the age of 20 years. It is now proposed to take boys away from their mothers' apron strings. Let me repeat, it will be largely the weak and tender boys of these ages, because I know from the enlistments in the Army, the Navy, and the Marine Corps, that the athletic, vigorous-minded boys who are physically fit have already enlisted. It is proposed to take boys, giving them no assurance of months of training for their protection.

The Senator will forgive me for taking up his time, but I should like to have his views as to whether or not we should be in a better position to pass the bill had we assurance from some source that it is essential because all the other manpower has already been taken into the Army.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I was about to analyze some of the explanations which have been made to me on behalf of the War Department to support the all-out authority to utilize boys under 20 wherever they may be desired. I have pointed out that the Navy is a

mechanized organization, and that in the Navy it is practically impossible to use any youth without a full year's training. On the other hand, in the Marine Corps we have an organization which is not as completely mechanized as is the Navy. In the Marine Corps we have young men who are assigned to carry out the so-called Commando warfare—raids, attacks, and landings—the most dangerous and hazardous of all war work. It is true that for the most part they are young men, but, Mr. President, they are volunteers. They are men who by their own physical attainments are fitted for that sort of work. The young men in both these branches are selected fine specimens.

I am sure that none of us has had the opportunity of witnessing athletics among high school and college boys without knowing that there is a tremendous difference in the physical equipment of boys of 18 and 19 years of age. I have known boys of 18 and 19 in college who were perfectly sound and fit so far as any doctor's examination would disclose. They were athletically inclined; and yet they could not for a moment play football with the other boys in their class. They were physically unfitted for that. If we read the sporting pages we know that during the football season even the best of the college teams, made up of fine young men of 19, 20, and 21, are absolutely out of their element when they undertake to match strength with the professional teams of 23 to 27 and 28.

We are being asked to defeat this amendment and to allow the War Department to make the choice. It is said that if this amendment is adopted, in some instances it will be impossible for the War Department to send into the Air Corps or the mechanical units young men who are fully trained as machinists. The language of the amendment makes it clear that it is intended as a ban against utilizing boys in combat service.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. It is difficult to differentiate between those who are and those who are not in combat service. The mechanic on an airplane up in the front lines is in combat service. He may not be doing the actual shooting, but he is in just as much danger as those who are. Many of the large bombers carry mechanics to service them while they are flying. The training of such mechanics requires only 4 or 5 months. The same statement applies to mechanics on trucks and automobiles up at the front lines. They are regarded by the War Department as line soldiers; they are in the line. They are a part of the combat forces. They do not have to have as much training as do the men who are firing the guns, but they are in as great danger, and they are just as necessary.

Under the amendment offered by the Senator from Nebraska it would be impossible to send into combat a mechanic required to care for an airplane—a mechanic who was essential—unless he had had 12 months' training—which might be twice as much as he needed.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I am glad the Senator raised that point, because it brings me to a subject I wanted to discuss.

The Senator from Nebraska has left the floor. The Senator from Texas is on the floor; and if I may have his attention for a moment, it may be possible to develop my thought with respect to what the Senator from Kentucky has said. Numerous Senators have been talking about another modification of the amendment, one which would make it possible for the War Department to use 18- and 19-year-old draftees who desire to volunteer for combat service without full 12 months' training. I spoke to the Senator from Nebraska about that matter.

I ask the Senator from Texas if he has any objection to adding to his amendment a provision which would have the effect of saying that, "Those draftees who volunteer for combat service may be accepted."

The reason why I suggest that—and the suggestion is not mine; other Senators have made it in private conversation—is because it seems to me it would completely answer the only real objection which has been raised by the Department to the amendment, because then it would make it possible for those boys who are physically fit to be used in active service as replacements, without a year's training.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri and Mr. TYDINGS addressed the Chair.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I yield first to the Senator from Missouri, who was first on his feet.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, in view of what the Senator from Wyoming has just said, I have a draft of an amendment—I am not wedded to its particular provisions, and I do not care what amendment is acted on—which meets somewhat the suggestion of the Senator from Wyoming.

My amendment would provide:

No person inducted into the military service under the provisions of this act shall be assigned to combat service outside the continental limits of the United States—

I insert that provision because we have no way of knowing whether, as the war continues, it may be necessary to use large numbers of troops within the continental limits of the United States—

unless he shall have reached the age of 20 years, or unless he shall have volunteered for such service, or unless he shall have had 1 year's training.

That would seem to me to meet every possible contingency which has been suggested.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I know that what the Senator has suggested is constructive, and under normal conditions it would follow that his logic would be almost unanswerable. However, I want to submit this suggestion to him: Let us suppose that a boy 18 or 19 years of age is in the Army, and that someone comes around and says, "The outfit is going abroad, but we cannot take you unless you volunteer."



It seems to me that the position in which that boy would be placed would be such that if he had any pride, even though his mother and father had written to him not to volunteer, he would feel that he was being humiliated in the eyes of his fellows, and he would be forced to volunteer.

I respectfully suggest that I believe the amendment would be much stronger without the inclusion of the volunteer provision; because if it were inserted, logical though it would be in normal circumstances, the result would be to make involuntary acquiescence in the request to volunteer.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, what the Senator has said would be perfectly logical if it were not for the factors which have been described by the Army: First, the Army wants to train boys for not less than 12 months insofar as they are used to make new units. So we are not bothered about that situation.

Second, the Army does not want to be debarred from sending the young men as replacements into old units.

That being the case, it seems to me that the situation the Senator has described would seldom, if ever, arise; because the new units would not be sent out. The ones sent out would be the volunteers to go as replacements into the old units.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I do not believe it would work in that way. Let us take a division—we shall call it the 88th Division, just for the sake of giving it a name—a division of 15,000 men; and in that division there is a company B, let us say, consisting of 250 men. Among the 250 men are 10 boys 19 years of age. The unit is ordered to go abroad; and the question arises, under the volunteer proposition, whether the boys want to go along with the unit with which they have been training. One of the boys is in a squad with 8 or 10 older men. They sit in the tent, and they say, "Bill, you know you don't have to go over there if you don't want to, under the law passed by Congress. Because of your age, they can make you go only if you volunteer. How about it?"

What is the poor fellow 18 or 19 years old going to say even if he has in his pocket a letter from his mother and father saying, "Don't you dare volunteer"?

If I see the situation aright, and I believe I do, what would happen would be that, in the very nature of things, the boy would practically be compelled to go.

I shall suggest an alternative. The Senator from South Dakota read a very fine letter from General Marshall. In it the General said it took 3 months to complete a certain part of a soldier's training, and that in 3 more months—6 months altogether—certain other phases of the soldier's training were completed.

In the normal situation envisaged by General Marshall, at the end of 6 months the man would be a fairly well trained infantry soldier. If he went into some sort of mechanical work, such as airplane

repair, and so on, more time would be required for his training; but for the normal machine gun, infantry, or trench mortar operations, as I understood the General's letter, approximately 6 months would do the job.

So, if the Senator wants to make these men available when they have had 6 months' training, that would be in line with the Army's request.

However, in my judgment, the age provision should not be left in a voluntary or involuntary status. It should be defined clearly so that the individual equation would not exist when the situation was presented in any particular camp.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield so that I may make some remarks along that line?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I desire to yield the floor, because I have no intention to prolong the debate. I think the issue is perfectly clear. I sought only to express my opinion. I have not offered the proposed amendment which has been under discussion, because I do not want to trespass upon the preserves, as it were, of other Senators who have been debating this suggestion, and some of whom, like the Senator from Missouri, have drafted language.

However, I should say that if such a limitation is proposed, I shall support it; but, regardless of whether it is proposed, I believe that a year's training for boys under 19 years of age should be declared as necessary by the Congress of the United States.

I yield the floor.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, I wish to make merely a brief observation. Alluding to the example stated by the Senator from Maryland, who referred to a company of 250 men, and who said that perhaps 10 or more of them might be under the age limit, so that they would have to volunteer, let me say that he did not take the matter to its final conclusion. The final conclusion is that if the boys did not volunteer, the particular company could not be sent overseas or into combat. It would have to go back into training and get replacements to bring it up to full strength, making it entirely impossible for the Army to operate at all—just as is stated by General Marshall in his letter which I have before me.

Let me say that it might not be only 10 men, amounting to only 3 or 4 percent, but in some companies the percentage might be greater than that, as the Senator well knows.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I have long had the view that we should have to draft boys 19 years of age. I am equally convinced that we should not draft boys 18 years of age, and that today there is no necessity to draft such boys, despite the testimony which has been presented to both the Senate and House committees.

On June 18, I submitted an analysis of the available manpower. The analysis appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that date. From the testimony given by the representatives of the Selective Service System at the hearing, I see no particular reason to change the opinion

which was formed at that time—that we shall have plenty of men available if we draft the 19-year-old boys, without drafting the 18-year-old boys. I should vote to exempt the 18-year-old boys from the draft if an amendment to that effect were presented.

Since such an amendment does not seem likely to carry, I believe we should do the next best thing, and that is to defer boys of that age from going into combat service until they are more mature.

I think we should face the fact that while there is a good deal of talk about a year's training, there is not the slightest intention on the part of the Army to give these boys a year's training before they go abroad, and they will not have a year's training unless we impose by law a provision requiring it.

The testimony is certainly clear that the Army considers the present soldiers too old. In the first place, they intend immediately to turn to drafting the 18- and 19-year-old boys. If Senators will look at page 97 of the House hearings, they will see that General Hershey said frankly:

Unless we direct otherwise, the System as now operating will take them first—

That is, the 18- and 19-year-olds—because our local draft boards have been told that because it was the intent of Congress not to take a man with a wife as long as they have a man without a wife, they will have to take them.

So the result will be to take a million and a half boys of 18 and 19 years of age. Those boys are coming into the service, and I think it is reasonable to conclude from the testimony of the Secretary of War on page 24 of the hearings, and from the testimony of General White on page 33, that probably half of those boys would be fed directly into the older divisions.

General White says very frankly that they do not want to form new divisions of boys of that age. He says, on page 33:

It would be very undesirable. We would lose a great deal of the advantage that we hope to gain. We would have a great many divisions with a very high age average. We would have one or two, or a few, with a very low age bracket. We don't want a division of 18- and 19-year-old men at all. We want to mix those men with some older men, men of more mature judgment, and it is the combination that gives you the good fighting organization. It is not solely the young men; it is the mixture that you want, a broad base in your organization.

Therefore, what they are going to do, as is perfectly obvious, is to take the million and a half men who are going to come in immediately, and feed at least half of them into the old divisions which have been trained or substantially trained. There is no question, in my mind, that the reason the Army is opposed to this provision is not inconvenience, but is the fact that they actually want to use these men long before the 12 months' training is up. I think the Secretary of War practically says the same thing. On page 24 of the House hearings, in answer to a question whether it was contemplated to put these young men in a common pool



of men available for military service, he says:

Secretary STIMSON. I can only answer that as I have already: We have a plan for the development of these units which are being activated every month. As you know, we have been activating four new divisions practically each month for the past summer. We have deferred two or three groups, but other than that, that is going on. That requires a steady stream flow of men into the units which are very carefully and under a very careful system put on foot and trained, first in the higher brackets of officers, then in the non-commissioned officers, and then in the cadres, and finally in the entire division. It is a very delicate and complicated system which has worked better than anything we have ever had in this Nation before, and into that stream of organization and movement of machinery the new flood of young manpower will go.

So I do not think there is any doubt, regardless of the talk about a year's training, that, after all, these men are going to get 3 months or 6 months training, because the Army thinks if they are in older units that is enough training for them. I have no question that what we now face is the drafting of these men into active service. If we want to prevent that, if we think that a boy should not go abroad before he is 19, I think we should adopt the Norris amendment.

Unless there is the greatest necessity—and the necessity may arise to draft boys of 18 sooner or later—why should we draft them both at once. They did not do that in England. In England they started with age 20, and, a little later, they called boys of 19—that was last December—and then they put it down to 18½, and only yesterday they lowered the age to 18. They are not particularly bothered by any inconvenience of making some special provision for boys 18 years old, as evidenced by an article in the New York Herald Tribune of this morning from which I quote the following:

In his announcement Bevin said that the younger recruits now to be called up will not immediately be posted for service overseas, for which the minimum age remains 19.

They are not concerned about the inconvenience of handling boys under 18.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator realizes, of course, that there is some difference in the situation of England and that of this country. They have to keep within the confines of England at least a million men for defense purposes.

Mr. TAFT. They have an army of some 3,000,000 men, and we must keep, according to the Secretary of War, at least, a million men in the service of supply and at least a million men training in this country. Of the seven and a half million men 2,000,000 are not to be sent abroad, or only to a limited extent.

Mr. BARKLEY. I realize that, but what I am talking about is the men trained for war combat service. They have got to keep a million of those men in England, in addition to the other men in what is called the service of supply, who, whether receiving the same training or a

shorter period of training, will be the men who are kept at home whenever the time comes when it is necessary, expedient, or wise to send men across the channel to fight somewhere in Europe.

Mr. TAFT. If the second front should be set up, I assume it will be at least half British and half American, and I do not see but that the situation is exactly the same. They are not going to send boys of 19 to fight on continental soil, and I do not know why the United States should send them, because the British have had much more experience and judgment in dealing with boys of 18 and 19. Surely their judgment is better than that of men who have not actually engaged in the fighting in Europe and who have not had actual fighting experience in modern warfare. I see no real distinction between the British situation and our own, and I see no reason why we should not follow their example.

The Minister also pointed out that while 18 was the age set for enrollment by the National Service Acts in practice, the minimum age was originally 20. This was later reduced to 19, and last December to 18½.

I hesitate to say it with any certainty, but it looks to me as if, in order to encourage the passage of the pending bill, the King of England yesterday reduced the age in Great Britain to 18, so that no criticism could be made of the fact that the English had a higher age than we had. I cannot say that that is positively the reason, but certainly it is a strange coincidence that it should have been reduced yesterday when this bill was under consideration in the Senate.

Mr. President, I feel that, on the average, boys of 18 are not nearly so mature as are boys of 19. Probably it is the period of life in which there is the greatest change. Boys of 18 are, in effect, freshmen in college. After his freshman year a boy is usually very different and more mature than when he graduated from high school. One year makes a tremendous difference and unless we can see a great necessity for it, I do not believe those boys ought to be drafted or, at least, they ought not to be sent into actual combat service.

I had a call on Monday from a man in Cincinnati who came to see me because he said he had enlisted in the First World War at the age of 17, and that he was 18 when his unit went abroad. He served during the World War in the unit in France. He said to me that there were two other boys in that unit who were 18 years of age, and "do not let anyone tell you that we were good soldiers or that we were the best soldiers in the unit." He said, "We knew we were not and the other men knew we were not, and, so far as our service is concerned, we were, in effect, mascots and water boys for the company." He said, "My own experience is not suited to encourage the idea that boys of 18 should join a unit which is to engage in active combat service." Of course, there may be a difference of opinion. Many boys are older at 18 than are other boys, but that testimony was very convincing, at least to me.

There is one other reason why it is not very fair to send boys of 18 abroad. Older boys of intelligence and ability and

personality, have an opportunity of becoming officers. A boy of 18 is practically barred from that opportunity. He is so young that most of the men will say, "No, you will have to serve a couple of years as a private before you can go to an officer's training camp and become an officer." So it is a good deal harder, it seems to me, on the boy of 18 to make him go into the Army and serve as a private than it is on the boy who is older and who can gradually get a commission.

Mr. President, is it necessary to draft boys of 18? The figures, of course, are conflicting, but, it seems to me, even as I read the testimony of General Hershey, that what we are going to decide is, Shall we take boys of 18 before married men up to about 30? I have been very much in favor of postponing the drafting of married men over 30 years of age with families, and finally, by constant pressure, I think I had something to do with getting the Selective Service System to defer married men with children beyond that age. But I have never been able to get General Hershey to make a classification on the basis of age, and he should long ago have done so.

In the last bill we gave him authority to say, if he chose to do so, "I will first take men under 30 years, and then men over 30. I will take men of 20, then I will call men of 19 and 18, if necessary." That is what the foreign countries do. They call up a new class after they have exhausted the previous class. But General Hershey has never been willing to exercise that power, to make any distinction whatever between men at the lowest age, 20, and now 18, and those at the top, 45, and when the Army says, "Our divisions are too old, they average 27 or 28," it is so because of what the Army asked us to do. I did not want to include the older men. The Army wanted to, and now they say the result of their policy is to get too old an Army. In my opinion, men from 35 up never should have been drafted, and, after they were drafted, General Hershey should have deferred them beyond all the younger men.

It seems to me to be very clear that it would be better to take men under 30 who are married than to go down to the boys of 18, and if we are willing to take married men under 30, according to the figures I have, I do not believe it will be necessary to take boys of 18.

There are a great many reasons for taking married men under 30 which do not apply to older men. In the first place, the men over 30 are in much more essential positions and they have reached such positions in life that they will have more difficulty in getting back to them if they are away over 3 years.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. I was very much interested in what the Senator from Ohio said about giving the Selective Service System the right to classify these men in the previous law, about which I had forgotten. I think the Senator from Ohio is correct when he says that General Hershey should have taken advantage of that; but he has never done so. In the



Judgment of the Senator, does that not provide us a precedent, when they say, "We are going to train these boys just the same," under which we might conclude that when they should do something, when they are given discretion, they may not do it? It seems to me this furnishes an additional reason why we should include in the law a provision about the service of these younger soldiers, and not leave it to the discretion of the military authorities.

Mr. TAFT. I agree entirely with the Senator; and unless we put it in the law, it will not be a discretion which will be exercised.

Mr. President, the men over 30 obviously are not as physically qualified as are married men under 30. I do not think married men under 30 will be comfortable remaining at home when the other men of their age go to war. I think most of them will prefer to be included in the armed services. Certainly that was true during the World War, and I believe it to be true today.

Men under 30 have not built up the standards of living which the men over 30 have built up. It does not cost so much to support their wives and families. The wife of such a man is much more likely to have a family of her own to which she can return, and her father and mother are much more likely to have a home, and she can be taken care of much more easily than the older wife. Furthermore, the wife under 30 is much more able to get a job than the one over 30.

It seems to me the result is that there is a very marked line, and I believe that we should draft the men under 30 who are married, even though they have children, before we resort to the boys of 18. General Hershey could do that, but there is not the slightest intention of doing it unless we adopt such an amendment as is proposed, and there will not be any inclination to do it.

It is said that it will be most inconvenient if we adopt the restriction that boys of 18 must be trained. If that is so, it will not be necessary to call boys of 18. The Administrator has power to defer these boys until after all the 19-year-old boys are taken, or he can defer them down to 18½ if he wishes to do so.

Mr. President, I do not like to discuss figures, but so far as I can estimate, and bearing out what the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKellar] stated some time ago, about the number of men between 20 and 30 who still are not drafted, my estimate is that if we take the boys of 19 we will have over 15,000,000 men up to the age of 30. Exempting everyone over 30, there would be 15,000,000 men available. Out of those 15,000,000 men it seems to me we should be able to find seven and a half million men without drafting boys of 18.

So far as I can see, even according to the figures of General Hershey, if we add the boys who become 19 years of age during 1942, there will be nearly 9,000,000 men available for the armed forces, including the Navy, which means, of course, about 8,000,000 from which to draw the 7,500,000 army which is required for the year 1943. I do not question the

need of an army of that size. That may be the proper size, but I maintain that if we take married men under 30 years of age, and give regard to proper exemptions for civilian occupations as well as physical disqualification, we still can obtain the number of men necessary without drafting boys 18 years of age. Certainly, if we find that to be impossible by next July, we can pass another law and include the larger group.

Mr. President, under the circumstances it seems to me that we should establish a special classification of the boys who are 18 years of age, and be certain that they are not taken until all other groups are drafted, at least up to the age of 30. Holding that view, I necessarily believe that we should support the Norris amendment, and make sure that these boys are in effect deferred from combat service until they become at least 19 years of age.

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I have offered an amendment to the pending bill which covers somewhat the same ground as that covered by the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska. I think the amendment as revised by the Senator from Nebraska will accomplish what I had in mind. I want to place the age limit at 19 years and also require that the boys have a year's military training before going into combat service.

Mr. President, the pending bill in the form in which it was introduced will, I fear, make the farm situation worse at a time when the need for labor on farms is as grave as any issue before the country. The farmer is slaughtering his cows because he has insufficient help in milking; he has not enough help in the fields, his crops are rotting there; his hay and corn and wheat and fruit are spoiling; now we are threatening to take his sons. Farm boys have always helped their fathers. At 18 and 19 years of age they are beginning to be at their most useful period. If we take them away, many will never return. Even those youngsters who come back from the war alive, many will not be returning to the farms; at that age they will have been made restless and unsettled and unbalanced, immature boys spoiled for life.

This farm problem comes just when the need to produce more food is greatest, here and abroad. Starvation threatens. It is reported that 5,000,000 Russians will probably die of starvation this winter. Belgium and Greece are starving. And what results from starvation? Plague, illness from undernourishment, epidemic which knows no boundaries, and the breaking of morale among our Allies and potential allies. America is going to have to feed the world. It is going to have to produce more, not less.

Mr. President, I should like to call attention to a letter I have received from a Kansas farm woman. It is as follows:

PECK, KANS., September 30, 1942.  
Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: \* \* \* America is in danger of a food shortage because of indiscriminate drafting of farm boys.

It is an utter impossibility for school children to help on our farm. The technical training needed to run our various tractors,

hay balers, combines, etc., is found only in skilled workers.

We farm 1,000 acres near Wichita, Kans. Our oldest son is in the Army and if our 18-year-old boy is taken we will be compelled to do what numerous families are doing—have an auction sale, move to town, and go into war work. Then where will the thousands of pounds of pork, beef, dairy, and poultry products be which we produce? Like any business, it takes many years to become established in farming and go into maximum production.

I should be glad for you to place this letter in General Hershey's hands and inform him that in Kansas, at least, the real foundation of the American way of life is the rural population.

Mrs. W. L. WALTON.

Mr. President, here is another letter from a fine farmer in western Kansas:

FORD, KANS., October 3, 1942.  
Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have read some of your speeches and am glad for the stand you have taken for the farmer. \* \* \*

They are crying all the time for more production and yet they take all of our young men to war. Help is almost impossible to get on the farm any more at any price. They won't let us have tires and now they are going to refuse us gas as well as farm machinery. I have lived on this farm for 30 years and have had a time to live the last 10 years on account of drought and dust and low prices. My only boy is gone.

I milked from 10 to 16 cows the past year and shipped cream. I have to go 18 miles to Dodge City for repairs of any kind and had to make 2 or 3 trips to town all summer with cream and eggs. This is an absolute impossibility with 4 gallons of gas a week, so, like hundreds of others, there is just one thing to do and that is quit, and quit I must on 4 gallons of gas.

\* \* \*  
GUY WOOTIN.

Mr. President, the folly and inefficiency of putting these youths immediately into combat service are points that are emphasized by many medical leaders.

Let me read excerpts from statements of eminent medical men and educators relative to the drafting of 18- and 19-year-old youths:

SHOULD WORK ON FARMS UNTIL MATURE, SAYS EMINENT MEDICAL MAN

I believe that the 18- to 19-year-old boys should be the last group to be drafted. No other age group would be so seriously damaged as this one by its disarrangement and disorganization and would become so maladjusted not only immediately but throughout its future. If these boys are given 2 more years in which to grow up, with perhaps part-time work on farms, where labor is evidently needed, they will be of more value, both in the war and in the post-war world.

DR. EDWARD A. STRECKER,  
President-elect, American Psychiatric  
Association, Philadelphia.

DON'T SACRIFICE OUR BOY POWER YET, SAYS JOHN DEWEY

We have in this vast land great reserves of manpower without sacrificing our boy power. All of us know many men in their twenties and thirties who have not gone into military service. They should be called first; the young boys should be the last to go. Those boys who are entering college should be permitted to continue their education. Unless we have boys with a basic college education, the country will be depleted of trained men in the future, when they will be so vitally needed. Being forced into the war machine



will prevent their growth and development. Other boys who are not headed for college could replace unskilled labor on farms, in factories, etc., thus having a chance to grow up before going, fresh from school, to war.

Dr. JOHN DEWEY,  
*Teachers College, Columbia University,  
New York City.*

#### EIGHTEEN-YEAR-OLDS NOT ALWAYS 16 IN DEVELOPMENT

The age at which the character of young men matures is a variable quantity. A number of boys of 18 have not the maturity of the normal boy of 16. A somewhat lesser percentage of 19-year-olds will belong to the group of immature characters.

It would seem to be a more rational procedure to provide for the further education of all boys of 18 to 19 of average normal intelligence. If they are drafted into the ordinary military services their education will cease and we shall not have a body of men from whom to draw the officers of the future.

Dr. THOMAS V. MOORE,  
*Department of Psychology and Psychiatry,  
the Catholic University of  
America, Washington, D. C.*

Mr. President, there are other statements by important physicians and educators which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### OPINIONS OF EMINENT MEDICAL MEN AND EDUCATORS RELATIVE TO THE DRAFTING OF YOUTHS UNDER 20 YEARS OF AGE

I believe that the 18-19-year-old boys should be the last group to be drafted. No other age group would be so seriously damaged as this one by its disarrangement and disorganization and would become so maladjusted not only immediately but throughout its future. If these boys are given 2 more years in which to grow up with perhaps part-time work on farms, where labor is evidently needed, they will be of more value, both in the war and in the post-war world.

Dr. EDWARD A. STRECKER,  
*President-elect, American Psychiatric  
Association, Philadelphia.*

Dr. GEORGE S. STEVENSON: Many of us who are close to the problems of youth are deeply concerned over the possibility of drafting 18- and 19-year-old boys. We realize how grave are the psychological dangers of war to boys of this age. I am writing to urge you to use your influence to the end that every other source of manpower be used before these boys are called.

Dr. CAROLINE B. ZACHRY,  
*Director, Child Guidance Bureau,  
Board of Education, New York City.*

Dr. STEVENSON: With the hope that my opinion may help a little in preventing the making of a serious mistake, I should like to say that any proposal to induct boys of the 18-19-year level into our armed services at the present time is an unfortunate one. During this period of years the young boy is either in the midst of that formal education so necessary for the promotion of the best interests of society and civilization, or if not in school, is along with the others, just learning to adjust in the complexities of our social and economic system. Any measure taken to interrupt this course of events should be very seriously scrutinized. The majority of interruptions in these life factors will result in a permanent end or an irreparable deviation of the life plan that is so much needed to constitute a sound basis for reconstruction here at home after the war. These persons should

constitute the trained minds of the future. Those hardly out of adolescence are comparatively immature emotionally and intellectually, and many of them are as yet unstable constitutionally, and are thus unfit for the regimented camp life or for active field service. Certainly, the older groups including the married men and those married men with children, should be utilized first, until the supply is exhausted, before considering the adolescents for service.

NOLAN D. C. LEWIS, M. D.,  
*New York State Psychiatric  
Institute and Hospital.*

The morale and mental health of this country would be undermined by drafting the young boys of 18-19. These boys are inexperienced, impressionable, and have never yet had an opportunity to live independently; they have not the stability and preparation of the older soldier. When they reach the age of 20 they will still be available for military service and they will be better equipped physically, mentally, and emotionally to withstand the shock of war. They will be better either as soldiers or as civilians.

We have in this vast land great reserves of manpower without sacrificing our boy power. All of us know many men in their twenties and thirties who have not gone into military service. They should be called first; the young boys should be the last to go. Those boys who are entering college should be permitted to continue their education. Unless we have boys with a basic college education, the country will be depleted of trained men in the future, when they will be so vitally needed. Being forced into the war machine will prevent their growth and development. Other boys who are not headed for college could replace unskilled labor on farms, in factories, and so forth, thus having a chance to grow up before going, fresh from school, to war.

Prof. JOHN DEWEY.

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, there is also our own experience in the World War. This quotation comes from the Army's own medical records:

EXCERPT FROM VOLUME X, SECTION II, CHAPTER VIII, PAGE 430, IN SERIES OF STUDIES OF THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY IN THE WORLD WAR, VOLUME ON NEUROPSYCHIATRY

These figures reveal a marked disproportion between the admissions to the hospital of men under 21 and their number in the Army at large, 77 percent more men from this group being admitted to the hospital than their proportion in the Army would lead us to expect. That is, there was a marked tendency for men under 21 to develop neurosis in greater numbers than their proportion in the Army would warrant.

We cannot ignore this serious evidence. It is too costly, actually too costly to the Army, as well as too costly in terms of human life. There is a waste of power that would be better utilized if the youth were held in reserve and developed.

Mr. President, what about education? If we call out high-school and college boys, where are we going to find trained minds for the future, skills to rehabilitate the world? We do not need only physicists and chemists—that is a short view. Civilization will go on needing teachers, economists, Government experts, political leaders. We cannot shut down all educational institutions at a stroke of the pen. This bill is a blueprint of destruction for education. We must keep the college student at his studies. We need him.

Mr. President, there are millions of other men available, as we all know. More than 27,000,000 were originally registered between the ages of 20 and 45. Millions have not yet even been classified, other millions deferred often for trivial and inadequate reasons. Over a million new reserves reach the age of 20 each year. Industry is taking in more and more women to replace draft-eligible men. When people say that fathers will be taken from young children they are forgetting those millions of married men without children, many of them married since Pearl Harbor. Furthermore, in the case of many marriages, husbands and wives are both working and the wives support themselves. In a recent letter to the New York Times, outstanding educators and medical men said that it was their judgment that less damage would be done to the country if husbands, and even fathers of children, were drafted than the damage that would be done to our young boys. I quote this paragraph from the New York Times' letter of October 16:

We believe we have given full consideration to the fact that it is a great hardship for a child to be deprived of his father or a wife of her husband, but we regard even this as not so serious as subjecting the 18- and 19-year-old group prematurely to combat experience. It seems to us that this age group is our most important reserve of manpower and should be safeguarded to the last. If the Government is preparing for a long war, they might be placed in a quasi-military status now and conscripted for military service later. If it proves to be a short war, they will be equally needed in building the post-war world.

General Hershey testified before the Senate Military Affairs Committee that to draft immature youth would only postpone the draft of married men by 2 or 3 months. Remember, too, Mr. President, that the Army has not promised that these boys will be given a year, or even 6 months, of training in this country. Boys fresh from home and school may soon be sent abroad into combat service. Need any more be said? The Nation needs men. Will these boys not be needed at their peak, instead of now?

Mr. President, the business of Congress is to examine all proposals that come before it, not to follow anybody blindly. The country does not want us to be rubber stamps. We follow, and rightly, the recommendations of the Army on military planning and tactics. However, we cannot blindly follow the Army in the matter of manpower and discharge our full responsibility. The Army is not in exclusive possession of this sphere of our national economy. We are not doing our duty by the Army and by the country if we do not help them in interpreting human needs and conditions. Industrialists may demand a large labor supply from time to time. Nevertheless, it has been the business of Congress to see to it that they did not tap for this supply child labor or place in the injurious trades potential mothers. The record shows that industry as such has been primarily concerned in getting supplies of labor and not in the effects on the race. Therefore, the Congress, rightly,



has had to enact laws to provide such protection. In the same way it is now the primary duty of the Congress to explore the whole field and to examine the problem of manpower as it does the labor market.

Let us remember these are youths, not men. We do not consider them mature enough to vote for us. How dare we consider them mature enough to die for us?

The War Department has been vigilant in securing the most efficient and effective matériel for war, such as tanks, planes, and guns. It is the business of the Congress to see to it that only the most effective and efficient material in manpower is used.

I therefore offer my amendment, which discriminates between these boys and adult men.

Mr. President, I have received more than a thousand telegrams and letters in the last few days from men and women of Kansas, protesting against the taking of untrained boys for combat service. I ask that a few of these communications be printed in the RECORD. One is from T. A. James, superintendent, Atlanta Rural High School, Atlanta, Kans.; one is from Mr. and Mrs. Elmer A. Thomas, of Medicine Lodge, Kans.; one is a telegram from a group of Hutchinson, Kans., mothers and fathers who demand that the 1-year training clause be included in the draft bill if the age is lowered to 18 years; and there are a number of others. I ask that these letters and telegram be inserted in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the letters and telegram were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ATLANTA, KANS., October 20, 1942.

Hon. ARTHUR CAPPER,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CAPPER: I hope you oppose the drafting of 18- and 19-year-old boys. According to the papers it appears that some people wish to draft 18- and 19-year-old boys before they draft the stronger and more mature young men who are married. If we must draft workers, it seems that we could use 18- and 19-year-old boys to work and thus release older young men for the Army; and in this community most of the help that farmers have are boys—a number of them in high school.

Sincerely yours,

T. A. JAMES,  
Superintendent, Atlanta Rural High School.

MEDICINE LODGE, KANS., October 19, 1942.

Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,

DEAR MR. CAPPER: If you just must vote for the 18- to 19-year-old boys being inducted into the Army, we are urging that they be required to have at least 1 year's training before being put into actual service.

We knew boys in World War No. 1 who were in France less than 30 days after being inducted, which is plain murder.

Also, our Government has three branches. The people as a whole would like to see Congress perform their legislative duties instead of willing their rights to the executive branch.

Farm labor is really getting serious in Barber county. If men were drafted to stay on the farms, the tremendous criticism on agricultural deferments would cease to some extent.

Our Farm Bureau workers want to know who to contact to urge that a ban be put around the Army camps to keep bad women and liquor out. Our young boys' lives and souls are at stake. We are much disturbed. Our information came from very reliable sources.

Very truly yours,

Mr. and Mrs. ELMER A. THOMAS.

HUTCHINSON, KANS., October 17, 1942.

Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:  
Hutchinson mothers and fathers demand at least 1 year training clause be included in draft bill if age lowered to 18 years.

Mr. and Mrs. E. D. HAROLD.

Mr. and Mrs. HARRY S. KING.

Mr. and Mrs. ROY CHRISTENSEN.

Mr. and Mrs. H. S. LUDWIG.

Mr. and Mrs. ARTHUR H. LEWIS.

Mr. and Mrs. WALTER R. PACE.

HUTCHINSON, KANS., October 17, 1942.

Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:  
Without 1 year of training before combat duty drafting of 18- and 19-year-old boys is murder. Insist on 1 year of training.

Dr. and Mrs. BOYD GREEVER.

HUTCHINSON, KANS., October 14, 1942.

Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:  
DEAR SIR: We want to know that many citizens of Hutchinson, Kans., do not approve of lowering the draft age to include 18-year-old boys—in fact, we know of no one who approves the lowering of the draft age to 18 years.

We abhor the thought of sending our half-grown innocent boys out to fight the war planned and proclaimed by men of mature years. These boys are not developed either in mind or body to pitch their lives against the hellish machinations of militarists, of war lords, and organized interests gaining profit in time of war.

We wish to protest the lowering of the draft age to include boys of 18 years. We want to give our boys a chance to grow up.

You are our voice in our Government. We want you to know how we feel about this. We would appreciate it greatly if you could take a stand against lowering the draft age to 18 years.

Very truly yours,

Mr. and Mrs. MAX WYMAN

(And sundry other citizens of Hutchinson, Kans.).

STATE OF KANSAS,

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Russell, Kans., October 19, 1942.

Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,

DEAR MR. CAPPER: Along with the other parents of our great Nation, I voice my protest to the drafting of boys in their 'teen ages, mere children still growing, and needing the protection of a home, instead of being placed in Army camps in a man's Army.

Surely our country hasn't fallen to the Hitler tactics of sacrificing the youth of our land on the altar of greed and lust, created by the war lords of other lands.

I am merely a mother, pouring out to you a mother's heart in protection of the young sons of our Nation.

Sincerely,

Mrs. W. H. SELLENS.

BOARD OF EDUCATION,

Topeka, Kans., October 20, 1942.

Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,

Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am writing you relative to the bill soon to appear in the Senate, drafting 18- and 19-year-old boys for service.

Last spring I wrote you on this same subject, and I again want to protest this proposed step. We people interested in the education of American youth do not favor taking these boys at the ages of 18 and 19 years out of school and throwing them into the Army. The Army with their propaganda are endeavoring to show this to be a necessity, but these same youths, taken at 20 years of age for military service, will be much better soldiers and know how to take care of themselves, to the advantage of the armed forces.

It is to be deplored that the heads of the Government do not look at this question from a broad point of view. A youth of 18 years is still a grown-up child, and will develop in the next 2 years in school to the point where he will be a real asset to his country and of some value in a military way. We people interested in schools are anxious to cooperate 100 percent in building up any program suggested to fit American youth to take his part, when he reaches an age capable of doing so, but that age is not 18 or 19 years, and I sincerely hope you will do your part in holding this proposed legislation to the original draft age of 20 years.

With kindest personal regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

KELSEY H. PETRO.

CHANUTE, KANS., October 22, 1942.

Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,

United States Senate,

Washington, D. C.:

Drafting of boys 18 years old is almost a crime. They should be at least 19, with a full year's training before combat service. This is practically the unanimous opinion of hundreds we have talked with. Won't you please use your influence along the above lines.

Mr. and Mrs. E. M. COOPER.

KANSAS CITY, KANS., October 21, 1942.

Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,

Washington, D. C.:

Please vote "no" on draft legislation. We feel that America should not break down the schoolroom doors and drag forth our schoolboys for soldiers. They are not the proper material. Surely they have some rights and should not be rushed into war. It is within your power to save them.

COUNCIL OF DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S  
CLUBS OF KANSAS CITY, KANS.

WICHITA, KANS., October 15, 1942.

Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,

Care, Senate Office Building,

Washington, D. C.:

I believe you should oppose draft of 18-year-olds. Nineteen-year-old boys are good soldiers, but from 18 to 19, I have found, as an infantry company commander, they are not good material.

CARL I. WINSOR.

SMITH COUNTY REVIEW,

Smith Center, Kans., October 12, 1942.

Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Smith County now has approximately 350 boys in the armed forces and another 60 to leave this month. A large percent of these lads have been taken from the farms of this county, and you know the result; in many cases it has left the farm with no one to do the work.

I am writing you as an interested businessman from this county favoring instructions being given draft boards to make deferments where necessary to carry on farm work. You know the story as well as I, so I am not going into a lengthy explanation. I personally will appreciate anything that you may be able to do in connection with this matter.

Very truly yours,

HAROLD P. BEASON.



JUNCTION CITY, KANS., October 22, 1942.

HON. ARTHUR CAPPER,  
Senator, Washington, D. C.:

Your consideration in the drafting of our young boys will be appreciated. They should be given opportunity to prepare themselves. When other groups are being deferred, college boys, able to complete college along with R. O. T. C. at the age of 20 years can do more and should be allowed to complete their work.

E. W. ROLFS.

MULLINVILLE, KANS., October 16, 1942.

Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: This letter is to protest against the drafting of teen-age boys before the childless married men are taken. In our county, there are quite a few married men, with no children, whose wives are working and they have not been called. They are engaged in occupations such as these: Drug-store clerk, variety store, restaurant, poultry dealer, oil station operator, and booster plant workers. These jobs can be filled by older men who have been working on Works Progress Administration, or women. Their home ties are no stronger than those of the 18-year-old boys. Their work is not essential to the war \* \* \*.

The 18-year-olds have been doing the harvesting, feed shocking, and farm work in our community. Our 18-year-old boys are still going to high school and belong to the 4-H. Why take these 4-H boys and let these young married men stay behind? It is not fair or just to the boys or to the other married men that have already been taken. Any man of 35 or 40 is in the prime of life, and when he hides behind a teen-age boy, he doesn't deserve a country. Let the boys go when their turn comes, but we are just as bad as Hitler, if we take them before it is necessary. They are not old enough to vote and let us not push them out in front to win this war, the most ruthless ever fought.

Yours sincerely,

LYLOYD ELLER.

LAWRENCE, KANS.

DEAR SENATOR CAPPER:

Most of the farm boys around here are in the Army. Labor on the farm is costing almost twice as much as last year. Labor works 10 hours on the farm. Farmers and their families put in a good many more than that.

It's to be hoped that Congress gets a little starchy in their backbones and does something. Because if they don't, and let one man with a bunch of bunglers run the whole show. Congress just as well come home and go to work.

Very truly yours,

GUY SHULTZ.

WHITEWATER, KANS., October 17, 1942.

SENATOR CAPPER: We hereby make vigorous protest against drafting undeveloped, uneducated, 18- and 19-year-old boys; give the boys a chance. We want no Hitler regime.

Mr. and Mrs. L. M. PACE.

BRONSON PUBLIC SCHOOLS,

Bronson, Kans., October 17, 1942,

Senator ARTHUR CAPPER.

DEAR SENATOR: \* \* \*

When Army officials first urged that it be enacted, they argued that it was best so as to assure the boys a maximum training period of at least a year. They said that short training was responsible for the great number of casualties. Now they seem to reverse themselves, and are wanting to take our boys right out of high school and rush them into combat. Boys with adolescent

pimples—who don't even shave yet. Don't say it isn't done—one from our home county was in Ireland less than 3 months after his induction. Is this right? The boys don't even know what it's all about yet, but are expected to blindly rush in and die for the selfish mistakes made by our leaders in past years.

Please give our boys a chance.

Kansas is counting on you to do the right thing now, as you have so consistently in the past.

Sincerely,

(Mrs. H. R.) FRANCES STOVER,  
Bronson, Kans.

OSBORNE, KANS., October 20, 1942.

Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: This is in vehement protest against this inhuman bill taking our young boys for combat service and sure slaughter. We mothers understand that there would be no commissions and "safe" service for this group.

The suggestion giving them the right to vote may salve the consciences of some Congress Members, but it makes the parents only the more bitter. These little boys haven't the least desire to vote for they haven't had a chance to think yet, let alone grow up.

My husband is a World War veteran, having served in France in actual combat with the Thirty-fifth Division, and we understand this war has to be fought, but we wonder if we, as a nation, are worth saving if we are barbaric enough to send these young, unthinking boys to do the messy, bloody work that our older boys and men should do.

Very truly yours,

ESTHER MEYER.

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I favor the amendment offered by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS]. I think it covers the ground satisfactorily.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, I shall vote for the pending amendment. However, I wish to say that I have an amendment which I shall offer after action shall have been taken on the pending amendment. I believe my amendment covers the situation more thoroughly. The pending amendment overlooks entirely the question of further education of the 18- and 19-year-old boys. It provides merely for military training. I think the further education of these boys is vitally important, both in making them good soldiers and preparing them for the responsibilities of citizenship after the war is over.

I have an amendment which I shall offer after action is taken on the Norris amendment, in connection with which I should like the indulgence of the Senate for at least an hour. It provides that the boys shall be given educational training and at the same time given basic military training. The scheme is to draft the boys, classify them, and send them to the colleges, high schools, and universities which shall be designated by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, and that the Army shall furnish retired officers—there are plenty of them and there ought to be more—to conduct the basic military training of these boys until they shall have reached the age of 20. In that way they will be ready for the Army quickly to whip into line, and they will have the necessary training and will have reached the degree of maturity in thought and in mind which will make them good soldiers.

Mr. President, I am opposed to the bill as it is written, but I shall do my best to help amend it, because I realize it is going to pass unless there is a revulsion of sentiment. It seems to me that not only the Congress but the country and the newspapers and broadcasters have become stampeded on the idea of rushing 18- and 19-year-old boys into this slaughter, when England, which has been in war for several years, is still providing for the education of her boys before she puts them into combat service. Australia, which is an important part of the war machine, refuses to let a boy into the combat service until he reaches 19 years of age. I see no reason why we should be in such a hurry to dispose of this matter. I think we had better take time to discuss the importance of providing educational training along with basic military training.

Mr. President, I will say in this connection that I am now and have always been in favor of universal military training. We certainly can afford to give the boys military training, which will make them ready for the Army along with their ordinary educational training while they are 18 and 19 years old. I shall offer the amendment and I want the floor after the Norris amendment is acted on.

Mr. LUCAS. A parliamentary inquiry. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. LUCAS. What are we voting on now?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], as modified.

Mr. LUCAS. May I ask that the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska, as modified, be read?

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I understood that the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL] had offered a substitute.

Mr. O'DANIEL. I understood that I had offered a substitute and sent it to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is advised that the amendment of the Senator from Texas never had been formally offered.

Mr. O'DANIEL. I offer the substitute amendment now.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Texas as a substitute for the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska, as modified, will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. In lieu of the amendment of Mr. NORRIS, it is proposed to insert the following:

No person under 20 years of age inducted under this act shall be placed in actual combat duty beyond the territorial boundaries of continental United States until after he has had at least 1 year's military training following his induction.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I wish to ask a question. Am I to understand that under the amendment which is offered by the Senator from Texas as a substitute for the amendment offered by the able Senator from Nebraska, if a boy is 19 years, 11 months, and 25 days old, he will have to have 1 year's training before



he can be sent into combat duty? Is that correct?

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I should think that would follow if the substitute amendment we have just heard read were agreed to.

Mr. LUCAS. In other words, if the substitute shall be agreed to, then any boys who are inducted under the proposed legislation who are 19 years, 9, 10, or 11 months old, will have the privilege of staying 1 year in this country before they can be ordered into combat duty of any kind or character? On the other hand, the boy who is 2 or 3 months older than the others—in other words, any boy who is over 20 years of age, whether it be 3 days, or 3 weeks, or 3 months—is subject to combat duty overseas immediately.

Mr. President, that seems to me to be the unfairness of the substitute amendment and the discrimination which will result insofar as boys of 19 and 20 years of age are concerned. There is a 6 or 8 or 10 months' period when one boy will derive a tremendous benefit, so far as staying on this side is concerned and so far as any combat duty is concerned. On the other hand, the boy who is just a few days or a few months older will be discriminated against. Thousands upon thousands of such boys will be affected by the proposal. I doubt if the adoption of such type of discrimination will lift the morale of the Army. That is the serious objection, as I see it, to the proposal. It seems to me that if the measure is to be modified in any way at all, it should be done in such a way as to give the boys 18 or 19 years old at least 6 months' training in this country before they are sent into combat duty. That would come nearer to eliminating the discrimination to which I referred a moment ago.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LUCAS. I am glad to yield, because all I am doing is trying to get the facts.

Mr. NORRIS. That is also what I am trying to do. I do not believe we can by a statute avoid all discrimination. If we limit the induction into service at a particular age, it would naturally bring about some discrepancies which might be important. But how can we avoid that?

Mr. LUCAS. We probably cannot avoid it if we adopt this amendment.

Mr. NORRIS. How can we modify the amendment so as to avoid it?

Mr. LUCAS. I think we are all interested in making certain that these boys have adequate training before they are sent into service. There may be one boy 18 years old who has the physical and mental stability which qualifies him to go along with the boy who is 21 years of age. On the other hand, there may be a boy who ought to stay in this country a year or a year and a half. No one knows about such things until the boys get into the service, and their qualifications are closely ascertained by those who are over them.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LUCAS. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. I do not believe it will be possible to avoid some discrimination

and inequality. Perhaps I may be wrong, and if I am I shall be glad to be corrected. For instance, as the Senator from Illinois has said, if a boy is 1 day past 18 years of age, and another one is 18 years and 11 months old, of course, if we classify them by age they both come within the limit of 18 years. Yet one is practically a year older than the other. Unless we can remove the arbitrary restrictions which seem to be necessary, I do not see how we can avoid discrimination. As the Senator said, the boy who is 18 years and 9 or 10 or 11 months old, will, when he is trained a year, be nearly 20 years old. But if we do not have some kind of limitation as to age they would both be left out entirely.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LUCAS. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I think many of us are trying to arrive at a common solution of a very difficult problem to which the Senator from Illinois has addressed himself by his question. The amendment of the Senator from Nebraska is as follows:

Nothing in this act shall authorize the sending of troops inducted into military service by this act into combat service who are less than 19 years of age unless such troops have had at least 1 year of training.

We could not induct a man under the act until he had reached the age of 18, could we?

Mr. LUCAS. That is correct.

Mr. TYDINGS. After he had had 1 year's training, he would be over 19. It seems to me that a great deal of the confusion might be eliminated by the simple expedient of providing that no one inducted under this act shall be sent into combat service outside the United States until after he shall have passed his nineteenth birthday.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LUCAS. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. It seems to me that that would still leave us in a situation in which we should meet the difference between the two boys, which would represent practically a year. As I see it, we should not be avoiding that difficulty.

Mr. TYDINGS. Let me say to the Senator from Nebraska, with the permission of the Senator from Illinois, that if a boy is 18 years and 11 months old at the time of induction, and becomes 19 within a month, the minute he becomes 19 years of age he would not have to have the year's training, because the amendment says that no one under the age of 19 may be sent into the combat zone unless he has had a year's training.

Mr. NORRIS. That is correct.

Mr. TYDINGS. If we cannot get them in until they are 18, why not take the bull by the horns and say that no one may be sent out of the country until he is 19 years of age? The same result would be obtained, and, at the same time, the possibility of sending them into combat after 10½, 11½, or 25 days' training would be eliminated.

Mr. NORRIS. If a boy went in when he was 18 years and 11 months old, after he had been in for a month, he would be entirely out of the picture. That would be true in either case.

Mr. TYDINGS. That is correct.

Mr. NORRIS. I should like to avoid that difficulty if possible.

Mr. TYDINGS. So should I; but frankly, I do not know how. It seems to me that if the amendment were couched in those words we could establish a direct policy, because we could then say, as the English have said, that boys who are under 19 years of age shall not be sent into the combat zones.

It seems to me that we must rely somewhat on the Army. I do not believe that the Army would send boys into combat unless they were pretty well trained. Now, if we provide a preliminary period, and should adopt the 19-year provision as a matter of policy in connection with sending men abroad to combat areas, we could meet, so far as possible, the objections raised by the Senator from Illinois without defeating the philosophy of the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, if the Senator from Illinois will again yield, I think the substitute is an improvement over the amendment offered by me, because it takes in a larger scope. As I said at the beginning of my remarks, I should be glad to take in boys of 19 as well as boys of 18; but I was afraid that such a provision could not be adopted. As a matter of policy, after consulting with quite a number of Senators who agreed with me, we decided that we had better take care of the 18-year-old boys.

Suppose the substitute were adopted. We should still have a great discrepancy, because the substitute would apply to the boy who is 1 day over 18 years of age, and it would apply to the boy who is 19 years and 11 months old—practically 2 years apart. It would still leave a discrepancy, which I think any amendment which has been suggested so far would leave. I do not see how to avoid it.

Mr. LUCAS. I merely rose to seek information as to the interpretation of the substitute offered by the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL].

What the Senator from Illinois would like to see is unity in the Senate. I do not suppose that can be accomplished. I believe that this measure is sufficiently important, so far as the country is concerned, for us to achieve unity in the Senate if we can possibly do so. The more unity we can have upon measures of this kind, even if we must give and take a little, the better off we shall be, so far as the morale of the people is concerned—and their morale is ultimately transmitted to the troops.

My thought was that perhaps something in the way of a compromise might be arranged. I do not know whether it can be done. I am willing to vote now on the amendment. Frankly, I shall support the position of the Senator from South Dakota.

I cannot bring myself into the frame of mind to discriminate against boys around the 19- or 20-year age limit. I do not know whether anything better can be worked out. If there was ever a time when we ought to have unity on a question of this kind, it is now. We are in the throes of a terrible war. We all know the dangers which exist. We must have the support of the people on a



policy of this kind. When the Senate divides upon a matter of such importance, obviously the country is divided; and the moment the Senate is united, the country is united.

I hope the leaders may be able to work out something upon which we can all agree.

**THE PRESIDING OFFICER.** The question is on agreeing to the substitute amendment offered by the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL] for the modified amendment offered by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS].

Mr. O'DANIEL. I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I hope the yeas and nays will not be ordered now, because if they are ordered, the amendment cannot be modified except by unanimous consent. The Senator will get the yeas and nays, anyway. Why order them now? It is not possible to obtain a vote now, because other Senators wish to discuss the question further. So there is no need to be in a hurry about the yeas and nays.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, I feel that a little information as to how this matter was handled some 24 years ago might bring the question more clearly before us, at a time when dangers threaten our country's existence.

Yesterday I made a statement to the effect that if there is complacency anywhere in the United States it is here in Washington. I wish to reiterate that statement in as strong language as possible.

I do not believe we can compare the situation in which our country finds itself today with the situation in which we were some 24 years ago. The other day an article in Time magazine stated that no general had ever been given the problem now confronting General Marshall—that of conducting a war on six continents. Think of it!

We must remember that we do not now have the allies we had in 1917 and 1918. Some of them are now our enemies, or are working as slaves for our enemies of 24 years ago. We are really in a serious situation, which is not comparable with that of 24 years ago. It is in direct contrast.

To bring the situation to the attention of the Senate, I wish to read a story which strikes home. It was printed in the Washington Post of September 17, 1942. I wish to read it in its entirety. It gives both sides of the question. I hope Senators will listen to it. In view of its length Senators may not have read it at the time. The article is by Edward T. Folliard. I read:

[From the Washington Post of September 17, 1942]

**THE 18-19 DRAFT BELIEVED AS GOOD AS PASSED—  
FROTHY ORATORY ON SAME QUESTION IN CONGRESS DURING FAMOUS DEBATES OF 1918 IS RECALLED**

(By Edward T. Folliard)

If the experience of 1918 is any guide, the forthcoming debate in Congress on the question of drafting 18- and 19-year-old youths will be a dramatic one, marked by much passion and many lofty flights of oratory. This over the youngsters will be brought into the selective service.

It was in mid-August 1918 that the proposal to lower the draft age came before the second session of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

Foes of the legislation asserted that Congress was "robbing the cradle," that it was snatching "tender buds" from their mothers' knees. One House Member demanded that the fathers of 18- and 19-year-old boys be sent in their stead, or else stand revealed as cowards and slackers.

Proponents argued that 18- and 19-year-old youngsters had fought in all of America's wars, and that a million or so were even then serving as volunteers. They argued that young men were tougher than older men, and that, anyway, it was not a question of what Congress desired to do, but of what Congress had to do if the Nation's arms were to be triumphant.

PASSED AUGUST 31, 1918

The legislation, which had been requested by the War Department, was passed on August 31, 1918, and President Woodrow Wilson signed it the same day. It made subject to military service all male citizens "between the ages of 18 and 45, both inclusive."

As it turned out, the men involved in this all-out mobilization were just being classified when Germany caved in and asked for an armistice. Still nobody could safely say that Congress had erred. By extending the draft, Congress had provided "a supply of fighting men sufficient to meet every military necessity," a supply equal to the manpower of Britain and France combined. Undoubtedly that was an important consideration in the minds of the German military leaders when they decided to quit.

When Senator Curley (Republican) of South Dakota recently introduced a bill to draft 18- and 19-year-old youths, Senator BILBO (Democrat) of Mississippi quickly protested.

BILBO said that "the idea of sending tender boys into combat" was "abhorrent" to him.

SPARE OUR SONS

So it was, too, to many of the Senators and Representatives in the Sixty-fifth Congress. For weeks these Members were bombarded with letters and telegrams from fathers and mothers, urging them to spare their sons.

In the debates that took place in the House and Senate, most of the arguments had to do with the question of necessity. Occasionally, however, the oratory became emotional in the extreme.

"Who is this 18-year-old boy that you will consign to war while mature men remain at peace?" asked Representative Leonidas Dyer (Republican) of Missouri.

"He is only a child yet, clinging to the knees of that mother who taught him his prayers; a tender bud blooming into manhood \* \* \*"

Representative Albert Johnson (Republican) of Washington put a House page boy of 18 on exhibition and asked the Members how they would like to see him face a German gas attack and be blinded for life. The page, incidentally, was eager to go to war.

Representative E. C. Little (Republican) of Kansas said both Rome and Greece had fallen because they had sent too many of their young men to the wars. He said he was opposed to taking a boy of 18 out of school.

"He should be in school and his father should be out fighting," cried Little. "Is there any man of 45 that wants to stay at home while his boy goes to the war? God have pity on him if he does."

"Come out of the brush, brave men! Come out of the brush, cowards and slackers! Go yourselves and register and be shipped to Europe, and let your boy stay in school where he belongs, and with his mother. He is to furnish the intelligent voter of the future."

Old Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (Republican), of Massachusetts, speaking on the other

side of the Capitol, had something to say that was indirectly an answer to Representative Little's solicitude for the "intelligent voter of the future."

"We must remember," said Lodge, "that our object in all this legislation is getting victories and not getting votes."

The man who carried most of the burden of the Senate debate was one of that Chamber's most gifted orators—Senator James A. Reed (Democrat), of Missouri. He started out by saying that the mere suggestion of sending boys to war wrung the heart of every humane, decent man. Then he reminded the Senate that a million and a half Americans already were in France and that another million were headed there.

STERN CALL OF DUTY

He continued:

"Shall they be sacrificed by being constantly thrown against an equal or a greater force until little by little they are cut down or a vast percentage of them have gone to their death, or shall we now make one herculean effort and put in the field a resistless force that will break the German line at will?"

"God, who made the universe, knows that no man in this body will vote to take these boys except it be in response to the stern call of duty."

"We can only say that it is because we are at war, ghastly, horrible war. And in war we must inflict pain to escape a greater agony."

At the time of this debate Germany had been stopped in the second battle of the Marne. Nevertheless, she still appeared to be a powerful and dangerous foe. Russia had collapsed. The Italians had suffered severe reverses, Rumania had been conquered by Germany, and Britain and France had lost heavily of their manpower.

Moreover, the Members of Congress were thinking in terms of a "complete and utter" victory over Germany, and were proceeding on the theory that to achieve this another year or two of fighting would ensue.

WE MUST GO TO BERLIN

Senator Lodge, in talking about peace, said:

"The victory bringing such a peace must be won inside, not outside, the German frontier. It must be won finally and thoroughly in Germany, and can be won nowhere else. \* \* \* In one word we must go to Berlin and there dictate the peace."

\* \* \* \* \*

The chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee in 1918 was Senator George E. Chamberlain (Democrat) of Oregon. In urging passage of the bill to lower the draft age, he recalled that in the early days of the Republic, President Washington had asked Congress to establish compulsory military training and had recommended that the age range be 18 to 45.

"Still," said Chamberlain, "those of us who have been insisting on the ages of 18 and 45 here have been charged with undertaking to enact revolutionary a statute which will drive the children and old men of the country to slaughter."

GIVES CIVIL WAR FIGURES

Senator Reed chimed in to remind his colleagues that in the Civil War the Federal Army had a million and a half boys under 18.

"The fact is," he said, "the War of the Rebellion on the Federal side was fought by men under 21 years of age, and the majority of them were under 18."

Senator William F. Kirby (Democrat) of Arkansas could not resist the temptation to say:

"That may have been the reason why the South whipped the North for 3 years, because there was nothing but boys in the Northern Army."

JAMES W. WADSWORTH, now a Republican Member of the House from New York, then a Member of the Senate, argued that youngsters



were tougher and more resilient than older men.

"There are exceptions, of course," he said, "but, generally speaking, a younger army will whip an older army in any long war, other things being equal."

Senator Reed, answering those who talked about "taking babes from their mothers' arms," told the Senate he would like to describe a few of those babes. He then launched into a eulogy of the United States Marines, whose ferocity of attack at Belleau Wood had caused the Germans to call them Devil Dogs.

"The Marines are 70 percent composed of these 'babes'," the Missouri statesman said. "Splendid, gallant babes they have proven themselves to be."

Something like an echo of that statement came recently in a dispatch from the Solomon Islands. The correspondent, who saw the Leathernecks of 1942 charge up the beaches at Tulagi, said their average age appeared to be about 19.

How many 18- and 19-year-old youths have volunteered for the Marine Corps, the Navy and the Army is not known, but the figure must be a large one, just as it was in 1917-18.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield there?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. According to the information given me by the Navy Department in a document which they sent to me, the average age of the enlisted men in the Navy is 19½ years, which, of course, means that many of the men are under 19, and many of them are under 18.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, the Marines in the Solomon Islands are even younger than the men of the Navy. The Congress of our country backed up the boys in 1917 and 1918. They helped them win that war. I believe the Members of this Congress want to do just as good a job as that which our predecessors did 24 years ago.

It is not that we do not have men on the fronts. There are going to be more of them, and there will be more fronts—terrible fronts—quite soon. There is no doubt about that. It is up to the present Members of Congress to back the boys who must be in the field, not because we sent them there because we declared war on other countries, but because quite a few other countries have declared war on us. If we do not send elsewhere our boys who are the best fighting material, we are quite liable to have the battle fronts a great deal closer to us than they now are.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I shall be glad to yield the floor.

Mr. TYDINGS. I was merely going to remark that the Senator made a very able presentation of that side of the case; and while, as I said before, we do not want to "keep books" with our Allies, and this war cannot be kept on the basis of having everyone do an exactly equal part, nevertheless it seemed to me rather odd that Great Britain, which is right at the very front door of danger, would have a policy of not letting her young men go into the combat areas until they are over 19 years of age, and that New Zealand, which lies at the front door of danger, has a policy that her men can-

not go into the combat areas until they are over 19 years of age.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. GURNEY. Has the Senator noticed in the hearings quite a few places at which General Marshall made statements off the record?

Mr. TYDINGS. I understand that he did talk off the record, but I did not hear what he had to say.

Mr. GURNEY. If the Senator will read the hearings he will notice that at many points testimony was given off the record.

Mr. TYDINGS. Yes.

Mr. GURNEY. The Committee on Military Affairs and the Committee on Naval Affairs have had much information given off the record. I can give the Senator information along the line that our fine Allies—Englanders, New Zealanders, Australians, and Canadians, all of them—are making an all-out effort; and it behooves the United States of America to make an all-out effort before our brave, fine Allies are cut down.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I do not want to be led astray by the last remark; but I think the conditions today in this war are vastly superior to what they were a year or two ago. When the English Army was driven from Dunkirk, when France collapsed, and when Russia was even then tentatively an ally or neutral of Hitler's, it looked to me as if we might lose the British Navy, and that we might have Hitler sending his forces over here, with a force equal to ours on the sea, and one much superior to ours in the air.

The Russian Army has bled the German Army white. England has had the chance to revitalize her forces. Her air force has taken dominance over the Germans, and with the great Russian Army—and it is a great one—on the Far East and the English Army on the west, I think we should be a little realistic and not have every passing hour the darkest hour in the war, as has been the tendency from the first hour down to the present.

Mr. President, I myself am not a bit scared about Hitler coming here. We are going to lick him, make no mistake about it.

Mr. GURNEY. I agree with the Senator.

Mr. TYDINGS. But I do not want to see the United States doing too much of the licking. I want to see the others bearing their fair share of the burden.

Mr. GURNEY. I agree with the Senator, and I make the further statement that I am sure that the people of the United States of America are not expecting the men of other countries to do our fighting for us.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Dakota yield for a question?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield for a question.

Mr. WALSH. I received a telegram today from the principal of a high school in Massachusetts.

Mr. GURNEY. I, too, have received some telegrams.

Mr. WALSH. I should like to have this telegram answered for the RECORD. It reads:

Are we going to draft 18-year-olds for foreign service while Britain promises her 18-year-olds 1 year of home service?

Is that a fact, or not?

Mr. GURNEY. The fact is that all of England and the British Isles are the front line, so to speak. They are being bombed every day.

Mr. WALSH. So this statement is not correct?

Mr. GURNEY. The statement was read into the RECORD a little while ago that England is now drafting her 18-year-old youths.

Mr. WALSH. Is it true that they are retained 1 year for home service?

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct, but the home service is right on the battle front at the moment.

Mr. WALSH. That does not answer the question.

Mr. GURNEY. I shall be glad to answer the question.

Mr. WALSH. Is what this man says a fact or not? I am asking the Senator from South Dakota because he is in charge of the bill. Is it a fact, as this man says, that in Britain the 18-year-olds are held 1 year for home service?

Mr. GURNEY. If the Senator had been present in the Chamber he would have heard the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TART] read the article from the paper which said exactly that, that they are holding the 18-year-olds on the home front for 1 year.

Mr. WALSH. There is no reason why it should not be repeated, even if I did not happen to be present, is there?

Mr. GURNEY. Oh, no.

Mr. WALSH. So this man's telegram stated a fact?

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The answer is "Yes."

Mr. WALSH. The answer is "Yes," of course, and there should be no hesitancy in making the answer.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, let me make an inquiry of the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. BONE. It is my understanding that we have in the neighborhood of four and a half million men in the Army at the present time.

Mr. GURNEY. My information is that we have more than that, that it will be approximately 5,000,000, or a little above that by the first of the year.

Mr. BONE. Taking the Army as it is presently constituted how many of that particular group have had training of at least a year?

Mr. GURNEY. A large percentage of them.

Mr. BONE. Would it be in the neighborhood of 90 percent?

Mr. GURNEY. Oh, no. The Senator knows about how many have been inducted each month.

Mr. BONE. We have been creating an army for a year and a half or two years.

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct.



Mr. BONE. We certainly must have a large number of men, perhaps at least 2,000,000, who have had training of a year or a year and a half.

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct.

Mr. BONE. Is it possible we have sufficient shipping now so that we could send that many men abroad? If so, we would have an army abroad as large as the army we had in Europe during the great German offensive in the latter part of 1918, or larger. Certainly the crisis is not so great that we could not take time to train these boys for a year.

Mr. GURNEY. If the Senator remembers, General Marshall said he was giving them all the training possible, and in the last paragraph he said, "Trust us to continue doing a good job." That is not an exact quotation, but it is in effect what he said.

Mr. BONE. If we have two or three million boys in the Army who have had training for a year or a year and a half, we certainly have a very formidable force of men.

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct.

Mr. BONE. Who could change the whole course of history if they were properly employed.

Mr. GURNEY. I am sure it is not the intention of the Army to make new divisions entirely out of 18-year-old boys, train them a few months, and send them overseas. The Senator knows that would not work, and it is not the intention of the Army.

Mr. BONE. If men who have had little or no training, or men with training of only a few weeks, were filtered in, they would be almost helpless in battle. I have talked with a great many veterans of the last war, and one of the things that seemed to impress them most was the fact that during the last war so many men were sent into active combat service without proper training. They regarded it as a supreme tragedy. The argument has been advanced for 20 years that no greater blunder could be made in war than to send untrained men into battle. I suspect that is the basis of much of the inquiry that has been made on the floor concerning the matter suggested by the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. BALL. Mr. President, I believe it is appropriate in connection with the consideration of the pending bill proposing to lower the age limit for selective service, to make a few observations on the over-all manpower mobilization problem which today is facing our Nation.

I am a member of a subcommittee of the Truman Investigating Committee, which has been studying this over-all problem for several weeks. What I say here today represents my individual views, but I believe those views are shared by a majority of both the subcommittee and the full Truman Committee, and will be reflected in our report when it is made.

The War Manpower Commission was created by Executive order of the President on April 18, 1942, with the Federal Security Administrator as chairman. Its prime task, as set forth in the order, was—

To formulate plans and programs and establish basic national policies to assure the

most effective mobilization and maximum utilization of the Nation's manpower in the prosecution of the war; and issue such policy and operating directions as may be necessary thereto.

That was 6 months ago. The studies apparently are still incomplete, and no basic national manpower policy or program has been formulated. There have been scores and hundreds of public utterances from Washington telling about the manpower problem, criticizing the public for failure to cooperate in a non-existent program to solve it, and threatening various kinds of drastic compulsory legislation. But there has been no over-all program or policy. I believe that such an over-all policy and program for the Nation is basically and fundamentally necessary. Until we have such a program and until such a program has been tried out within the framework of existing executive powers, it is impossible to determine what legislation is necessary, if any, to make the program fully effective.

There are now pending in the Congress several rather drastic bills, unprecedented in the control which they would give to Government over individual lives. The chairman of the Manpower Commission, Mr. McNutt, has announced that he is drafting a bill which will give him authority to apply the compulsion which he apparently feels is necessary. I believe most strongly that it would be a mistake for Congress even to consider passage of any drastic compulsory legislation in the absence of any over-all national policy and program for the mobilization of our manpower.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ELLENDER in the chair). Does the Senator from Minnesota yield to the Senator from Vermont?

Mr. BALL. I yield.

Mr. AUSTIN. I should be very happy to have the Senator's view about what length of time Congress should wait for an over-all plan to come from somewhere, and then after waiting that time, what Congress should do, if there is a total failure to agree on a plan? Up to date we are informed that a plan has not been agreed upon because it could not be agreed upon. There does not seem to be any reason to believe that conditions will be any better for agreement on a plan 6 months from now, if we depend upon the same men who are now trying to make the agreement. That situation raises in my mind a question on which I should like to have the Senator's view. How long ought we to wait—by "we" meaning Congress—for such a plan?

Mr. BALL. Mr. President, the Senator from Vermont has made a very pertinent observation, and I think it goes to the heart of the problem facing us, namely, the men who have been made responsible for drafting a program and apparently have not done anything about it. But I think I will cover the points the Senator raised in the course of my very brief remarks.

Compulsion in this field should be the very last resort in a democracy such as ours, and then should be used only in very specific and well-defined areas where

voluntary methods and controls now available under existing law have proven inadequate. I believe that the overwhelming majority of the American people, including both employers and their employees, will cooperate willingly in whatever program of manpower is necessary to win this war, but it is futile to ask the people to cooperate voluntarily to carry out a program which does not exist.

During the debate here yesterday the able Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] attempted to find out how many persons are required in war production to support each man in the armed services. He did not obtain a satisfactory answer. Our subcommittee has sought the same information and so far has not been able to obtain it. So far as we have been able to learn, accurate figures on the number of individuals required in war production to produce equipment and supplies for an armed force of a given size are not available. They have not been developed.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator again yield for a question?

Mr. BALL. I yield.

Mr. AUSTIN. Did the Senator's committee in the taking of testimony obtain any ratio of civilian workers to the number of men in the service that had been agreed upon or estimated?

Mr. BALL. Mr. President, we tried to get a ratio, and we could not get one that meant anything.

Mr. President, it is apparent that any program for the complete mobilization of our manpower cannot be effective unless the various demands—for the armed services, for production of military equipment and supplies and for essential civilian requirements—are in proper balance both to one another and to our total manpower resources. Obviously, it would be a tragedy to draft a huge army and then find that we lacked sufficient manpower properly to equip that army.

In the testimony our committee has received so far, there is no evidence that such an over-all job of planning has been done. Our subcommittee hearings have left me with the very definite impression that the Army and Navy have gone ahead with their plans for manpower and the various procurement agencies have placed their contracts for production without ever fitting their various programs into an over-all master plan for full utilization of the Nation's manpower. In fact the directive creating the War Manpower Commission specifically provided that it should have no voice whatever in determining the military manpower requirements or the rate at which they shall be met. I believe it is imperative that this defect in our handling of the manpower problem be remedied immediately. The manpower agency must have a voice in determining military manpower requirements if it is to formulate or carry out any kind of effective over-all policy.

It is very clear from public statements regarding our production program and the anticipated strength of our armed services that we must add several million new workers, most of whom will be women, to our total labor force in the



next year, and that in addition we must make our present labor force more productive if we are to avoid labor bottlenecks as hurtful to the war program as material bottlenecks have been.

There are many specific things which could be done now within existing powers of the executive branch to ease the present critical manpower problem and to prepare for the impact on our industry of the withdrawals by selective service during the next year.

One immediate action which could be taken is to end recruiting by both the Army and Navy. The subcommittee has been told of numerous instances where recruiting and volunteering of key skilled workers has disrupted production in plants making vital war materials. Apparently it sometimes happens that the Navy does not let its left hand know what its right hand is doing, because Navy recruiting officers have gone into plants producing for the Navy and taken out their key workers and wrecked their production schedules.

It will not be possible to plan the withdrawals of manpower for the military forces from industry during the next year so as to minimize the injury to production unless those withdrawals are controlled and made in orderly fashion. That can be done only if the withdrawals are controlled by a single agency. That agency should be the Selective Service System working in close coordination with the Employment Service and the Manpower Commission.

Another field in which immediate action is possible without legislation is in those industries and occupations where critical shortages are even now injuring production. Workers in such critical industries or areas could be deferred under Selective Service, with the deferments to be revoked immediately if the workers leave the industry or area. I am very happy to note in the newspapers that the War Manpower Commission is now considering such action as regards skilled help on dairy and livestock farms.

A third action which could be undertaken immediately is a campaign to stop labor hoarding by war contractors. Because of the impending labor shortage and because of the fact that under cost-plus-fixed-fee contracts the practice does not cost the contractor anything, many war contractors have built up their labor forces ahead of their needs and in excess of their needs. This practice has been especially prevalent in the construction industry. A few days ago the Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] called attention to the construction of a naval base in Idaho where 20,000 men are employed. He had received many reports, as I had from the men who went from my State, to the effect that there was not enough work to go around for that many men. The contractor had hired them because he could get them and because he might need them in order to finish his contract on schedule.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BALL. I yield.

Mr. WHEELER. I have received a letter from a man in one of the shipyards in San Francisco. He went there from

my home town in Montana. I know him very well. He was formerly in business in my home city. He tells me that many of the men there have been standing around simply because they did not have the material with which to go to work. He says that conditions ought to be investigated, because men have nothing to do, yet are drawing their pay.

Mr. BALL. I think it is very true that contractors on construction projects are so anxious to be sure that they finish on schedule that they grab all the labor they can get, whether they can use it immediately or not. That particular practice, which cuts down the productive value of our present labor force, can be stopped very easily. The contracting agencies of the War and Navy Departments, the Maritime Commission, and the Defense Plant Corporation can stop it immediately if they will simply issue orders to their auditors in the field to disallow any expenditure by a contractor for labor which is not used effectively. That would stop the practice overnight.

A fourth program which could be undertaken immediately is to cut down absenteeism in industry. The subcommittee was told that absenteeism is reducing production in some industries as much as 10 percent. I believe that a vigorous publicity campaign enlisting the support of employees and labor could materially reduce this loss. To implement that particular program we could also use the selective-service powers by providing for the revocation of deferments in cases of chronic absenteeism.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BALL. I yield.

Mr. AUSTIN. Did the committee find evidence of the prevalence of absenteeism for the purpose of looking for jobs which would pay still higher wages?

Mr. BALL. That is true to some extent. However, most of it is due to the fact that the men are earning much more than they ever earned before, and they sometimes feel that they do not have to work as many days in the week as they would otherwise work.

These are only a few of the things which can and should be done immediately within existing powers and without any new legislation. There are many other things which could and should be done under an over-all program.

I am convinced that the key to the solution of our manpower problem lies in the adoption of proper hiring policies by industry, both war industry and civilian industry, rather than in undemocratic compulsion applied to the individual workmen. All discrimination practiced by employers in their hiring, whether relating to age, sex, or race, must be eliminated to do this job. The overwhelming majority of employers will go along voluntarily with the Manpower Commission on an over-all policy. If and when compulsion is needed to make a recalcitrant minority conform, the legislation should be restricted in its application to that minority.

In conclusion, let me emphasize again that there are many actions to meet our manpower problem which can and should be taken under existing powers of the

Executive. An over-all program and policy has not yet been formulated. There does not appear to be the necessary balance between military and industrial requirements for manpower. Until these things have been corrected, the Congress should not consider legislation granting to the Government drastic and undemocratic power to regulate the lives of individual citizens.

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, at this point I desire to read a communication which I have received from the chairman of a draft board in my State. I think it is very important in connection with the proposed legislation now under consideration. I shall withhold the name of the writer of the letter. I do not think it is quite appropriate to use his name, but I shall be glad to give the name to any Senator. The letter is brief, and I should like to impose upon the time of the Senate to read it now. It is addressed to me:

OCTOBER 17, 1942.

Hon. FRANCIS T. MALONEY,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: This letter is to register my disapproval of the so-called Kilday amendment of the House bill by which it is proposed to take all 1-A men wherever available before calling up men classified in 3-A, 2-B, or 3-B.

As chairman of one of the draft boards I have had a pretty good opportunity to understand the working of the draft and it has come to my attention that many boards are much more liberal in the matter of deferments than others. Our particular board, \_\_\_\_\_ has endeavored to adopt a half-way policy and I believe is not regarded as being too tough or too liberal. However, instances of classifications in other boards have come to my attention which are rather unsavory if true. For example, I have been reliably informed that one board has been very liberal in its classification of registrants, with the result that liquor dealers, taxi drivers, and plumbers' helpers enjoy classifications in 3-B. The result of this unwise construction of the Draft Act by such a board is that that board has very few 1-A men available. Under the Kilday amendment the burden, therefore, falls upon registrants in boards which have correctly interpreted the Draft Act to provide more than their share of men for the Army. This seems to me unfair and undemocratic so that I feel the Kilday amendment is very unjust.

It strikes me that the intent of the Draft Act is to subdivide the districts of the various States into substantially equal numbers of registrants and it seems to me that equitable proportionate quotas should be assigned to each of these districts and that it should be the duty of the boards in the various districts to produce substantially an equal number of men for the Army.

Very truly yours.

Mr. President, I offer the letter now because, as I understand, the so-called Kilday amendment is in the House bill and will be in conference. In that respect I believe the letter is important.

Furthermore, I think it is extremely important in connection with the entire matter, and more particularly in connection with the pending amendment offered by the able senior Senator from Nebraska. I think it is outrageously unfair, in the instances where true, that men outside the draft are walking the streets while



the Congress of the United States contemplates sending 18- and 19-year-old boys into the military service.

I do not expect that we can do much about this particular matter in connection with the pending bill, but I think it should come to the attention of the draft authorities, so that it may have their immediate consideration, and certainly the consideration of the Senate as we further take up the question of selective-service legislation.

I thank the Senator.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to consider executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ELLENDER in the chair) laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting several nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

#### EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of several postmasters.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will state the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

#### ARMY SPECIALIST CORPS

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Hugh McKittrick Jones to be principal personnel procurement officer, field service, Seventh Service Command, Army Specialist Corps.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Melvin James Snyder to be principal administrative officer, Engineer Corps, Services of Supply, New York, N. Y.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

#### COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Dale E. Sturmer to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer with rank of lieutenant in the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Fair J. Bryant to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer with rank of lieutenant in the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Charles W. Clark to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer with rank of lieutenant in the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

#### POSTMASTERS

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of postmasters.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask that the nominations of postmasters be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the postmaster nominations are confirmed en bloc.

#### THE ARMY

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Army.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask that the nominations in the Army be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Army nominations are confirmed en bloc.

That completes the calendar.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask that the President be notified forthwith of all nominations this day confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

#### RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate take a recess until 11 o'clock a. m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 31 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Saturday, October 24, 1942, at 11 o'clock a. m.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 23 (legislative day of October 15), 1942:

##### UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

Toxey Hall, of Mississippi, to be United States attorney for the southern district of Mississippi. He is now serving in this office under an appointment which expired January 19, 1942.

##### DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

John Randolph, of New York, now a Foreign Service officer of class 3 and a secretary

in the Diplomatic Service, to be also a consul general of the United States of America.

##### COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY

Joseph W. Stirni to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer, with rank of lieutenant, in the Coast and Geodetic Survey, from the 24th day of November 1942.

#### CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 23 (legislative day of October 15), 1942:

##### ARMY SPECIALIST CORPS

##### APPOINTMENTS

Hugh McKittrick Jones to be principal personnel procurement officer, field service, Seventh Service Command, Army Specialist Corps, at a salary of \$5,600 per annum.

Melvin James Snyder to be principal administrative officer, Engineer Corps, Services of Supply, New York, N. Y., at a salary of \$5,600 per annum.

##### COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY

TO BE HYDROGRAPHIC AND GEODETIC ENGINEER WITH RANK OF LIEUTENANT IN THE COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY

Dale E. Sturmer  
Fair J. Bryant  
Charles W. Clark

##### IN THE ARMY

APPOINTMENT, BY TRANSFER, IN THE REGULAR ARMY

Captain Champlin Fletcher Buck, Jr., to Ordnance Department.

##### PROMOTIONS IN THE REGULAR ARMY

Harold Roe Bull et al.

(NOTE.—A full list of the names of the persons whose nominations for promotion in the Regular Army were confirmed today may be found in the Senate proceedings of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for October 19, 1942, under the caption "Nominations," beginning with the name of Harold Roe Bull, on page 8639 and ending with the name of Norman Gregg Long on p. 8641.)

##### POSTMASTERS

##### CONNECTICUT

Edward M. Doyle, Bantam.  
Ralph W. Bull, Kent.  
Elizabeth J. Carris, Stepney Depot.

##### IDAHO

Thomas B. Hargis, Ashton.

##### MICHIGAN

Frank J. Nothelfer, Hemlock.

##### TEXAS

Marguerite A. Mullen, Alice.

##### WISCONSIN

Matthew J. Hart, Glidden.  
Robert J. Reiland, Port Edwards.  
Irene R. Sprangers, Waldo.





77TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

# S. 2748

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 23 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

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## AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. O'DANIEL to the bill (S. 2748)  
to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940  
by providing for the extension of liability, viz: At the end  
of the bill insert the following new sections:

1        SEC. 5. Section 7 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of  
2        1938 is amended to read as follows:

3        "SEC. 7. Every employer shall pay to any of his em-  
4        ployees who are engaged in commerce, or in the production  
5        of goods directly or indirectly for commerce, compensation  
6        at the same rate for all hours worked by such employee dur-  
7        ing any pay period."

8        SEC. 6. Until the termination of the wars in which the  
9        United States is now engaged, (a) no provision of Federal



1 or State law which limits or restricts hours of employment  
2 shall be applicable with respect to employees of any con-  
3 tractor who are engaged in the performance of work di-  
4 rectly or indirectly necessary for the fulfillment of any  
5 contract between such contractor and the United States,  
6 and (b) no provision in any contract heretofore or here-  
7 after made with the United States restricting or limiting the  
8 hours of employment of employees employed under or in  
9 connection with such contract, and no penalty or forfeiture  
10 for a violation of any such provision, shall be enforceable  
11 by any officer or agency of the United States.

12 SEC. 7. The Act entitled "An Act to provide condi-  
13 tions for the purchase of supplies and the making of con-  
14 tracts by the United States, and for other purposes",  
15 approved June 30, 1936, is amended by adding at the  
16 end of the first section thereof the following new paragraph:

17 "(f) When wage rates for regular hours of employ-  
18 ment have been determined for the purposes of this Act,  
19 the same hourly wage rates shall apply with respect to all  
20 hours worked during any day or workweek or other work  
21 period in employment with respect to which wages are  
22 determined under this section."





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## AMENDMENT

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Intended to be proposed by Mr. O'DANIEL to the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

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OCTOBER 23 (Legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942  
Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

# S. 2748

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 23 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942

Ordered to be printed

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## AMENDMENT

Proposed by Mr. O'DANIEL to the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, viz: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by Mr. NORRIS at the end of the bill, insert the following:

- 1       No person under twenty years of age inducted under this
- 2   Act shall be placed in actual combat duty beyond the terri-
- 3   torial boundaries of continental United States until after
- 4   he has had at least one year's military training following his
- 5   induction.



77TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

**S. 2748**

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## **AMENDMENT**

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Proposed by Mr. O'DANIEL to the bill (S. 2748)  
to amend the Selective Training and Service  
Act of 1940 by providing for the extension  
of liability.

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OCTOBER 23 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942

Ordered to be printed

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 23 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942

Modified and ordered to be printed

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**AMENDMENT**

Proposed by Mr. NORRIS to the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, viz: At the end of the bill add the following:

- 1        SEC. 5. Nothing in this Act shall authorize the sending
- 2 of troops inducted into military service by this Act into com-
- 3 bat service who are less than nineteen years of age unless
- 4 such troops have had at least one year of training.



77<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS  
2<sup>D</sup> Session

**S. 2748**

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## **AMENDMENT**

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Proposed by Mr. Norris to the bill (S. 2748)  
to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

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October 23 (legislative day, October 15), 1942

Modified and ordered to be printed









United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 77<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 88

WASHINGTON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1942

No. 186

## House of Representatives

The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Monday, October 26, 1942, at 12 o'clock noon.

## Senate

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1942

(Legislative day of Thursday, October 15, 1942)

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m., on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou who changest not, the mournful requiem of sighing autumn winds and falling leaves, dead and driven, remind us that we all do fade as a leaf. Change and decay in all around we see. We, Thy transient children upon this spinning island in the sky, would set our little lives against the background of Thy everlastingness, there to learn humility, quietude, and the patience which is power.

Take from our fearful, feverish souls the stress and strain, and let our ordered lives confess the beauty of Thy peace. So with inner calm and courage may all our deliberations this day within this white-domed shrine of each patriot's devotion be begun, continued, and ended in Thee. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Friday, July 23, 1942, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

### SENATOR FROM MAINE—CREDENTIALS

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, the State of Maine, with Yankee prudence, has disposed of its election problems for this year, and I now present the credentials of my colleague the senior Senator from Maine [Mr. WHITE] for another 6-year term. He is now approaching 26 years of service in the Senate and the House.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will read the credentials.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

### STATE OF MAINE.

To All Who Shall See These Presents, Greeting:

Know ye that WALLACE H. WHITE, Jr., of Auburn, in the county of Androscoggin, on the 14th day of September, in the year of our Lord, 1942, was chosen by the electors of this State, a United States Senator to represent the State of Maine in the United States Senate, for the term of 6 years, beginning on the 3d day of January 1943.

In testimony whereof I have caused the seal of state to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand on August, the 15th day of October in the year of our Lord 1942, and in the one hundred and sixty-seventh year of the Independence of the United States of America.

By the Governor,

SUMNER SEWALL.

HAROLD I. GOSS,

Acting Secretary of State.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The credentials will be received and placed on file.

### REPORT OF RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the chairman and secretary of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report covering operations of the Corporation for the period from its organization on February 2, 1932, to June 30, 1942, inclusive, which, with an accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

### PETITIONS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the VICE PRESIDENT:

The petition of John F. Mowbray, of Brooklyn, N. Y., praying for the enactment

of the so-called anti-poli-tax bill; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CAPPER:

A petition, numerously signed, of sundry citizens of Leavenworth, Kans., praying for the enactment of Senate bill 860, to prohibit the sale of alcoholic liquor and to suppress vice in the vicinity of military camps and naval establishments; ordered to lie on the table.

### PROHIBITION OF LIQUOR SALES AND SUPPRESSION OF VICE AROUND MILITARY CAMPS—PETITION

Mr. WHEELER presented a petition of members and friends of the Bigfork (Mont.) Woman's Society of Christian Service, praying for the enactment of Senate bill 860, to prohibit the sale of alcoholic liquor and to suppress vice in the vicinity of military camps and naval establishments, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD without all the signatures attached, as follows:

BIGFORK, MONT., October 15, 1942.

Senator BURTON K. WHEELER,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WHEELER: We, the members and friends of the Bigfork Woman's Society of Christian Service, respectfully urge you to bend every effort to bring Senate bill 860 to the floor of the Senate for a vote, it having been on the Senate calendar for almost a year and a half.

We also would call to your attention the spreading demand for wartime prohibition, and ask your support of it.

May this letter be read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, please?

GRACE HORSTMAN,

President,

ADDIE M. HART,

OGLE HANSEN

(And sundry other members and friends of the Bigfork Woman's Society of Christian Service).



## EXECUTIVE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

As in executive session,  
Mr. BAILEY, from the Committee on Commerce, reported favorably the nomination of Joseph W. Stirni to be hydrographic and geodetic engineer with rank of lieutenant in the Coast and Geodetic Survey, from November 24, 1942.

## BILL INTRODUCED

Mr. RUSSELL introduced a bill (S. 2876) to authorize the deportation of aliens to countries allied with the United States, which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Immigration.

## COMPENDIUM OF IMPORTANT ACTS OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS SINCE DECEMBER 7, 1941

[Mr. BARKLEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a compendium showing the laws passed and actions taken for the vigorous prosecution of the war since December 7, 1941, which appears in the Appendix.]

## GOOD WORDS FOR CONGRESS—EDITORIAL FROM WILKES-BARRE (PA.) RECORD

[Mr. CAPPER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Good Words for Congress," published in the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Record of October 10, 1942, which appears in the Appendix.]

## REDUCTION OF DRAFT-AGE LIMIT

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The pending question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL] in the nature of a substitute for the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], adding at the end of the bill certain language.

Mr. HILL. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Gerry	Pepper
Andrews	Gillette	Radcliffe
Austin	Green	Reed
Bailey	Guffey	Reynolds
Ball	Gurney	Rosier
Barkley	Hatch	Russell
Bilbo	Hayden	Shipstead
Bone	Hill	Smathers
Brewster	Johnson, Calif.	Smith
Bulow	Langer	Spencer
Bunker	Lee	Taft
Burton	Lodge	Thomas, Idaho
Butler	Lucas	Thomas, Okla.
Capper	McFarland	Thomas, Utah
Caraway	McKellar	Tunnell
Chavez	McNary	Tydings
Clark, Idaho	Maloney	Vandenberg
Clark, Mo.	Maybank	Van Nuys
Connally	Mead	Wagner
Danaher	Murdock	Wallgren
Davis	Norris	Walsh
Downey	Nye	Wheeler
Doxey	O'Daniel	White
Ellender	O'Mahoney	Willis
George	Overton	

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HUGHES] are absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE] is absent on official business in

connection with the duties of the Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program.

The Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. BROWN], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HERRING], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. MCCARRAN], the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SCHWARTZ], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. STEWART], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. TRUMAN] are necessarily absent.

Mr. McNARY. The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BARBOUR], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. BROOKS], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HOLMAN], and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKIN] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY] and the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY] have been called away on public business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Seventy-four Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I rise in opposition to the pending amendment. I am sure there is no Member of the Senate, whether he be a member of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, which reported the bill, or not a member of that committee, who does not wish, who would not insist, that every soldier in the armed forces of the United States be properly and adequately trained and prepared before he is sent into battle. I have often said that war is a tragedy, but it is an even greater tragedy to be forced into war and to send young men to their death because they have not been properly trained and prepared and made ready for battle.

Certainly General Marshall, as the Chief of Staff of the Army, the man above all others upon whose shoulders rests the tremendous responsibility of training and preparing the Army, of defeating our enemies, achieving victories for us, and winning the war, could not want any soldier to go into battle unless the soldier had been properly trained and prepared for battle.

General Marshall, along with all of us, would of course recognize the unfairness, the grave injustice, of sending into battle any man unless he were trained and prepared. Surely General Marshall, great soldier that he is, knows, perhaps better than any one else in the country, that he could not hope to achieve victory, but could expect only disaster and defeat, if he sent his army into battle with soldiers who were not trained and prepared and made ready.

Mr. President, I think there can be no disagreement, no difference, as between Members of the Senate, or as between the Senate and General Marshall, or anyone else, on the statement that all of us wish—

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HILL. I did not want to yield so early in my speech, but I will yield to the Senator.

Mr. NORRIS. I wanted to ask the Senator a question about a statement he just made. However, if the Senator prefers not to be interrupted I shall not do so.

Mr. HILL. I yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator made a statement which I think probably is absolutely true; at least, I believe it to be.

Mr. HILL. I hope the Senator thinks that I always try to speak the truth.

Mr. NORRIS. If General Marshall is right and if he is not going to send into combat service an army which is not trained, why should we not put into the proposed law the very thing he wants and which it is said here in his behalf he will do even if we do not put it in the measure? The Senator must realize that there is a general belief—and, as I tried to show, there is some foundation for it, I think, though it may not necessarily be true—that when General Marshall, who all his life has advocated the thorough training of soldiers, a policy in which we all believe, now objects to a provision being placed in the law requiring such training of these young men, there must be something wrong somewhere, and a great feeling of distrust and dissatisfaction has arisen.

Mr. HILL. Let me say to the Senator and to the Senate that I think, as General Marshall stated yesterday in his letter to the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS], the difficulty in this situation is that there is a misunderstanding as to what is proper training. General Marshall wants, as I have said, proper training. He knows the absolute necessity for having proper training; but, as he stated in the letter which he wrote to the Senator from North Carolina on yesterday:

There is a marked difference between the training of an individual soldier and the training of a complicated machine like a division.

Simply because General Marshall has always taken the position, and still adheres to it, that a division should have at least 12 months of training, I think there is a misunderstanding that General Marshall thinks that every soldier who goes into a combat area ought to have at least 12 months' training. That, I will say to the Senator from Nebraska, is where the misunderstanding lies. General Marshall has never taken the position, and of course does not now take the position, that every soldier has to have 12 months' training. He always did take the position in the past, and adheres to the position, that every division or larger unit of the Army must have at least 12 months' training.

General Marshall in his letter of yesterday to the Senator from North Carolina said:

There is a marked difference between the training of an individual soldier and the training of a complicated machine like a division. Every soldier—

He is now referring to the individual—receives approximately 3 months' basic training. In this period he is hardened physically and trained technically, as well as given an understanding of discipline. He



is taught how to care for himself in the field; how to employ both his primary and secondary weapons; and how he and his weapons fit into the squad and platoon. Upon completion of this course, he is a qualified rifleman, machine gunner, mortarman, etc., depending upon which course he pursued in the replacement center.

Upon completion of his basic training the soldier is assigned to a tactical unit. If the unit is new—

That is if it is just being organized—  
If the unit is new \* \* \* there then begins the team training—

The team training, Mr. President—  
that every unit must have before it can be considered an efficient combat organization. The length of time required for this team training varies, of course, with the type and size of the unit. A squad of 12 men who have had proper basic training can be trained as a team in a relatively short period of time.

Certainly every Member of this body who has served in the Army knows that a squad of 8 men can be trained and made into a fine coordinated team in far less time than a division of 15,000 men can be trained and made a working, efficient machine.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President—  
The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SMATHERS in the chair). Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from Texas?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. Is there any intimation in the testimony or anywhere else, that General Marshall, as Chief of Staff, does not desire the highest efficiency and the best possible Army, and that in forming the Army and preparing it for combat, if he is a patriot, as I know him to be, and if he is a capable military man he will pursue the course which will produce the best possible Army under the particular circumstances under which it is to operate?

Mr. HILL. The Senator is absolutely correct. There is not only no testimony that General Marshall has ever followed any course other than the course of properly training and preparing his soldiers, but, as the Senator says, General Marshall, great soldier that he is, with a distinguished record on the battlefield during the last war, knows that it is impossible to have an efficient Army, it is impossible to win victories, it is idle to hope for anything but defeat and disaster, unless the soldiers of the Army are trained. Particularly does General Marshall know that to be so today, because, of course, he realizes, as we all realize, that there has never been an army which is better trained than is the present German Army, with which our own Army must contend in battle.

Mr. TUNNELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. TUNNELL. I should like to call attention to General Marshall's testimony, or the testimony in which he participated, on page 13 of the hearings. I read as follows:

Senator SCHWARTZ. I have just a couple of questions. How long does it take, what period of time elapses, between the date when the raw recruit comes in and the time he is ultimately prepared to meet the veterans

of Germany and Japan and finds himself in the organization where the Army wants him?

General MARSHALL. If he is a replacement—meaning replacing a casualty for some reason or another—in a trained unit, we could start him toward an active theater with fair efficiency at the end of 3 or 4 months, plus the time necessary to get him to the theater. If it is a new unit being organized then a minimum of 12 months is necessary; the Germans take 24 months.

Senator SCHWARTZ. Does that apply to these younger men as well as the others?

General MARSHALL. The younger men develop much faster than the older men, but it will still require 12 months for the development of combat divisions.

I thought that testimony was pertinent.

Mr. HILL. I thank the Senator from Delaware for his contribution. It goes to the very heart of the question, and is the answer to the question, and I certainly want to thank the Senator.

The difference between the training of the individual and the training of a combat team of 15,000 men is great. We know how the football coach has to work and struggle to whip his squad of 11 men into a fighting machine. Think of the task of whipping not 11 men, but 15,000 men, a division, into a great fighting machine. As General Marshall says, it takes at least 12 months to train such a division, but not 12 months to train every individual soldier who goes into the combat division.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield to my distinguished friend from Maryland.

Mr. TYDINGS. So far as I know I have never heard any complaint from anyone who served in World War No. 1 about replacements who had received at least 6 months' training. The only complaint I ever heard, and with which I am at all familiar, was that concerning men who had probably only 2 or 3 months' training, and some of whom had less than that. But whenever a man who was a replacement had 6 months' training, I do not recall ever having heard any criticism of him in World War No. 1. I make that observation because I think those who do not want to send the younger men abroad into combat zones until they are 19 would strengthen their case very materially and conduce to the War Department's program if they were to shorten the required training period, for, as explained by the Senator from Alabama, it may not be necessary for the average young man to have quite so much training. Of course, it would be nice if we could give them 5 years' training; but this is war, and I think there ought to be some effort made by the Senate to reduce the training period to what might be called an ample period, and stick to the age limit, if it is not desired to have men go over too young. If that were done we would accomplish what is comprehended in the philosophy of nearly all the proposed amendments, and at the same time conform pretty well to the War Department's program.

I ask the Senator from Alabama, if an amendment is to be adopted—and I assume that he is not in favor of any of them—

Mr. HILL. I am not in favor of any of them, and I will tell the Senator from Maryland the reason for my position. If the Senator had an amendment which applied perhaps to a certain category of troops for 6 months' training we might be able to adopt it. This morning we were all saddened by the thought that perhaps Eddie Rickenbacker has been lost. I recall while sitting as a member of the Military Affairs Committee hearing Eddie Rickenbacker testify that the average commercial pilot was 90-percent ready as a military pilot. The Senator knows that there are men who will come into the service who are fine mechanics. They can be sent to an Army Mechanics School, stay there perhaps 3 months learning the particular kind of engine they will have to work on, and then be ready to serve as mechanics with ground troops in combat zones, keeping airplanes in order, keeping tanks moving, and keeping other mechanical equipment in condition. In my opinion, any amendment attached to the bill would be most unfortunate.

Senators, this is a case where we must have faith. We must have faith in George Marshall; we must have faith in our other military commanders. God knows we have faith in them when we let our boys go into battle under them.

Once these men go into the Army, even if they have 6 months or 12 months training, they are entirely in the hands of the military commanders. Where they go, when they go, under what conditions they go, and how they fight, are matters which are entirely in the hands of the military and naval commanders.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I have great faith in General Marshall. I do not wish to add to his burdens in any way. If it were not for the fact that some of our Allies had adopted the definite policy of not allowing their young men to go into combat until they have reached the age of 19 years, I should look more kindly—

Mr. HILL. I was coming to the question of our Allies a little later, but since the Senator raises the question, I am reminded of what Napoleon said. Napoleon said, "Give me allies to fight." Why did he say, "Give me allies to fight?" It was because he knew that allies could not constitute a strong, cooperative, machine-like force against him, as could a single enemy. Why? Because among allies there are always petty jealousies, envies, and differences. We see it, unfortunately, not only among allies but sometimes even among services of the same nation. I understand the feeling of the Senator from Maryland about Great Britain. We cannot determine what our policy shall be by what we read as to the British policy. In the first place, no Senator knows exactly what the British policy is, what the British situation is, or the reason for the policy which the newspapers tell us the British have.

We do know that the British Isles and the people of Britain are in an entirely different situation from that in which we are. The British Isles themselves are a front; the British Isles themselves are a



combat zone. I have endeavored to find out as well as I could about the British situation; and I find that many of the young men who have been going over to Germany and carrying on raids and bombing expeditions have been 18-year-old boys.

Mr. TYDINGS. They are volunteers. The same situation might exist in this country.

Mr. HILL. Under the present policy of calling such boys into service, I find that the boys of 18 who are being drafted in Britain today will be subject to all types of warfare, all types of combat, all types of battle, so far as the British Isles are concerned. The area of the British Isles includes not only the island of Britain but also northern France, Belgium, Germany, and Norway. Those boys are subject to combat service in that whole battle area.

The Senator from Maryland talks about the British. Mr. President, we must determine our own policy in the light of the conditions which face us and not the conditions which may face Britain; not in the light of her situation, whatever it may be, but in the light of our own situation. We want the best army in the world. We do not want an army second to that of Britain or second to any other army. We want the best army in the world, an army which can defend and protect the interests of the United States, even if it should come to pass that all our Allies go down to defeat and we are left to struggle on alone.

Mr. TYDINGS. I accede to what the Senator is saying—

Mr. HILL. I hope the Senator from Maryland will bear in mind that today many of our boys are on far-flung battle lines.

Mr. TYDINGS. That is correct.

Mr. HILL. I think the Senator will agree with me that the boys who are out there fighting, struggling, and suffering for us today, many of whom have already lost their lives, have a right to expect that we will put behind them the best, the strongest, and the most efficient army which we are capable of mobilizing. They have a right to expect that. If they could stand in this Chamber today they would say to the Senate, "We have been out there in the hell of warfare. We come back and ask you to do one thing: Stand by Marshall. Stand by MacArthur. They know this game. They have spent their lives training, preparing, and getting ready for this war. They have been through warfare. Stand by them. When we go into battle we go under orders from them, under their judgment and direction. We are asking you to do the same thing."

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HILL. One further word, and then I will yield.

General Marshall has said to us, in unequivocal language, that a limitation such as is suggested would make it almost impossible for him to operate the Army.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator now yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. First of all, I agree with the eloquent remarks of the Senator from Alabama. We ought to stand behind the military leaders. I wonder if we have the courage to stand behind them, and to put the civilian population on somewhat of a war footing as to hours, overtime, double-time, and strikes. I wonder if we have the courage to give them the kind of support which the eloquent remarks of my friend from Alabama envision.

Mr. HILL. I agree with the Senator. I have introduced a bill, which is now before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, and which, along with other bills on which hearings are now being conducted, would do the very thing the Senator suggests. We should have in truth and in fact universal service in this country, and total mobilization of all the people, with every person under the flag serving in the position in which he or she can make his best contribution toward winning the war. I am delighted to know that the Senator from Maryland feels as I do about that subject. I hope he will help me to secure the passage of a bill which will bring about the result of which he speaks.

Mr. TYDINGS. It is all very well to take 18- and 19-year-old boys and put them into the combat zone, but if we wish to support the Army and Navy we should go through the administrative agencies in Washington and eliminate waste. We could find many men in Washington who might be available to man the munitions plants and other industries which need men. In a 57-page report the Senator from Maryland has pointed out the waste of effort and money right here in the Capital.

Mr. HILL. The Senator does not feel any more strongly about that matter than I do. I am very happy. I feel that I have recruited a supporter for my bill.

Mr. TYDINGS. Let us first put our own house in order before we send boys of 18 into combat, and then we shall have some right to send them. Let us not send them out on a promise, because it is a long way from the introduction of a bill to its enactment into law. So far as I am concerned, I will vote against sending men outside the continental United States until they are 19 years of age.

I am not afraid of allies. Napoleon was finally defeated by allies. Certainly the countries which have been under attack have been extremely glad to have the United States as an ally. Make no mistake about that.

This is not altogether our war. If Great Britain, New Zealand, and Canada are not going to let their young men go into battle until they are 19 years of age, the United States should not bear an unequal burden. We are already financing the whole outfit. We are already lending them everything we can. I do not approve of keeping books with our Allies; but there is a rough yardstick of justice and equal contribution which should not be abandoned under these circumstances. When it is all over, I do not want Uncle Sam to be called "Uncle Simple."

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. McFARLAND. I agree with the Senator that we should act coolly and deliberately. I agree with him that we should not act upon the basis of prejudice on account of the actions of our Allies or on what we think they should do. Nevertheless, does not the Senator think that we should profit by their experience? I take it that Great Britain's reason for keeping the younger boys back a year is that as a result of her own experience in this war she believes that they need thorough training, and that they have not yet developed judgment. We know that youth has vigor and is daring. We know that youth makes a good soldier; but youth needs the proper training. I take it that is the reason why Great Britain does not want to send its youth out to fight battles on the other side until they are well trained.

I desire to ask the Senator how much experience General Marshall has had with selectees 18 and 19 years old. I have great admiration for General Marshall and for his opinion and his ability; and if General Marshall himself could select the men individually, I should be satisfied with his judgment, because I know that he would not send into combat duty a man who was not well trained.

Great Britain through experience has found that boys need that much training before they are sent on foreign duty. We should profit by the experience of our Allies.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. GURNEY. Referring to the argument and statements made by the Senator from Maryland, I completely agree with many of the statements he made; with some of them I do not agree. I believe that certain information which I have received is apropos at this time; therefore, I interrupt the Senator for a moment.

During the first 2 years of war, and up until September 2, 1941—slightly over a year ago—the casualties for the British Empire were approximately as follows:

Armed forces—48,973 killed, 46,363 wounded, 58,458 prisoners, 29,156 missing; total, 183,550.

During the same period of time approximately 98,000 civilian casualties occurred in Great Britain alone—approximately 45,000 killed and 53,000 wounded.

It should be noted that these figures do not include the casualties which have occurred since September 1941, and therefore do not include any of the casualties of the Japanese campaign, before which time the 183,000 total casualties for the armed forces were distributed as follows:

Great Britain, 144,982; dominions, 23,824; India and Burma, 8,591; colonies, 6,153.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I think those figures only prove my point. The Senator must know that practically all those casualties



occurred during the 4 or 5 months' fighting which preceded Dunkerque. That was where were taken the prisoners who constitute over half the casualties the Senator has mentioned. Other than the civilian casualties of 98,000, the British have had only a very few casualties since the fall of France.

Mr. GURNEY. I gave the information only to show that England took the brunt, and is continuing to take it, to the extent of 183,000 casualties.

Mr. TYDINGS. I shall not interrupt the Senator, but I should like to make one further comment before I take my seat.

Mr. HILL. Very well.

Mr. TYDINGS. I want it understood that I am not reflecting on the English in the sense that I do not think they have suffered greatly and that they have a terrific fight on hand. I do not mean to say in the slightest way that they have not shown commendable fortitude, or have not on many occasions risen to great heights of bravery in the combat areas.

The only point I desired to make was that this is a total war of all the Allies, and that I felt there should be some measure of equal responsibility on the part of the Allies in it; for, as I see it, when we shall have completed our efforts, our Army will be the largest in the world, our Navy will be the largest in the world, our air force will be the largest in the world, our debt will be the largest in the world, and our contribution in materials will be the largest in the world. Therefore, I said that if other nations can keep at home their young men who are under 19 years of age, when those nations are actually in the front line, as the advocates of the proposition say, we, with our great contributions past, present, and to come, can at least afford to follow them in that one respect.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, the Senator is correct in saying that our contribution will be the largest of all the contributions made by the United Nations; and I think we must recognize that we have more to lose. If we should lose, ours would be the greatest loss of any of the United Nations.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator permit a further interruption?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. TYDINGS. I cannot sit down and leave the impression that I think for 1 minute we can lose. If Hitler cannot get across 21 miles of water without anyone to stop him in 2 years, I am not worried about the chances of having him swim the Atlantic Ocean. [Laughter.]

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, let me say that there are more ways of losing the war than by having Hitler swim the Atlantic Ocean.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. GILLETTE. I dislike to interrupt the Senator; but with reference to the eloquent statement the Senator made a short time ago relative to the trust we should put in General Marshall and his judgment—and all of us share that implicit confidence—I should like to pro-

ceed with a brief personal reference. In 1918 I received orders to take a group of junior officers, to train 1,800 newly inducted draft men, and to have them ready for embarkation in 3 weeks' time, to send to France. We did that. In less than 4 weeks from the time when those men were inducted, they were placed on boat here and were sent as replacements to France. The officers who issued those orders did not do so because they wanted to.

I am wondering whether, if we should not impose the safeguards suggested by the pending amendment, there would be anything which would prevent, should necessity dictate the formation of such a judgment, General Marshall from deciding to send the 18-year-old men as replacements within 3 or 4 weeks or 1 month or 2 months from the time of their induction?

Mr. HILL. If necessity dictated that he send the men, he might well send them; and it might be best that he should send them. No one could deplore more than I do—and I think General Marshall shares my view, for he begins his letter by referring to men who were sent into battle in the last war when they had not been properly trained—such a happening as the Senator from Iowa has so well described.

The Senator must recall, however, that at that time we faced a desperate situation on the western front in France. The Senator knows that in the spring of 1918—in fact, just before the battles of Chateau Thierry and Belleau Wood—the Germans almost won the war. The Germans almost drove through to Paris. There was a decision, I suppose, which had to be made: Shall we send to the front men even though they have not been trained as they should be, or shall we hold them back, and take the chance by doing so of letting the Germans win the war, or certainly letting the Germans overrun all France and take Paris? That was the decision which had to be made.

We could debate to the end of time whether that decision was right or whether it was wrong; but the fact remains that those men were sent in, the German drive was stopped, and within less than 6 months after we stopped the Germans we hurled them back, brought them to their knees, won an American victory, and won the war.

We recall that in the first great battle of the World War on French soil, Paris and France were saved by Gallieni's taxicab army, under General Joffre. We recall that in that desperate hour when the German hordes were sweeping on, when it seemed as if they were sweeping inevitably and inexorably on to Paris and over all France, men of all classes, all ages, and all groups, men with training and men without training, were rustled into taxicabs and rushed by those old taxicabs to the front lines; and those untrained and unprepared men saved Paris. They saved France. Who is there today who will rise and say that the men who made that momentous decision did wrong when they sent those men to the front and thus saved Paris and saved France?

The Senator has brought out a point which I should like to emphasize. Sitting in this Chamber, thousands of miles, and perhaps months or even years, away from some battle or some theater of combat, we cannot make the decisions. We do not have the facts. We do not know what the situation may be, or what conditions may confront the Army. We must leave the decisions to the MacArthurs and to the Marshalls. I think one of the greatest glories of Abraham Lincoln was the fact that, although criticism was hurled at Ulysses S. Grant, although there was a constant stream of criticism of Grant pouring in to Lincoln, he sat steadfast, unmoved, and let Grant have his way. Lincoln said to Grant when the war was over and the great victory had come to the Union forces, "In spite of all the criticism, I let you have your way because I believed that you knew better than I did." I believe generally that the MacArthurs and the Marshalls in a case of this kind know better than we do. Whatever our knowledge may be, however wise we may be, even though we were all military experts we could not make the decisions. We do not have the facts; we do not know the situation; we are not familiar with the conditions.

My good friend from Arizona in speaking of the British said that perhaps the British kept the 18-year-old boys in the British Isles in order that they might have a year's training. Someone else might have the opinion—as I have said I do not know—that the British kept the 18-year-old boys in Britain because of all the battle lines the most critical and the most precious battle line to the Britisher is the British Isles. We know that 18-year-old boys certainly, so far as air combat is concerned, make the finest and best soldiers of them all, and we know that the fate of Britain today, the fate of Britain tomorrow, will depend more upon the air than upon any other instrumentality. Hitler can never cross the English Channel, he can never bridge that 25 miles, until he gains air superiority, until he becomes the master over the British in the air.

As I said earlier, we do not know the situation in Britain; we do not know exactly what their condition may be. They have to determine their policies on the facts as they know them and the situation as it there exists. We have to determine our policy on the picture as it is presented to us and on our situation and on our conditions.

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. McFARLAND. Does the Senator know whether there have ever been sent to the battle front in this war 18- or 19-year old boys who have had less than a year's training?

Mr. HILL. I cannot say, but I venture the statement that there are marines at this hour yonder in the Solomon Islands who have not had a year's training before they went to the Solomon Islands.

Mr. McFARLAND. Eighteen and 19-year-old boys?

Mr. HILL. Certainly. Does the Senator realize that the marines enlist men



not only at 18 and 19 years of age, but at 17 years of age, and that the average age of the United States marines today is 19½ years?

Mr. McFARLAND. I might state to the Senator that a boy who volunteers is altogether different from a selectee. When a young man volunteers, as a rule, he is selected by the marines because of his physique, because of his development, because he is a man, but by this bill we are taking all the boys into the service whether they are developed or not. The situation is altogether different.

Mr. HILL. I do not agree with the Senator. If we should accept his premises we should have to say that those in authority in the Army in selecting men for different tasks use no discretion or discrimination, and perhaps, are devoid of common sense.

Mr. HATCH. Is there anything in this bill that provides for a waiver of physical examination as to the fitness of the men?

Mr. HILL. The Senator from New Mexico is exactly right. There is nothing at all that provides a waiver. A man who is physically qualified, according to the specifications of the Army, is, of course, accepted, and one who is not physically qualified is rejected.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. Unfortunately, I happened to be absent yesterday, attending a committee meeting, and perhaps the question I am about to ask has been answered heretofore. If so, I am sorry there is repetition. I inquire what is China doing about her 18- and 19-year-old boys?

Mr. HILL. Let me say to the Senator that I cannot tell him, except that, from what I have read of China, in the combat zones where the Japanese Army is present, all the Chinese men, women, young boys, and children are fighting. Every human soul in China who can make a contribution on the war front, according to the information I have, is making that contribution.

Mr. LANGER. I am very glad to hear that.

Mr. HILL. I should like to say that the same statement holds good, in large measure, of the people of Russia.

Mr. LANGER. What about India?

Mr. HILL. Of course, the Senator knows the situation of India as well as I do. There are some in India who are loyal to the British Government; there are a great many who are not; but, at the present time, as the Senator knows, there is no war going on in India.

Mr. LANGER. I am referring to the 18- and 19-year-old boys.

Mr. HILL. I cannot tell the Senator about the 18- and 19-year-old boys, but I will say to the Senator in regard to England it is my information that in most of the anti-aircraft centers in the British Isles the anti-aircraft guns themselves are manned today by British women.

Mr. President, at the time I yielded I was reading from the letter of General Marshall sent yesterday by him to the Senator from North Carolina [Mr.

REYNOLDS], the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, on the question of the training of individuals and combat units. I had read that portion of the letter dealing with the training of the squad of 12 men. Then General Marshall goes on to say:

A battalion takes considerably longer. A division, which is a complicated organization involving the combined use of many arms, must have a long training period before it becomes a real combat organization.

A division, as I have said, is composed of 15,000 men.

For this—

That is for training a division—

12 months is the minimum, and during this 12 months' period units that make up the divisions go through periods of small unit training, advanced unit training, training with the combined arms, and then extensive field maneuvers with the division acting alone and in combination with other divisions, and corps and Army troops.

The Senator from South Dakota yesterday gave what, to my mind, is a perfect illustration of exactly what the situation is. We know that to build a football team it takes perhaps the best coach in America at least a year and perhaps 2 or 3 years. That does not mean, however, that every player on the football team must have had 2 or 3 years' training in that time. It does not mean that if, for some reason one of the veteran players is knocked out, the coach cannot send over to the bench and get a substitute who has had nothing like so much training or playing as the old player, and put in place of the man who is knocked out. The substitute is prepared to go in and take his place on the team. That is the whole story here.

Mr. OVERTON. Mr. President—

Mr. HILL. I yield to the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. OVERTON. It seems to me the objection that may be made both to the original amendment and the substitute amendment is that they propose to deal with individuals. The amendments, however, make no distinction whatsoever between individuals. We know that some individuals are mentally superior and physically superior to others, and others are much inferior mentally and physically. Neither the original amendment nor the substitute takes into consideration divisions, battalions, or regiments, but they are addressed to individuals.

If the logic and philosophy of the amendment be correct, and no person under 19 or 20 years of age should be sent to a combat front unless he is properly trained, it should apply not only to those under 20 years of age but it should apply to those who are 20 years of age and over.

Mr. HILL. Let me say to the Senator it should apply in greater measure to those over 20 years. The testimony of the witnesses is that the younger men train faster than do the older men, and, if the logic of the amendments were followed, men 25 or 30 years of age would have to have not only 12 months' training but perhaps 18 months, and those 35 or 40, 2 years or more.

Mr. OVERTON. If the reasoning back of the amendment be sound, and if we cannot trust the War Department, the Chief of Staff, and the officers who are in charge of our recruits, to see that they have proper training before they are sent to combat duty, then the law should provide that no person should be sent until he had received a certain number of months or years of training.

Mr. HILL. That would certainly be the logic of the situation.

Mr. OVERTON. Furthermore, the O'Daniel amendment applies to persons under 20 years of age, and the Norris amendment relates to persons under 19 years of age. Those amendments undertake to fix a legislative military rule prescribing exactly what minimum training shall be given to each and every individual within certain age limits. It seems to me that to make out a case in favor of the amendments it should be shown that no person should be sent to combat duty or would be qualified to be sent into a combat zone until he had received a certain number of months or years of training.

Mr. HILL. In that connection, I submit to the Senator that, so far as I recall, no evidence from any military expert has been cited in the debate showing that these men must have 12 months' training. We have had statements that they should have 12 months' training; that it is unbelievable and unthinkable that they would be used with less than 12 months' training, but if there has been one particle of testimony from any military expert that these men should have a minimum of 12 months' training, I certainly have not heard any such testimony. It is not here. Why is it not here? It is not here because it is not in existence; it cannot be found.

Mr. ROSIER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MAYBANK in the chair). Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from West Virginia?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. ROSIER. I have an authoritative statement coming from London concerning the British experience. The statement is made that, in the first place, Great Britain did not call up the 18- and 19-year-old boys until the last extremity, and when she did call them, the boys of 19 were reserved until the last possible moment, and trained with care and used with caution. During the last war boys of 18 were taken into the Army only when terrific casualties on the western front created a definite shortage of manpower. I should like to have the Senate appreciate that picture. These boys were not even called into training until it became evident there would be a desperate shortage of manpower. Then, when they were put into uniform, the rule was to give them a full year of careful physical hardening, followed by 6 months of military drill. That makes a preliminary training in school, or in some way, for physical hardening, followed by 6 months of military drill, before sending them as draftees to completed units for training.

When the 18-year-old boys turned up in France, in 1918, it was found that they were excellent soldiers, thanks to the



preparation which they had received. Nineteen-year-old boys in England were caught by the first call for militia in April 1939, before the present war began, and they have been serving since. Eighteen-year-old boys were not called until April 18 of this year, 19½ months after the war began, the second section of the 1942 class being summoned August 15. Before these men were finally conscripted, the Government had first drawn all available men from age groups between and including the ages of 21 and 41.

Eighteen-year-old Britishers are not so mature, either mentally or physically, as boys of corresponding ages in the United States, but the rules applied to them may be helpful in deciding how to deal with our young men.

Most British officers will agree, in the first place, that boys of this age require a great deal of physical hardening and mental discipline before they are thrown into action. A year or more of drill and camp life will make an 18-year-old greenhorn into a tough front line 19-year-old soldier, and that year is worth the trouble and expense, they believe. They also believe, in the light of their experience, that it is best to mix 18- and 19-year-old troops with older men who have learned discipline themselves in private life, and can act as wise uncles to the kids in their new military environment.

Mr. HILL. Will the Senator state who his authority is? From whom is he reading?

Mr. ROSIER. The author is William H. Stoneman. The article is copyrighted, and it appeared in the Houston Press and the Chicago Daily News. It is most authoritative, and was written by a man who knows what he is talking about.

Mr. HILL. As I understand, the article from which the Senator is quoting refers to what the British did in the last war, does it not?

Mr. ROSIER. Yes; it is based on their experience. A portion of it refers to what they are doing now.

Mr. HILL. The Senator knows that during the last war the British made one of the most colossal mistakes in their history, when they proceeded for some time to raise their army under a volunteer system rather than resort to a selective-service system. Because the British were using a volunteer system rather than a selective-service system, some of the very flower of British manhood were killed in the early days of the war as private soldiers when they should have been officers.

Mr. ROSIER. May I call the Senator's attention to testimony concerning the ages which provide the best fighters? The following statement has been made:

As far as fighting qualities in modern warfare are concerned—

Referring to the present war situation—

the British believe that the ideal age for a soldier is somewhere between 22 and 30. A man is physically at his best when he is around 22 or 23, they argue, but he has not achieved the maximum amount of common sense and individual judgment until he has gotten past the 25-year mark.

During the debate a great deal of emphasis has been placed upon the fact that young boys are courageous, brave, and enthusiastic. We will all concede that, but they are lacking in discretion and judgment, which is more important than reckless courage.

I continue reading from the article:

The fact that they themselves have finally drawn upon 18-year-olds without having reached the low-water mark of British manpower is accounted for—

Mr. HILL. Does the Senator know that the British have not reached the very bottom of the barrel?

Mr. ROSIER. They have not reached it as yet.

Mr. HILL. Does the Senator know that to be so?

Mr. ROSIER. They reached the bottom of the barrel in the First World War.

Mr. HILL. Does the Senator know that today the British have not reached the very bottom of the barrel so far as manpower is concerned? Did I not state to the Senator a moment ago that today most of the antiaircraft guns in Britain are being manned by women? Does the Senator know what the situation is with reference to manpower in Britain today?

Mr. ROSIER. We know as much about what it is there as we know what it is here, which is very little. We do not know whether we have reached the bottom of the barrel here.

Mr. HILL. I do not agree with the statement of the Senator. If the Senator will read the statement of the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, Governor McNutt, before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs last Wednesday, he will obtain a pretty good idea of what the situation is.

Mr. ROSIER. I have referred to the experience of the British, who certainly know more about war preparation than any other nation on earth, and what they say about it is more convincing to me than the opinions of some of our military leaders.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I desire to say that the statement which the Senator from West Virginia has read, about the soldier being physically and mentally best when he is 22 or 23 years of age, overlooks, of course, and does not contemplate, the very thought which General Marshall has in mind in asking for 18- and 19-year-old men, that it is desirable to have a proper balance, some younger men to balance the older men. As General Marshall testified before the committee, the situation today is different from what it was during the last World War. As we know, the last World War was one of position, one of digging into the ground and staying there, and holding that ground. Older men could fight that kind of warfare much better than they can fight a blitzkrieg, the fast-moving and sweeping-on warfare of today. One reason why we need the younger men to bring about a leveling of age is the very character and type of war in which we are now engaged, a war of blitzkrieg.

Mr. TUNNELL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Alabama yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. TUNNELL. I desire to call attention to the fact that, as I read the amendment which has been proposed by the Senator from Nebraska, it would make it illegal to send into combat a unit containing persons under the age of 19 years if, for instance, the war should reach the mainland of California.

Mr. HILL. The Senator is exactly correct. If there were divisions in training today in California, and they contained men under 19 years of age, it would certainly be necessary to withdraw them if there were any kind of an invasion of California by the Japanese or the Germans.

Mr. TUNNELL. If the amendment to which I have referred should be agreed to, it would make it illegal to use them.

Mr. HILL. Certainly.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. Does not the Senator realize that the incident cited by him with reference to an invasion of California, for instance, is one which only in our imagination we may conceive to be possible? Is there anyone who believes that it is going to come about within the next 6 months or a year?

Mr. HILL. If I may answer the Senator, the situation of which the Senator conceives is no more imaginary than some of the things which have happened during the last 9 months would have seemed imaginary a year or two ago.

Mr. NORRIS. I do not mean to contradict the statement of either of the Senators, but if the only objection to the amendment which I have proposed is the possibility cited in the Senator's illustration, I submit that there is not a Senator on this floor who believes such an occurrence will take place. It may take place. We may have an earthquake tonight that may destroy the Capitol of the United States, but we do not believe such a thing will happen.

Mr. HILL. Let me ask the Senator if he believes that the Japanese moved on Midway merely to take it and remain there and hold it?

Mr. NORRIS. No.

Mr. HILL. Does not the Senator know that the effort made to acquire possession of Midway was one step forward toward an invasion of California?

Mr. NORRIS. I am not contradicting the Senator's statement.

Mr. HILL. Of course not.

Mr. NORRIS. I realize that that may be true. Would the Senator support the amendment if it were limited so as to apply only to combat service outside the boundaries of the United States? I have no objection to changing it to that form.

Mr. TUNNELL. I cannot say that I would support it, but I do not think the suggestion is so impossible as the Senator seems to think. I have noticed some agitation on the part of certain Senators from the western section of the country which indicates that they also do not think it is so impossible.

Mr. NORRIS. Perhaps they do not. Let us relieve that situation, then, and change the provision to that extent. I should like to know whether Senators who are objecting to the amendment on



that ground will support it if that situation is relieved?

Mr. TUNNELL. Such a change would, in my opinion, make the amendment much stronger; but I am not in favor of saying to the commanders of the armed forces of the United States, "You shall not use certain men in arms under any condition, no matter what the situation may be."

Mr. HILL. The Senator from Delaware is exactly right, Mr. President. One never knows when a grave situation may arise in South America, and under this provision we could not send men there. We could not send men into Canada, on our northern border, or—

Mr. TUNNELL. Or to Alaska.

Mr. HILL. Or to Nova Scotia. I doubt if we could send them into Alaska. That is a combat zone. Of course we could not send them into Alaska.

Mr. TUNNELL. And Alaska has already been attacked.

Mr. HILL. Alaska has already been attacked.

Mr. President, the suggestions which have been made simply show what these amendments, when we stop to analyze them, would do. If adopted, they would impede and hamper the Army, and, as General Marshall says, make almost impossible the operation of the Army.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. HATCH. I should like to ask the Senator from Alabama whether anything was developed before the committee in the hearings, or in any other way, which indicates that those in charge of our Army are immediately going to draft 18- and 19-year-old boys and send them into combat without any training?

Mr. HILL. Not only was nothing developed to show that our commanders intend to do that, but on the contrary, as the Senator knows, we have already sent a good many thousand men out of the United States into combat zones, and if there has been one word of criticism to the effect that one man who was not fit to go has been sent out of the United States into a combat zone, I have not heard it, and certainly it has not been presented to the committee.

Mr. HATCH. Do not reason and intelligence and good military tactics require that the boys in question, or any other soldiers of any age, be given the very best training they can be given before they go into combat service?

Mr. HILL. I will say to the Senator that in my opening remarks I said that the last man in the world who would want to send forth an army of untrained or unprepared men is General Marshall, who carries the supreme responsibility for the success of that Army. General Marshall knows better even than we can know, for he is a military expert and has studied warfare, and battles, and soldiers all his life, that to send forth men untrained and unprepared is to invite defeat and disaster.

Mr. President, it is natural for us when we think about an army to think in terms of what we might call the combat soldier, that is, the man with the rifle on

his shoulder and the pack on his back, moving into a front line somewhere, or the cannoner going along with his 75-millimeter gun to put it into position on the front line. Today in our modern mechanized Army there are literally thousands and hundreds of thousands of men who are doing in combat zones practically the same kind of a job they would be doing if they were at home in Detroit, Mich., or in the city of Washington—and who, because of their civilian occupations and their civilian experience at the time they entered the Army, are practically trained and ready to do their job in a combat theater.

General Marshall said in his letter:

To get back to the training of an individual soldier, the length of his training before he can be fitted into an experienced tactical unit varies according to the type of unit and the duties for which he is trained.

The duties he is going to perform.

A few examples will illustrate what I mean by this.

Then General Marshall goes on to give the illustration of a mechanic with the air force. Perhaps he has already had training as a mechanic; perhaps he has already been working as a mechanic; perhaps he has special aptitude as an artisan or a mechanic. The Army takes him and sends him to one of its technical training schools as a mechanic. There he has a 3-month course of instruction, and then he is prepared, he is ready to go to a combat zone, and as a groundman prepare and rehabilitate planes, work on them, and keep them flying.

The same thing, as General Marshall says, applies to a radio operator. It applies to a signal man. It applies to a man who perhaps has had experience in engineering, for instance, one who perhaps had been helping to build the Alaskan highway. He has had experience with the engineers in doing engineering work. If he is going to do the same thing in a combat zone he does not need to have a year's training before he is qualified to do the job which will be his in the Army.

Many men who go up in great bombing planes do not have to have a year's training. The pilot of the plane needs a year's training; but, in addition to the pilot, there are seven other men. There is the airplane mechanic; there is the bombardier. It does not take a whole year for a man to learn to be a bombardier. There are other men in the plane who can be ready and prepared within less than 12 months' time. As General Marshall says in his letter:

In the Air Corps alone possibly 500,000 such men would be involved—

If the proposed restriction were placed in the bill.

We would, in effect, have to put thousands upon thousands of men "on the shelf" after their essential training had been completed before we could use them.

Today the cry for a second front is heard. We know that before a second land front can be established we must have complete mastery of the air, that insofar as possible we must by air raids and bombings, by air attacks, paralyze the

enemy and make possible the way for a second front.

Are we today by our action going to put on the shelf some 500,000 men who are scheduled to go into our air force and to constitute the mighty, powerful air arm which we must have in order to win the war and to bring it to a conclusion in the shortest possible time with the least possible cost in human life?

Are we going to keep mechanics, signal men, radio men, bombardiers, navigators sitting around in barracks in the United States, perhaps for months, when they are ready and trained and prepared to do their jobs?

Mr. President, what would be the effect on those men of such action on our part? What would be the effect on their morale? What kind of an edge would they have after they had sat around for months waiting? What would it do to their efficiency?

Mr. OVERTON. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McFARLAND in the chair.) Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from Louisiana?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. OVERTON. These amendments make a distinction between young men who are 18 and 19 years of age and men of all other ages with respect to the time necessary to give them proper military training. Is there anything in the testimony or in the record of the hearings to indicate that young men of 18 and 19 are less susceptible to military training than those who are of more advanced age?

Mr. HILL. If there is, I certainly have not found it or heard of it. On the contrary, the evidence is very definite and positive to the effect that in many ways the young men make the better soldiers, and particularly, as I have said, in the kind of blitzkrieg warfare in which we are now engaged.

Mr. OVERTON. Let us take an illustration. Suppose there are three inductees, and one is 18, another is 25, and the third is 30. Would it not occur frequently that the 18-year-old man, being more mentally alert, being in better physical condition, would acquire his training more quickly than the man of 25 or the man of 30?

Mr. HILL. There can be no question about that.

Mr. OVERTON. Let me ask the Senator from Alabama, who has given a great deal of thought to this subject, What is back of this amendment?

Is it to keep out of the combat zone troops which are not sufficiently trained? If so, why do not the amendments apply to all men in the armed forces? Why make a distinction between those who are 18 and 19 and those who are 25, 30, or 35?

Mr. HILL. The Senator is exactly correct. As I said to the Senator earlier in the debate, the evidence shows that the older the men the more they need training, and the more training they need.

Mr. OVERTON. If the implied reasoning of the amendments is correct, and their purpose is to withhold from combat duty young men of 18 and 19, why not vote against the bill entirely and say that



we will not permit 18- and 19-year-old men to be drafted into the service?

Mr. HILL. I think the Senator's position is absolutely logical.

Mr. OVERTON. Once they are drafted into the service, I do not see how any distinction can be made because of age as to the length of time required for their military training.

Mr. HILL. The Senator is the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee dealing with appropriations for the Navy Department. He is also a member of the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations dealing with appropriations for the War Department. He is on both subcommittees. He has given much study to the subject of our defense and our armed forces, the Army and Navy. He speaks from a civilian standpoint as an authority on this subject. He knows the Army. He knows how it is constituted. He knows how impossible it is to put men into the Army and then proceed to draw them back from it, or carry through the intricate administrative detail of making sure that no man shall go into a combat zone until he is 18 or 19 years of age.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. I wish to comment on the reference of the Senator from Louisiana. He said that if we wish to modify the bill by adopting the amendment suggested by the Senator from Nebraska and others we should vote against the whole bill. The Senator may reason it out in that way. I do not wish to be put in that class. I do not wish to have it intimated that I will not vote for the bill unless this amendment is adopted. I know the Senator does not intend to make any such intimation. He does not intend to intimate that we should vote against the bill if this amendment is not agreed to.

Mr. OVERTON. I certainly do not. What I said, if the Senator will permit the observation, is that if there are Senators who are supporting this amendment because they feel that there should be a distinction between young men of 18 and 19 and those of other ages, and do not wish boys of 18 and 19 to be sent into combat duty until they have had at least a year of training—if that is the purpose, and if that is the reason why they are supporting it, then why not vote against the bill which drafts them into service?

Mr. NORRIS. To my mind, that is not good logic. The bill applies only to men of 18 and 19 years old. If I were to offer an amendment to apply to all men in the armed forces, objection would be made on that ground, without any doubt. I do not think it would be logical. I think it would be proper to offer an amendment such as the Senator has suggested, but the pending amendment applies to the effect of this particular bill.

Mr. OVERTON. I believe the Senator is in error, because the bill expressly provides that every male person residing in the United States who is between the ages of 18 and 45 shall be liable for training and service.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes. We know what the legal effect is. It is to make subject to induction into the military service and bring into the service boys of 18 and 19.

Mr. OVERTON. That is correct.

Mr. NORRIS. That is the application of the bill; and that is the application of the amendment. I am not making the argument that that policy should not apply to everybody; but the bill does not apply to everybody, and I thought it was sufficient to go along with the authors of the bill and let the amendment apply only to those to whom the bill applies.

Mr. OVERTON. By its very terms, the bill applies to men between 18 and 45.

Mr. NORRIS. I am not contending that the passage of the bill would not improve our Army. I am convinced that it would; and I shall vote for the bill, no matter what happens to the amendment. But I do not like to have the Senator advise Senators who feel as I do to vote against the entire bill.

Mr. OVERTON. I am sure the Senator from Nebraska correctly states his reasons for supporting the amendment which he has offered.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, the Senator from Louisiana knows that some of the best training the Army gets is in the combat zone. Some of the training must be in the combat zone. All the Commando training is in the combat zone. Does anyone think that the marines or the troops now with the marines in the Solomon Islands prepared for that expedition in Boston Harbor, New York, or Charleston? They prepared in the southwest Pacific. They prepared in the combat zone for the brilliant military feat which they performed when they took those islands.

Mr. NORRIS. I have no doubt of that; but does the Senator believe that they would have been able to carry out those Commando operations if they had been trained for only 3 months, instead of a year? Would the additional training disqualify them?

Mr. HILL. So far as combat units are concerned, the team requires 12 months' training; but I do not believe that the individual necessarily requires 12 months' training. If we could see the record today, it would be most interesting, and throw much light on the subject. It would be interesting to know the number of men who had not had 12 months' training as individual marines or soldiers who went into the combat zone to get ready for that great operation.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. I realize that the law applies to men as a class. In the case of many individual soldiers 12 months of training would not be necessary. Many men would not need that much training. Many other men could not become good soldiers even with 40 years' training. Necessarily we must apply the law to a class, and we have done so all the way through in all our legislation. The men have been classified by ages. I realize that some men who are 40 years old

would make better soldiers than some men who are only 20 years old. That may be true in individual cases, but it seems to me that as a class we must consider them on a different basis.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, when the Army desires to organize a new division, how is it organized? There must be a nucleus. The Army goes to an old division, a division which is already trained and prepared, and takes out of that division what is called a cadre, consisting of 1,500 or 2,000 men, as a nucleus for the new team, the new division which is being organized. When 1,500 or 2,000 men are taken out of the old division, their places must be filled. The division must be brought up to full strength. The team must have all 11 of its players. It cannot play the game with only 9 or 10 players, instead of the full number of 11 players, without the greatest disadvantage and danger to the lives of the men on the team. There must be replacements. When vacancies occur by drawing out the cadres, they must be filled. A man might have had only 9 months' training as an individual soldier. Under the terms of the Senator's amendment, if he were in a division the division could not be moved forward with him. He would have to be processed out before the division could go outside the United States.

Mr. NORRIS. I concede that to be true, there may be individuals to whom that situation would apply; but the amendment applies to a class of men, as does the bill. The men are classified by ages. We must realize, as I have tried to point out, that there will be exceptions, no matter where we draw the line. I do not believe we can draw it so that there will be no exceptions. Some men require more training than others. Yesterday the Senator very forcefully stated that the average age of our Army at one time was approximately 25 years, and that in 2 or 3 months the average age had increased to 28 years.

Mr. HILL. That is correct.

Mr. NORRIS. I can see a danger in that. If the average age is becoming too high, I can see that that is a good argument for taking in more young men. However, when the average age of the Army was 28, there were individuals who were 30 years of age who were probably better than some men who were only 25 years of age. When we come to pick out individuals we run into such discrepancies, of course.

Mr. HILL. Let me remind the Senate that all men, when they are inducted into the Army, are initially classified. They are classified on the basis of their physical condition and development, their aptitude, their training, and their occupations before they joined the Army. A man is weighed in every particular, and is then assigned to the particular work or place in which his physical, mental, and emotional make-up, as well as his past training and experience, best qualify him to serve.

There is no idea of rushing a man into battle in a haphazard manner, rushing him into fire, without the most careful preliminary classification, without every possible safeguard being thrown about



that man, both as to his classification and as to his training.

As the Senator from New Mexico brought out by his question a few moments ago, from all the thousands of men who have been sent from the United States into the combat zones, we have heard not one word of criticism that any man has been sent into such a zone before he was prepared to go.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. HILL. I yield.

Mr. AUSTIN. Perhaps what the Senator has said anticipates the answer; but I should like to know if he remembers any evidence in the Military Affairs Committee or outside it that inductees of the ages of 18 and 19 years would be less capable of training than would all the others who are liable to induction?

Mr. HILL. I can recall no evidence whatsoever to that effect; but, on the other hand, I recall rather positive evidence to the effect that the younger men acquire their training faster, acquire it better, and in many cases are able to reach a higher degree of training and a more perfect condition of training than are the older men.

Mr. AUSTIN. Then, merely as a matter of good sense, does it not follow that it is not fair, it is not equality before the law, to pick out an age group of the same or better capability for training and to impose upon such group an obligation which would hold them in training camps for a particular period of time when that was not required of any other group?

Mr. HILL. The Senator is absolutely correct. They would grow dull; they would lose their edge; they would be like a prize fighter who has overtrained or who has lost his edge or zest.

There is another consideration in that connection with which the Senator is entirely familiar. We have a certain definite number of training centers, based on the program and the size of the Army we have in mind. Unless we are to build a great number of additional training centers, we cannot afford to have the training centers filled with men who are already trained; because they would be taking the places which would be needed for the new men coming in—new men who must go to training centers in order to acquire their training.

Mr. President, General Marshall closed his letter with the words I shall now read. Before reading them I submit that they could not have been more definite, or have been couched in stronger terms. General Marshall said:

The proposal would create so many obstacles of this nature that I cannot too strongly emphasize the importance of giving us this legislation without crippling limitations.

Crippling limitations — limitations which would cripple our Army. Are we prepared to send forth to fight an Army which is crippled? Crippling limitations, limitations which would cripple our Army, which would force us to send into action a crippled Army.

General Marshall continued in his letter:

Trust our judgment and our own insistence that we fight only with properly trained units, to see that each soldier has adequate training before he enters combat. I am certain—

Says General Marshall—

Members of Congress do not wish to hamper the War Department in the execution of the tremendous task we have before us. These proposals, I am sure, arise through a lack of understanding of the problem presented. Our enemies are desperate and implacable. Our task is extremely difficult.

General Marshall, conscious of the extremely difficult task that is his, conscious of the tremendous responsibility he carries, asked us to trust him first, on the basis of his judgment, and, second, on his insistence and the War Department's insistence that no man shall be sent into combat unless he is properly trained and made ready for combat.

General Marshall has previously said to us in his letter:

Such a limitation—

Speaking of the limitation now pending before the Senate—

would impose an almost impossible administrative burden for the War Department.

With a great war to be fought, a great war to be won, the man who has the supreme responsibility for winning the war is pleading with us not to make his administrative task an impossible one, not to impose impossibilities on him in his effort to win the war, and to win it in the shortest possible time and with the least possible cost in the lives of our boys, that he may win the war in the quickest possible time so that there may be fewer broken bodies and broken hearts, and that fewer of our men shall come back with disordered minds but shattered remnants of their former selves.

That is General Marshall's plea to the Senate of the United States. He is asking us to have faith in him, not to impede him, not to impair his efforts, not to shackle him in doing the great work that is committed to his hands.

Mr. President, we know the story of the War between the States; we know how military victory after military victory brilliantly won by the military leaders of the Southern Confederacy was dissipated or thrown away because the men in the Confederate Congress in Richmond took steps depreciating them or took steps in a piecemeal manner because the members of the Confederate Congress would not put their faith in the military leaders of the Confederacy, would not support and sustain them, and would not give to them the wholehearted cooperation to which they were entitled.

We know the story of the Union Army. We recall that the Congress of the United States set up a Committee on the Conduct of the War, a committee to tell Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant how to conduct the war. It ever will be said to the glory of Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant that they gave no heed to that committee but went forward with their own plans and their own determinations. Because they did so, they brought that war to a successful conclusion for the Union forces far

sooner than would have been possible if they had listened to or heeded the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War. Politicians—I am a politician, and certainly I use that word in no unhappy or opprobrious sense—men schooled in the operations of civil government in matters of legislation for civil administration, seeking to tell the military commanders, the military experts, the men schooled and trained in military matters, how to conduct the Army, how to handle military affairs.

In striking contrast to the experiences of the War between the States, in striking contrast to the frittering away of brilliant victories won by military leaders because of the action of the Confederate Congress, we note the record of the Congress of the United States during the last World War. We sent General Pershing to France as the commander in chief of the A. E. F. The Congress stood solidly behind him; and when in August 1918 General Pershing asked that we amend the Selective Service Act by inducting 18- and 19-year-old boys—that we do then what the Army now asks to have done—the Congress passed the bill by a vote of 75 to 0.

Mr. President, the question before the Senate is one, of course, which each Member, in his own conscience and in his own wisdom, must decide for himself. I, for one, mindful of the vast danger that confronts this Nation today, mindful of the American boys, soldiers, sailors, and marines who already, not on one front, not on a second front, but on seven or eight fronts, on far-flung battlefields everywhere, are fighting and struggling and suffering, many of whom have already died, I cannot set my judgment up against that of the military leaders of this Nation; I cannot set my judgment up against that of General Marshall, in whose hands lies the hope for American victory, for the defeat of our enemies, and the winning of the war.

Senators, can you imagine tidings of greater joy that could be sent to Berlin and to Tokyo this day than to have the word flashed over the radio that the Congress of the United States had turned down the request of the President, the Commander in Chief of our armed forces; that the Congress of the United States had refused the plea of General Marshall, the head of the Army, and of Admiral King, the chief of the Navy, to let them build our Army and our Navy as they think necessary in order to win the war? Are we going to send such a message to Berlin? Are we going to send to Berlin the message that, although General Marshall has said to the Senate of the United States that it will be almost impossible for him to operate the Army if restrictions are placed in the pending bill, yet, in the face of the warning and the plea by General Marshall, the Senate proceeded to write the limitation in the bill and undertook to hamper, to impede, to impair General Marshall in his efforts for victory in the building of our Army, yea, for the saving of the lives of our boys?

Mr. President, all that I can hope is that the Members of the Senate will



weigh carefully and prayerfully their vote on this amendment; that every Member of the Senate will search out his heart and his conscience before he votes to permit the Senate of the United States to put itself in the position of repudiating the commanders in chief of our Army and our Navy, who are the only men to whom we can look for victory and for the saving of our Nation.

Mr. REYNOLDS obtained the floor.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator from North Carolina yield to me?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I am delighted to yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. I desire to suggest the absence of a quorum in order that Members may be called back to the Senate Chamber in an effort to secure a limitation of debate on this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Gerry	Pepper
Andrews	Gillette	Radcliffe
Austin	Green	Reed
Bailey	Guffey	Reynolds
Ball	Gurney	Rosier
Barkley	Hatch	Russell
Bilbo	Hayden	Shipstead
Bone	Hill	Smathers
Brewster	Johnson, Calif.	Smith
Bulow	Langer	Spencer
Bunker	Lee	Taft
Burton	Lodge	Thomas, Idaho
Butler	Lucas	Thomas, Okla.
Capper	McFarland	Thomas, Utah
Caraway	McKellar	Tunnell
Chavez	McNary	Tydings
Clark, Idaho	Maloney	Vandenberg
Clark, Mo.	Maybank	Van Nuys
Connally	Mead	Wagner
Danaher	Murdock	Wallgren
Davis	Norris	Walsh
Downey	Nye	Wheeler
Doxey	O'Daniel	White
Ellender	O'Mahoney	Willis
George	Overton	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Seventy-four Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I think it is the unanimous desire of the Senate that the pending bill be disposed of today. I know that is my desire. I think it would be unfortunate for the bill to go over until next week, for obvious reasons. Therefore I intend to seek a limitation on debate.

I ask unanimous consent that during the further consideration of the pending amendment and all amendments thereto debate shall be limited to the amendment, and that no Senator shall speak more than once or longer than 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. McNARY. I think it is extremely important that we dispose of the pending measure today. I had hoped we could do so yesterday. I am very anxious to have the proposal of the Senator from Kentucky accepted. I do not think any long speeches would clarify or elucidate any of the remaining amendments. I wish to make one inquiry. Does the request apply only to the pending amendment, or to all amendments?

Mr. BARKLEY. Only to the pending amendment, and amendments thereto,

not to other amendments which may be offered; but I hope that when other amendments are offered, we can extend the limitation.

Mr. McNARY. I should be willing to make the limitation sweeping, but inasmuch as we are starting on the right road, I hope the request will be agreed to.

Mr. McKELLAR. What is the proposal?

Mr. BARKLEY. The request is that during the further consideration of the pending amendment and all amendments to it debate shall be limited to the amendment, and to 15 minutes for any Senator.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have no objection. Instead of having objection, I approve the proposal very heartily.

Mr. ELLENDER. I have an amendment which I propose to submit at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair wishes to call the attention of the Senator from Kentucky to the fact that the amendment pending is a substitute proposed by the Senator from Texas to the amendment offered by the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. BARKLEY. My request applies to the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska and all amendments thereto or substitutes therefor, the entire subject matter of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request?

Mr. ELLENDER. What about future amendments?

Mr. BARKLEY. It has no relation to future amendments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the request of the Senator from Kentucky is agreed to.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk.

Mr. BARKLEY. The amendment would not be in order at this time.

Mr. ELLENDER. I do not send it forward for the purpose of having it now considered but simply to have it lie on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received and lie on the table.

Mr. BARKLEY obtained the floor.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I wish to make a short statement.

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. GURNEY. Will the Senator from Louisiana yield to me before he begins his remarks?

Mr. ELLENDER. I do not have the floor. The Senator from Kentucky has yielded to me.

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, what I wanted to suggest was that I believe everyone is agreeable to limiting the debate to 15 minutes on the pending amendment, as well as to any amendments which may be proposed to the bill from now on. I was going to ask the majority leader if he would not endeavor to extend the limitation at this time.

Mr. BARKLEY. I should be very agreeable to extending the limitation, but in the absence of one or two Senators who I understood desired to offer amendments, I believe that the extension should

not be applied at this time. I have no objection to it, but in view of the agreement already reached in regard to the amendment now under consideration, I believe we had better go along, and later I shall endeavor to have debate limited on other amendments which may be offered.

Mr. GURNEY. I thank the Senator.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, the purpose of the amendment, which I have sent to the desk, is to amend section 3 (a) by adding the following proviso:

*Provided further*, That no man shall be inducted for training and service under this act after he has attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of his birth.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, at the time I rose to ask unanimous consent for a limitation on debate the Senator from North Carolina desired to get the floor, and in his absence at this time I myself will take the floor for a few minutes.

I find it impossible to support the amendment which has been offered by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], or the substitute offered by the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL], or any similar amendment. I am actuated by the same emotions which affect other Members of the Senate. I realize how unpleasant it is to have to draft young men into the Army of the United States. It is a cup which all of us would have pass from our lips if it were possible. But because I do not believe it is possible, I shall vote for the bill without any restrictions upon those who are charged with the obligation of raising our Army.

Mr. President, I am not a member of the Committee on Military Affairs, which is a great committee, and I am not a military strategist. I do not know any more about the organization of an army than does the ordinary man who has not organized one; but I understand enough about it to know that the organization of an army of the size which will be required for us to win this war is an enormous and a complicated task. I do not think we in the Senate can arrogate to ourselves any greater anxiety about the young men of this country than exists among the Army officers of the United States. Their own sons are in the Army just as ours are in it. They are charged by Congress and by the people of the country with the responsibility of organizing the Army and using it for fighting purposes when it is organized.

If we shall fail to win this war there is not a Senator on this floor who will be charged with the responsibility individually for the failure. The whole Senate might be charged with responsibility if it should act unwisely with regard to legislation dealing with the war, but the responsibility will not rest, so far as the American people are concerned, upon a single member by himself in this body. It might rest upon the Chief of Staff of the United States Army, who is charged with the responsibility of organizing all branches of the Army and supervising its organization. That responsibility, regardless of what we may do or fail to do, might be charged to the Commander in Chief of the United



States Army. No matter how much we might handicap him in the performance of his duty and in the organization of the vast force which is necessary to fight our enemies wherever they may be found, if this war should fail, or if it should be prolonged beyond a reasonable time within which it could be won without any restraint or any restriction being placed upon his power by reason of the course pursued by those in command of the Army, we might escape criticism and responsibility which they might not escape.

Mr. President, I think General Marshall is one of the most capable men who ever occupied the position of Chief of Staff in the history of the United States. He is one of the most human men who ever wore a uniform. He is not merely a military strategist. He is a philosopher, he is a humanitarian, he understands the economic and social problems as well as the military problems involved in this war. It may be that he made a mistake in taking his military training at the Virginia Military Institute instead of in the United States Senate. Probably he would have been a better military strategist if he had come here. He might know more about organizing the Army; he might know more about where to send the soldiers, and how to send them, and where they ought to fight, if he had served a term in the Senate instead of going through the Virginia Military Institute and spending the rest of his life in the Army of the United States. That is his misfortune. He pursued the wrong course, I suppose. But I do not propose to substitute my experience as a United States Senator and as a military strategist and organizer within these 4 walls, for the expert knowledge which he possesses, and which the whole general staff and all the other high ranking officers of the United States Army possess.

Mr. President, if may be all right here in the heat of debate to refer to these men as "brass hats," which is a term which I resent, because they are our Army officers. We have provided for them; we have trained them at West Point and at other military schools in this country, and they are charged with the responsibility in this great crisis. I do not think it is becoming of United States Senators to stand up here and ridicule them because of the military positions which they occupy.

Mr. President, if I were to vote my emotions and allow my emotions to control me I should support the amendment. I receive critical and emotional letters, and they appeal to me. They tear at the cords of my own heart no less than at those of other Senators, but war is not an emotional matter. War is a hard, ugly, realistic business, and it is unpleasant. I would have preferred not to have had to vote for war when we were attacked by Japan. All during the long trail of circumstances from 1939 to Pearl Harbor I had hoped and prayed and worked that we might avoid ultimately active participation in the war. There is not a Member of the Senate who voted for war with any pleasure, without deep and profound regret. We have the

same feeling with regard to the requirements and the necessity for sending any of our Army, old or young, out of the United States, or sending them into battle on the shores of the United States or anywhere else. We do not like to do that. But we cannot win this war without doing it.

Mr. President, I think General Marshall, and the General Staff, and the President of the United States, and all those who are charged with responsibility, are as keenly alive to the folly of sending green, raw, young men into battle as we are in the Senate. Under the amendment offered by the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL] boys of 18 and 19 could not be sent to another country outside of the United States for training purposes, and we know we are doing that right now. Thousands upon thousands of men, after receiving a preliminary training here, are being sent elsewhere outside the continental United States for further training, and they ought to be trained close at hand and in proximity to where they will have to fight, in order that they may understand the local problems involved in fighting wherever they are to fight. Under the amendment of the Senator from Texas they could not be sent out of the United States even for training purposes.

Mr. President, let us now consider for a moment the 12 months' provision. There is a great deal of difference between putting a number of young men in a regiment or a company all by themselves, taking them in the raw and trying to train them from the ground up, and integrating them with an older organization. The very fact that they are integrated into an older organization facilitates their training and speeds up their expert knowledge of training and military matters.

When I was a boy living in the country on a farm we never hitched up two colts and tried to break them to the wagon or the plow by themselves. We always put one of them with an old horse. A young horse could be trained to pull the plow or draw the wagon in half the time by hitching him up with an older horse who knew the game and who could teach him something, than by taking two young colts and trying to teach both at the same time. That may be a crude illustration of what I am talking about, but the principle applies.

If half a hundred young men without military training are put into a company all the other members of which are well trained and seasoned troops, those young men will become trained and will learn the military art in half the time that would be required if all of them were new troops and had never even drilled upon a drill field in the United States. That is what the Army, of course, means and that is what General Marshall means when he suggests that he has to provide replacements in existing divisions for training purposes.

Senators may be surprised to learn that, although the law requires, and the Army is supposed to have, 15,000 men in every division, I happen to know of a division in which at this hour there are only 3,000 men, because the other men

have been required to be taken away and distributed among other organizations in order to obtain fit men to supply the other organizations with the equipment and technical knowledge which was required.

We cannot disband that particular division with only 3,000 men in it. It must be filled up with new men as they come in. The very fact that there are 3,000 soldiers in a division which ought to have 15,000 will be of infinite value in the training of the other 12,000 who must be integrated into that division.

Moreover, it is not necessary to train men in all branches of the service for 12 months. This morning I talked with General Somervell, the head of the Services of Supply, in regard to our motorized equipment. In 4 months a young soldier can be trained to operate an automobile in one of our armored divisions. Such men must operate automobiles at the front. They must bring up to the battle lines not only supplies of food, but supplies of shells, and equipment of all kinds. They are in as much danger as are the men who are actually shooting. However, under the terms of the amendment such men could not be sent to operate a truck or a piece of armored equipment of any sort up to the front line until they had been trained for 12 months. The result would be that much of the equipment would lie idle, because the law would not permit the Army to put one of those men in charge of it until he had been trained for 12 months, although in regard to that particular operation he might be as well trained at the end of 5 months as he would be at the end of 12.

I have talked with responsible officers of the Air Corps who tell me—I did not have to be told because I already knew it, but I wished to obtain confirmation of my belief—that in 4 or 5 months a man can be trained to be an airplane mechanic. Many of the young men who are being drawn into the service are already experienced mechanics. They have been working in garages or machine shops. In 3 or 4 months one of them can be trained to be a mechanic on a bomber. Those mechanics must go up in airplanes over the battlefield. The great bombing planes take along not only pilots and bombardiers but also mechanics.

There must be mechanics in charge of the mechanical features of airplanes. They are in as much danger as is the man who is doing the shooting or the man who drops the bombs. They are in the front line of combat. They are in combat service. If we require those men to be trained for 12 months, many of our airplanes will be grounded and unable to fly over the territory of the enemy while the men are waiting for 12 months to roll around so that the Army can use them without violating the law.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Kentucky has expired.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not wish to trespass further upon the time of the Senate.

For the reasons which I have stated, and others which I might offer, and which I am sure are already in the minds of Senators, I hope the amendment of the Senator from Texas, the amendment



of the Senator from Nebraska, and all other similar amendments, will be rejected.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I sincerely wish that every Member of this body could have been present to hear the very fine argument presented by the distinguished Senator from Kentucky. In view of the limitation on debate, I shall endeavor as best I can to confine my remarks exclusively to the amendment presented by the distinguished and beloved Member of this body from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], and that presented by our distinguished colleague from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL].

After reading both amendments, it is my interpretation that there is really no difference between the amendment of the Senator from Texas and the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska. Both employ the words "combat duty." On the one hand, the amendment of the Senator from Texas specifically states that the men may not be sent outside the continental United States without 12 months' training and, on the other hand, the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska merely refers to combat duty. In that respect we know that under present conditions combat duty could not be experienced by any of the draftees within the confines of the continental United States. Therefore I shall consider the two amendments as one, with the exception of the respective ages of 19 and 20.

Mr. President, our distinguished majority leader has told us that we must fight the enemy wherever he may be found, anywhere in all the world. That is true. We have found the enemy upon every single continent of the world and in virtually every section of the world. That is why, in order to fight the enemy wherever he may be found, in any section of the whole world, we must of necessity have an army of 7,500,000, supplemented by those constituting the Marine Corps, the Navy, and the Air Corps, which will eventually bring about a fighting force of more than 10,000,000 men.

We cannot attain a force of 10,000,000 men unless we have 18- and 19-year-old men. From what I have heard from Members of this body on the floor of the Senate, I believe that they likewise are of the opinion that in order to secure a fighting force of 10,000,000 men, including the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Corps, we must call upon 18- and 19-year-old men.

We come now to the amendment. Yesterday, I heard the distinguished Senator from Montana and the distinguished Senator from Tennessee state on the floor of the Senate that there are vast differences between young men who have attained the age of 18.

I agree with them in full in that statement. Many men are perfectly developed physically at the age of 18. Many attain their zenith of physical culture and development at the age of 18. In rare instances men attain mental supremacy at the age of 18. On the other hand, there are men who have attained the age of 18 whose par of proficiency and physical development will come at a later date. There is a vast difference be-

tween men of 18 years of age. We find some men perfectly developed physically at that age. We find some rarely developed mentally at that age. Therefore I argue that men in that category, of that age, cannot be classified as a unit.

In the State of Tennessee there are youngsters of 14 and 15 who are perfect marksmen. The finest squirrel hunters in the world are said to be found in that State. They are the finest riflemen to be found anywhere. They were born with rifles in their hands, so to speak. In the woodlands and the mountains, at a distance of 100 yards, with an old musket, they can select either eye of a squirrel and hit it squarely in the center. They are the finest to be found, with the exception of those found in North Carolina. [Laughter.]

Mr. CLARK of Idaho. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Idaho. What would the Senator say about the age of 57?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I think the Senator has already spoken for himself very creditably. [Laughter.]

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I do not wish to take the Senator's time, because I know that he is speaking under a limitation. The Senator has spoken about the difference between boys of 18. I entirely agree with his statement in that particular. Some boys are very much more developed at 18 or 19, both mentally and physically and by way of emotional stabilization, than other boys. That is the reason I am for this amendment.

Does not the Senator know that in the last war, boys who had had only 5 or 6 weeks of training were sent to France and put in the front lines? Some of them who had never fired a rifle were wounded. They were not like the boys in Tennessee, to whom the Senator refers. Some of the boys who were sent to France had never fired a rifle. Does the Senator have any doubt that unless Congress prescribes some limitation and stipulates the amount of training the boys shall receive, the very same thing will happen in this war? Boys who were not raised in Tennessee, and who were not born with rifles in their hands, boys who have never had any military training, or anything to fit them for military training, are likely to be sent into the line 5, 6, or 7 weeks after their induction into the service.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator very much. I shall comment on that point in a moment.

On the other hand, some young men who have been born and reared in the great metropolitan centers have never seen a gun. They would require months, and perhaps years, to become marksmen equal to those of the same age found in other sections of the country.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. As I understand, all the testimony taken before the Senator's committee, including the testimony of General Marshall and all the other Army

officers who appeared, without exception, has been to the effect that the boys should be trained for approximately a year before they are sent into combat. Was not that the testimony?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Of course, that depends entirely upon the boy.

Mr. McKELLAR. Was not that the testimony before the committee?

Mr. REYNOLDS. They were speaking in generalities, of course.

Mr. McKELLAR. They were speaking in generalities; let us leave it that way. If the Army says it takes a year to train them, and if our experience in the last war shows that it takes approximately that period of time to train them, why should there be any objection to an amendment requiring that young boys 18 or 19 years of age—some of them more developed than others, of course—be trained before they are sent into foreign fields, all over the world, from Iceland to the bottom of Australia?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I agree with the Senator.

Mr. McKELLAR. Does not the Senator feel that they should be trained?

Mr. REYNOLDS. I agree with the Senator that they should be trained, and they will be trained. I know the Senator is supporting the amendments because he is interested in the youth of our land. He is supporting the amendments because he wants our boys 18 and 19 years of age who have been drafted to give their lives for the purpose of winning the war to be perfectly trained. That is why I am against the amendment. I am against it because the proper sort of training cannot be given the boys unless they are provided the opportunities for training which they must have in order to preserve themselves.

By that I mean that if we adopt either of the amendments we shall do the worst thing we have ever done if we are seriously and genuinely interested in providing the best training in the form of protection for these young men. Why? Because under the amendments or under either one of them, no boy could be sent outside the continental limits of the United States to join with combat troops until he has had 12 months' training.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Texas?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Will the Senator pardon me if I do not yield at this time? I have only a few minutes left. I have yielded to several other Senators.

However, I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from Texas—I do not want to be discourteous to him—and I shall ask that the time the Senator takes be not charged against my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina has 2 minutes remaining.

Mr. REYNOLDS. In view of the limitation of debate, I do not think I should be charged with the time I graciously contributed to my colleagues.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the rules, what the Senator suggests cannot be done.



Mr. REYNOLDS. I hope that the time taken in discussing the amount of time available to me will not be charged against my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will not be; the Senator has 2 minutes remaining.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, I shall wait.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I thank the Senator. I think that the Senator will agree that the boy who is best fitted to protect himself is the boy who has been trained in the section of the world in which he is called upon to fight. Why were the Japanese so successful in the Malay Straits? Why have they been so successful, unfortunately, thus far? Because their men were trained in the sections of the world in which they would be called upon to fight. A man trained upon the plains to fight cannot fight in the mountains as well as can a man trained in the mountains. A man trained in the mountains cannot fight on the plains as well as can a man trained on the plains.

The way to provide the young boys with the best protection is to give General Marshall an opportunity to train them in the zones of the world in which they will be called upon to fight.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I desire to say that I too, have always greatly admired General Marshall. I am one of his greatest admirers, and I have frequently said that he is one man in the whole Army organization who has not been given the credit which he has deserved for his untiring efforts in developing for us a victorious Army. I admire him, I sing his praises here. I believe in him; and, consequently, I shall follow him; and I would that today and yesterday he could have been in the gallery here so that he could have listened to the high tribute paid him by every member of this body. I am only sorry that the Senators who have contributed to him so many bouquets in the form of eloquent words, and who have expressed in words such great confidence in him, cannot follow him by their actual votes, which after all are the only things we do that count.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, I desire to argue the point of the wisdom of agreeing to the amendments solely from the standpoint of the efficiency of our military itself.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President—

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, I cannot yield, because I shall make but a brief statement, and then I shall be through. I think that the time for exchange of arguments is definitely over when we enter upon limited debate.

First of all, the amendments attempt to divide the Army into two parts, combatant and noncombatant. Once we enter a war, it is physically and mentally impossible for our Army to be divided in that way and still fight effectively. A division of an army on the basis of territorial restrictions as to service is a division which is bad. It is a division which may mar the whole military effort, for the simple reason that, once we are in war, if we try to confine the war effort of a part of our Army to the limits of

our continent, for example, we find confusion, and confusion confounded, in case the war is brought to the continental limits of the United States. No restriction should ever be put upon the use of troops during combat. No restriction should ever be put upon the use of troops during defensive war. We are thinking only in terms of offensive war, the sending of our men beyond the continental confines of the United States. We are thinking in terms of training before we send them forth. However, Mr. President, war does not wait for plans. It does not wait until opposing armies are ready for the proper execution of plans. The surprise element in war is the element which generally decides battles; and if we hamper our Commander in Chief, if we hamper our general in the field, in any particular relative to the proper handling, the proper placement, the proper arrangement of his troops, we do him a terrible wrong, for the simple reason that our commander is left in such a position that he cannot use his troops as he thinks best in time of war.

Mr. President, I could not and would not argue against training. Every book I have ever read on military strategy—going back into very ancient times—calls it a crime if untrained troops are sent into battle. I could not argue about individual differences. Such differences do exist in men, and sometimes an untrained boy is very much better in battle than is an overtrained man—according to time, according to circumstance, according to the task which is to be done.

I believe that anyone who will consider the extent of our war effort, anyone who will study, for example, the German attack on Russia, the mobilization of troops to go into Russia, the number of trains required, the geographical problems involved in placing troops in the front ranks, in the main army, and in the reserve, will realize that all those things have a bearing on the question whether the outcome of any particular battle and of the war will be successful.

In air warfare, in spherical warfare, as we now have it, how are we to protect the untrained man when the battle ranges over a field of a thousand miles or when a battle line is 2,000 miles long? Let us not try to do the impossible, Mr. President. Let us put faith where faith belongs. Let us remember that when we went into the war we made a declaration that we would give our all, which meant the all of everybody in the United States. When once the Commander in Chief or the Chief of Staff is selected and the battle is started, then only by giving faith to him and his judgment can the Army and the people behind the Army be united.

Mr. President, for us to hamper in any way at this time the arrangement of troops when we are in the midst of a war is to make the pronouncement to the enemy that that which we said on the day we went into the war, that we were ready to give our all and to sacrifice our all if need be, was false; that we did not mean what we said. If we are to give our all if it is not for this purpose or if it is not for that purpose, then, Mr. President, it is not our all.

The Senator from Kentucky has pointed out that it seems rather strange for us to be discussing military strategy on the floor of the Senate, but certainly, men who have had experience in such matters, who have seen the placement of troops, who know the mistakes which have been made in the past, ought to have a right, even on the floor of the Senate, to warn against making similar mistakes by putting restrictions in the way of the movement of troops when once a war is started.

The complexity of armies, the way in which armies are built, the way in which generals think about armies as units, must, of necessity, make it impossible for a general to be able to bring about a successful result if he has to say "We need so many divisions in such and such a place, but I must remember that certain men in the divisions have no right to be in that place." Certainly, then there is a disintegration of planning, which is the most difficult thing for any general to overcome.

But the principal point, Mr. President, I would make in opposition to the pending amendment is as it affects the man himself. I believe, with all my heart, under the American system of Government and the American system of building up armies, that, wherever possible, men should be able to use the voluntary method, and in our scheme of things we do allow men to volunteer, to choose the branches of service. We do not force men into West Point; they are allowed to go there and make for themselves a military career; and so we allow enlistments at the present time. All of that I like because it is American. But, Mr. President, when once a man takes the oath as a soldier of the Army of the United States, that means that he gives his all; he puts his life on the altar of his country; he puts his faith in his commanders; he puts his respect in those who command him. He does not ask for consideration, but he accepts the command and does his duty.

Mr. President, how is the morale of an army to be developed, how is the esprit de corps of a group of men, or of the individual soldier in the Army, ready to respond quickly to the command, ready to offer his all, to be strengthened if, when the time comes certain men may be withdrawn and left behind their comrades?

Incidentally, Mr. President, we may talk from now until doomsday about training soldiers but until a soldier can be made to realize that it is proper for him to offer his life, if need be, he is not a soldier; he is not a soldier who can be called upon until he is ready to realize that he will have to see his companion, his "buddy," shot down by his side or that perhaps he will be shot down and his "buddy" will remain. An army that is ready to fight an enemy at all hazards cannot be built up if there is put into the mind of the soldier any notion which might cause him to make distinctions between himself and the pal who belongs to the same organization.

There is, Mr. President, such a thing as morale in the Army of the United States; there is such a thing as esprit de



corps. Those of us, for example, who have been given the task of going through a division or going through a regiment after it has been ordered to go forward as a unit and taking out of the division or the regiment men, for one reason or another, who should not go forward but should remain at home, know that the finest thing that can happen to a man who becomes a member of any army is that he develops in his own heart a willingness to sacrifice, an esprit de corps in fighting for the whole unit and giving up his all not only for his country, but for his pal.

Say to a company of boys, "We have a task in front of us, a risky task, a task the execution of which may cost your life, a task which you have been called into the Army to perform," and then take 10 men out of a platoon because they are not 19 years of age or because they have not been in the Army a year, what is done to the morale of that group? What is done to the boy who is left behind? What is done to those who go forward?

The building of an army, Mr. President, is a matter of making men from top to bottom. The general who does not think in terms of the morale of his army is not worth his salt. The general who will not think these problems through is in my estimation not a general. Do not hamper the general who does think these problems through. Do not make it hard for him to win the war. Do not put upon him restrictions which will interfere with the proper execution of the battle orders and with his efforts properly to take care of his troops.

I may put it in another way. It may be possible to save hundreds and hundreds of lives by the use of a certain contingent of men. Is not the sacrifice worth while in that event, even if it is the sacrifice of an untrained boy? Is not the sacrifice worth while even if it is the sacrifice of a boy under 19?

Does anyone think that the men under 19 years of age who are in the Army now, untrained, and out on the battlefield, like to have it suggested that in the judgment of the Congress of the United States they are not sufficiently well trained and are not old enough to do the task which they have taken an oath to perform? Is it not realized that by such a pronouncement we would be hitting at the very heart and soul of the morale of the Army of the United States, which would mean hitting at the very heart and soul of the United States itself?

Mr. President, the Navy has built its entire personnel on a voluntary basis. It has appealed to young boys 17, 18, and 19. The average age of the Marines is under 20, the average age of the personnel of the Navy is under 20, and yet the United States Senate by this amendment would say to those boys, "In the judgment of the United States Senate you should not be where you are, you should not be out fighting battles for us, because we have neglected to give you the training you should have had."

Mr. President, the worst thing that can happen to any soldier—and all soldiers indulge in it—is to take part in what is called "bellyaching." A soldier can "bel-

lyache" from now until doomsday without his morale being hurt, if he has no justification and no rightful argument for his "bellyaching," but if he is given cause, then his morale is destroyed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DOXEY in the chair). The time of the Senator from Utah has expired.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL] in the nature of a substitute for the amendment offered by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], adding certain language at the end of the bill.

Mr. McNARY. I assume we are about ready to vote, and acting on that assumption, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Gerry	Pepper
Andrews	Gillette	Radcliffe
Austin	Green	Reed
Bailey	Guffey	Reynolds
Ball	Gurney	Rosier
Barkley	Hatch	Russell
Bilbo	Hayden	Shipstead
Bone	Hill	Smathers
Brewster	Johnson, Calif.	Smith
Bulow	Langer	Spencer
Bunker	Lee	Taft
Burton	Lodge	Thomas, Idaho
Butler	Lucas	Thomas, Okla.
Capper	McFarland	Thomas, Utah
Caraway	McKellar	Tunnell
Chavez	McNary	Tydings
Clark, Idaho	Maloney	Vandenberg
Clark, Mo.	Maybank	Van Nuys
Connally	Mead	Wagner
Danaher	Murdoch	Wallgren
Davis	Norris	Walsh
Downey	Nye	Wheeler
Doxey	O'Daniel	White
Ellender	O'Mahoney	Willis
George	Overton	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Seventy-four Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I wish to modify my amendment before the vote is taken. The modification is one I have agreed with Senators I would be glad to make.

Mr. BONE. Is the Senator referring to his own amendment?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; my own amendment. I propose, in line 3, after the word "service", to insert the words "beyond the limits of continental United States", so that the amendment would read:

Nothing in this act shall authorize the sending of troops inducted into military service by this act into combat service beyond the limits of continental United States who are less than 19 years of age unless such troops have had at least 1 year of training.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL] in the nature of a substitute for the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] as modified.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, I desire to make a few remarks with reference to the substitute amendment I have offered.

I am heartily in accord with the amendment offered by the Senator from Nebraska, and since he has modified his

amendment it is almost identical with the one offered by me, except that his amendment applies to boys who are 19 years of age and less, whereas my amendment applies to boys 20 years of age and less who will be inducted.

Mr. President, some statements have been made with reference to my amendment which I feel should be answered. In the first place, it has been insinuated that those who believe teen-age boys should have at least 1 year of training before actual combat duty are interfering with the plans of some Army officials. I wish to point out that there is no desire on my part, and I do not believe there is on the part of any Member of the Senate, to interfere with the plans of military officials. What we are endeavoring to do is to be of benefit to them. They have told us they need more men in the Army and that they need younger men. We are expected to give them all the manpower—all the boy power, I might say—in the United States of the ages of 18 and 19. We are trying to help them by providing further that the boys 18 and 19 years of age shall have at least 12 months of training before entering foreign combat duty, because we believe they will be better soldiers at the end of the 12-month training period.

At the same time, Mr. President, we feel there are some other things which should be given consideration. We have more people in the United States than merely boys of 18 and 19 years of age. Someone has inquired what has happened to all the people in the United States that we have such a desperate manpower shortage, in a war in which we have been engaged less than 12 months, that we are now obliged to dip down into the ranks of teen-age boys. So I have referred to the United States Census figures for 1940 and find that there are 42,984,864 boys and girls 17 years of age and less.

I have also ascertained that there are in the United States 43,891,433 persons over 39 years of age.

Deducting the sum of those figures, or 86,876,297, from the total population of the United States, gives a population of those 18 to 39 years of age, inclusive, of 44,792,978, with which to fight the war and carry on necessary civilian operations.

There are other things which enter into the situation. I have offered another amendment which, if enacted, would enable people to work longer than 40 hours a week without their employers having to pay time and one-half wages for the overtime. I believe our laboring people are anxious for the opportunity of working longer hours. If the present restrictions were removed, 25,085,555 people could, by working longer hours, perform as much work as the 42,200,000 are now performing outside of agriculture. That would leave a balance of 19,707,423 persons 18 to 39 years of age, inclusive. About half of them are men. If we figure that half of them are men, that would give us a figure of 9,853,711 men.

Let us now take out those who are already in the military forces, plus those whom the Army officials desire, which



would make a total of 7,500,000 men. We would still have remaining 2,353,711 men, plus 9,853,711 women, or a total of 12,207,422 surplus men and women 18 to 39, inclusive, after providing for an Army of 7,500,000 men, and a force to carry on the work which is now being done in civilian industry. That would leave more than 25 percent of the population 18 to 39 years, inclusive, who might be considered as being incapacitated or subject to other duties.

So it appears to me, Mr. President, that if we take the over-all picture, we find that we have not entirely explored and utilized those who might be qualified for military and necessary civilian service. However, we have been asked to include the 18- and 19-year-old boys in the draft, and I feel sure that the bill will pass. I intend to vote for it, because our Commander in Chief has asked for it. But I think we should place in the measure certain improvements which would give our Army officials fully trained men when they go into foreign combat service. Of course, we all have confidence in General Marshall and the other Army officials. No one has questioned their ability, but the people in the various States also have confidence in their elected representatives in the United States Senate.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. O'DANIEL. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. Someone just informed me that the Senator was not going to offer his substitute amendment. Is the Senator going to offer it?

Mr. O'DANIEL. I intend to offer my substitute amendment.

Mr. McKELLAR. I hope the Senator will.

Mr. O'DANIEL. I intend to do so in a few moments. I thank the Senator from Tennessee.

The people in the various States, under our representative form of government, expect their elected officials here in the Senate to speak their minds and have some voice as to what should be done about this matter. I know of no democratic government or no industrial organization where administrative officials are given free latitude without some restrictions being placed upon them. I do not figure that the amendment is a restriction, however. I figure that it is an improvement of benefit to the military officers, to make sure that their subordinate officers will not take into foreign combat duty those who are not fully trained and qualified.

I wish to use the testimony of General Marshall himself to bring out the point I am making. The following occurred during the committee hearing. The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SCHWARTZ] said:

Senator SCHWARTZ. I have just a couple of questions. How long does it take, what period of time elapses, between the date when the raw recruit comes in and the time he is ultimately prepared to meet the veterans of Germany and Japan and finds himself in the organization where the Army wants him?

General Marshall answered:

General MARSHALL. If he is a replacement—meaning replacing a casualty for some rea-

son or another—in a trained unit, we could start him toward an active theater with fair efficiency at the end of 3 or 4 months, plus the time necessary to get him to the theater. If it is a new unit being organized then a minimum of 12 months is necessary; the Germans take 24 months.

Mr. BONE. On what page of the hearings is that to be found?

Mr. O'DANIEL. On page 13 of the hearings before the Senate Military Affairs Committee.

Mr. President, with those remarks I wish to state that the people of Texas are perfectly willing to do their part, they are anxious to do their part, and they are doing their part, but they feel that when their boys are sent in actual combat service beyond the territorial boundaries of continental United States that those boys should be properly trained.

If Senators will pardon the personal reference, I have a son in training now. I know that he was confident of his own ability when he entered the service, but since he has had a year's training he has come to me, along with other boys who have been in training with him, and said:

Daddy, when I entered the service I thought I knew how to handle myself and take care of myself, but I find that I have learned so much under the training of these officers in the Army that now I know I am fully equipped to take care of myself under any conditions of combat.

He said to me:

I thought I was able to do so before, but I have learned a great deal in the 12 months I have been in the service.

Mr. President, the training that he and his associates have received has given them confidence that they can go up against the Germans and the Japs and take care of themselves. Now they have no fear whatever, no matter what happens. My boy said:

We are not afraid. We see green boys come in and they are scared to death, but we are not afraid. We have had our training and we are trained to go out into combat service. We have no fear for our own personal safety. We believe we can whip any German or Jap.

Mr. President, in the light of that personal experience, and in view of the testimony of the Army officials themselves, I could do nothing more than carry out my conviction of what I believe to be the feeling of the great proportion of the population of my State, which is that they are willing for their boys to go, but they would like to see them trained before they go into foreign combat service. Our people in Texas are patriotic and brave and self-sacrificing. While I was Governor we gave to the National Army our Texas National Guard which was one of the finest units in the nation. It was well trained. I then organized another Texas Army—the Texas Defense Guard, of around 20,000 of our finest Texas men and that unit is well organized and highly trained. We believe in fighting, but we believe in thorough training first. Our Texas boys 18 and 19 are ready to go. Their parents are proud to know their sons are so patriotic—but they want those boys to

be thoroughly trained before entering foreign combat service. With that training our 18- and 19-year-old Texas boys will take their place along with the thousands of other Texans already in the service and give a splendid account of themselves.

Mr. President, I hope the substitute amendment which I have offered will prevail, and on it I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, I inquire as to the present parliamentary situation. Is the Senate to vote first on the O'Daniel amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL] in the nature of a substitute for the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], as modified.

Mr. MALONEY. In view of the fact that the amendment is a substitute for the so-called Norris amendment, I should like to point out that the Norris amendment, as I understand it, places no limitation or restriction upon the bill. I am assuming that if the bill passes the Army will have the right to send the 18- and 19-year-old young men who may be drafted wherever the military authorities choose to send them and at whatever time they decide to send them. The purpose of the so-called Norris amendment is to make it mandatory upon the Army that these young men have 1 year's training before being sent to combat service. The language of the Norris amendment reads as follows:

Nothing in this act shall authorize the sending of troops inducted into military service—

And so forth. There is no restriction in that language. It simply does not authorize, it does not deny, it does not limit in any way, as I understand it, the power of the Army.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MALONEY. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. I do not agree with the Senator from Connecticut and some others who have mentioned the matter to me, although I do not doubt their good faith in raising the question. I have no objection to changing the language in any way so it will mean just what we want it to mean. Suppose that after the word "act" in the proposed amendment we insert these words "or any other law." Would that meet the Senator's position?

Mr. MALONEY. I do not think so. There is a possibility of it, but I very seriously doubt that that would be a restriction.

Mr. NORRIS. Then the Senator means to say that the Army officials can send out these troops without any law on the subject?

Mr. MALONEY. No.

Mr. NORRIS. Suppose we enact a law saying that no law shall authorize the sending of these troops, and so forth. Would that not prohibit the sending of them?

Mr. MALONEY. I do not think so. No, I think a restriction must be placed upon them in the law—



Mr. NORRIS. Would that not be a restriction?

Mr. MALONEY. I do not think so.

Mr. NORRIS. I cannot understand why it would not be, but if the Senate thinks it would not be a restriction, of course, I have no objection to putting in any language that will make it a restriction.

Mr. MALONEY. My purpose in rising, Mr. President, was to acquaint the Senate with what I understand to be the effect of the language. I am anxious to support what I understand is the view and intent of the Senator from Nebraska, but I do not think the language he proposed would accomplish what he has in mind. In view of the fact that we are voting upon a substitute I think Senators ought to know that, because it might affect the vote on the substitute.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MALONEY. I yield.

Mr. WHEELER. I wish to say that I entirely agree with the Senator from Connecticut. In my judgment the language should read, in order to make it restrictive:

No troops inducted into the military service by this act shall be used in combat service who are less than 19 years of age unless such troops have at least 1 year's training.

That would accomplish the purpose.

Mr. MALONEY. In substance it might do it. I think the language could be somewhat improved.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I have no objection to that language, but I want to point out to the Senator from Connecticut and to the Senator from Montana that I cannot understand why it does not mean the same thing. I have no objection to that language whatever. Probably it is better than the language of my amendment. If there is any doubt about the matter in the Senator's mind I will agree to change the language in the way suggested, because I want to attain the same object that he does. But if we change the language we still will not have restricted what the Senator thinks is the right of the Army to send anyone who is inducted into service anywhere it wants to, even though the laws of Congress absolutely prohibit it. Is that not correct?

Mr. MALONEY. I did not clearly hear the Senator, but I think if he would adopt the language of the amendment offered by the Senator from Texas, simply changing the age limit—

Mr. NORRIS. I intend to vote for the substitute offered by the Senator from Texas.

Mr. MALONEY. So do I.

Mr. NORRIS. It embraces more than does my amendment. I offered my amendment in a spirit of compromise, but nobody would accept it, so I shall vote for the substitute offered by the Senator from Texas. If that is rejected, I intend to vote for another substitute which is to be offered. If that is rejected, I shall vote for another substitute which will embrace more of the men than does my amendment. My amendment is limited in application to those

who are under 19. I would rather limit it to those who are under 20.

Mr. MALONEY. I intend to do exactly what the Senator intends to do; but we may get down to the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska and then find that there is nothing left.

Mr. NORRIS. I do not believe that will be true. If that should happen, I hope we should have something left.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL] in the nature of a substitute for the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] as modified.

Mr. O'DANIEL. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, I do not wish to detain the Senate long. There has been much debate. I am ready for a vote. I hope also that we may vote on the entire bill before the day is through. I have a little further information to bring to the attention of the Senate. I shall require not more than 3 or 4 minutes.

In the first place, no Senator has yet mentioned the testimony given by Surgeon General Magee, of the Army, which is contained in the printed hearings before the House Military Affairs Committee. I shall read a few lines from Surgeon General Magee's testimony. I am quoting from page 144 of the hearings:

General MAGEE. Always we have had young men in the Army. I believe that our experience will support the belief that young men of 18- and 19- and the 20-year group make splendid soldiers. The best statistics we have on that, of course, would date from and would refer to those groups that we have had in the Army in the World War effort. The few that we have now, and those statistics are not very voluminous, but those that we have indicate that the morbidity rate for men in the 18- and 19-year group is as good, in fact, a little better than for the age groups just a little bit above, all the way up to 40.

Dr. Fenton asked the question:

I thought it would be advisable to go into all of these various aspects rather than have the criticism heaped upon us that we did not go into it.

General Magee replied:

General MAGEE. Of course, a complete answer to that would rest upon a very thorough statistical study of a large number broken down into the several categories that were mentioned. But the over-all figures we have indicate as I said before that the health in general of young men is fully equal to that of older groups; that they stand warfare in a better manner in military service.

Let me give a further bit of information. A press statement was released yesterday by Mrs. Ruth Mathebat, national president of the American Legion Auxiliary. She said:

Inasmuch as I speak for many thousands of patriotic mothers, I decided to come to Washington and personally acquaint myself with the War Department program in regard to the induction of 18- and 19-year-old men into the Army. I am now fully familiar with that program, the provisions of the so-called Gurney-Wadsworth bill as it was introduced, and the War Department's comments thereon. I wish to say that I am unreservedly in favor

of that program as a necessary measure to win this war.

Further, I feel that the matter is of such urgency that no attempt should be made through legislation to limit the provisions of the original bill, either by setting up special privileges such as deferment in colleges or by restricting the training program.

Further word comes today from the Chief of Staff of the Army. The Chief of Staff has said that fully 500,000 of these men will go into the Air Force, mostly as mechanics and ground-crew personnel. If the Army cannot use them with the Air Forces for 12 months, the Air Force program will probably be completely emasculated, because it will be necessary to wreck existing units in order to get the older men to put in the groups going overseas 6 months from now. Air mechanics can be trained in from 4 to 6 months. This restriction would prevent their use for another 6 months after they had completed their training. After careful consideration, the Army advises that the adoption of this amendment would so hamstring it that it would be extremely doubtful if it could meet its commitments, particularly with respect to the air units, for impending operations.

In the past few days we have referred to some extent to football teams. Several Senators have used the football team as an illustration. This amendment is the equivalent of blowing the whistle and telling the enemies that "time is out" indefinitely and that we cannot go on with the war until we have had a year to train the men we are going to get.

It means either too old or too late. If the amendment is adopted, the Army will be forced to complete its organizations with men too old efficiently to do the job, or wait for the lapse of a year's time before it can fight.

Mr. President, we all want to get the war over as soon as we can. The advocates of "action now" will do well to weigh these restrictive amendments very carefully before assuming the responsibility therefor. If this bill is passed, with the 12 months training restriction, we had better quit talking about "action now," or a second front.

Following the football theory a little further, and speaking about the coach being allowed to bring in substitutes to fill the ranks of an already constituted team, there is another official on the football field. He is the referee. In this case Congress is the referee. Congress must take the responsibility for blowing the whistle and stopping the world-wide football game for 6 or 12 months.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. We all know that when a convoy of many ships starts across the Atlantic or the Pacific Ocean, it can travel no faster than the slowest vessel in the convoy.

Mr. GURNEY. That is true.

Mr. BARKLEY. The experience of the Army is that in any given thousand men drawn into the Army by the Selective Service Act, about one-third of the men



are physically perfect and mentally alert. Another third are not physically perfect, but must be trained. Some of them are too fat and must be trained down; some of them are too lean and must be fed up. Still another third will fall in a third category. The effect of the amendment upon which we are about to vote would be to slow down the processing of the entire thousand men to the level of the most inefficient third; and the first third, who are physically perfect and mentally alert, and might be trained in half the time required to train the last third, would have to slow down and wait until the last third had been trained. Is not that a fair picture of the situation?

Mr. GURNEY. As I see it, it is. As the Senator has so ably said, that would slow down the whole unit, and in the same way slow down the whole effort.

I believe that those who are sincerely supporting the amendment have in their minds and hearts a desire to keep 18- and 19-year-old boys from getting into combat service too soon, in order to cut down the casualties. I am sure that is what they are thinking about. However, I believe they are seeking the objective from the wrong angle, because the passage of this bill would not stop the war. It would go right on just the same. If we do not keep fighting, the enemy will come after us. Instead of putting a certain percentage of the younger men in each unit, the Chief of Staff would be compelled to put them all in the same group and segregate them into a younger fighting unit. What would happen? Let us follow it through. When that unit is trained, all those youngsters will be in one place, and there will be a tremendous number of casualties in that one age group.

Therefore, I ask my colleagues to think sincerely and carefully before casting their votes in favor of the pending amendment or any similar amendment.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I certainly would not detain the Senate when I myself am so anxious to vote, except for the fact that I have this morning received a telegram from our colleague, my old-time friend the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD]. He asked me to read it to the Senate, and I desire to do so. It was sent from Jasper, Ala., is dated today, and is addressed to me:

JASPER, ALA., October 24, 1942.

Senator KENNETH McKELLAR,  
Washington, D. C.:

I deeply regret that I am unable to be there to express my support of the Norris amendment which prohibits sending our 18- and 19-year-old boys into foreign service until they have had the benefit of at least 1 year's active training. The mere fact that these boys must be selected for active service is one of the saddest tragedies to me of our entire war experience. I have consistently supported the President's war program and have voted for every appropriation that has been requested for war uses. I have respect for our Army war officials but I cannot bring myself to believe that they are all-wise in this matter of dealing with the tender youths of our country. The insistence that these teenage boys make better soldiers than those a few years older is based largely upon the fact that their youth and enthusiasm lead them into rash and excessively dangerous activities in martial combat. The very thing that causes them to be considered the best ma-

terial for active warfare should at the same time, in a decent consideration of their lives, require ample and adequate training to enable them to avoid, as far as possible, unnecessary dangers. I fear that we cannot continue as an adequate arsenal for the democracies of the world as well as equipping and training and transporting to the world's battlefields one of the largest armies in existence. A decision on the dividing line between manpower for production and manpower for battlefields must be made. If the 18- and 19-year-old boys are to be taken from their homes and from schools it would be better to work them for a season in the production plants of this country and at the same time require them to take some of the military training that they should have. If the Army does not intend to send these boys abroad with a year's training then Congress should do its duty to the boys and to future society by saying to the Army "You must not take them abroad until they have had 1 year of combat training." Please read this statement to the Senate.

J. H. BANKHEAD.

Mr. BILBO obtained the floor.

Mr. ROSIER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. ROSIER. The proponents of the measure have referred to a football team as an illustration. I wish to remind all my colleagues that every college athlete in this country knows that a boy is not permitted to play on the varsity team until he has served 1 year as a freshman athlete. I think everyone who has had any experience with college activities knows that it is an invariable rule that a boy must play for a year on the freshman team before he can play on the varsity.

Mr. GUFFEY. Mr. President, I desire to ask the Senator from West Virginia a question, if the Senator from Mississippi will yield to me.

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. GUFFEY. Was the rule just referred to adopted to improve the quality of athletes? It is my recollection that when I was in college that was the aim and the purpose of the rule. It did help some.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, I should like to speak very briefly before the Senate votes. I think it is clearly understood that I am opposed to the pending bill in toto, and after the vote on the amendment, I shall address myself to the bill.

However, in reference to the amendment now pending I wish to say that I shall vote for the substitute offered by the Senator from Texas. If that fails, I shall vote for the original amendment offered by the Senator from Nebraska. I shall try to improve the bill as much as I can, and then I shall try to kill it. [Laughter.]

Much has been said about training the boys a year before they are permitted to be sent beyond the boundaries of continental United States. There is no use trying to fool ourselves. No Member of the Senate expects any battle to be fought on United States territory. We hope that all the fighting we do—and I think I am safe in prophesying that such will be the case—will be fought on foreign lands; and the question is purely one of shipping the boys abroad to help England carry on the battle.

I am surprised that my good friend the junior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. GURNEY] is opposing either the substitute or the original amendment, because I have just received from a friend of mine in Virginia a copy of a letter which he sent over the country, in which he takes the position taken by all those who are advocating the adoption of the substitute amendment or the original amendment. It is such a splendid letter that I desire to read it into the RECORD.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1942.

Mrs. HARRY W. HOLLAND,  
Danville, Va.

DEAR MRS. HOLLAND: Your letter, objecting to making the 18- and 19-year-old men liable for military service, is quite a natural reaction. Free, peace-loving people cannot possibly approve of any men, old or young, going into battle.

Nevertheless, we are at war. My observation convinces me that it will be a long war and, therefore, the younger men will eventually reach the present age of military service liability before it is over. I think it only fair that they be given a chance to receive a period of thorough training before going into combat.

That is exactly what we propose in the substitute and in the amendment—a period of thorough training. If we do not put such restrictions in the bill, I make the prophecy that some of the 18- and 19-year-old boys will be in a foreign land within less than 13 weeks, and that they will be used as shock troops and Commando troops because they are young, daring, reckless, foolhardy, and will take any risk.

I read further from the letter:

The only way to assure them of this training, and thus make them seasoned soldiers capable of taking care of themselves against professionals in the enemy ranks, is to start them early.

In other words, that is the contention of every Senator on this floor in urging the adoption of these restrictions—that we send seasoned, well-trained men to meet the professionals who have had from 2 to 4 years' training in Japan and in Germany.

I want to congratulate the Senator on the splendid position he has taken in his letter, even if in it he does contradict his present position.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Will the Senator inform us who signed the letter?

Mr. BILBO. The letter concludes:

I sincerely appreciate your writing to me on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

CHAN GURNEY.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. GURNEY. I say give the young men a fighting chance.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I know that all Senators are anxious to vote, and I shall detain them for only one moment.

The Senator from South Dakota just quoted the Surgeon General with refer-



ence to the effect of service on men of varying ages. In that connection, in order to complete the record, I desire to quote from volume X, section II, chapter VIII, page 430 of a volume prepared by the Medical Department of the United States Army in publishing a series of studies on its experience in the first World War, and dealing with the subject of neuropsychiatry:

These figures reveal a marked disproportion between the admissions to the hospital of men under 21 and their number in the Army at large, 77 percent more men from this group being admitted to the hospital than their proportion in the Army would lead us to expect; that is, there was a marked tendency for men under 21 to develop neurosis in greater numbers than their proportion in the Army would warrant.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL], in the nature of a substitute for the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] as modified. On this question the yeas and nays have been demanded and ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BARKLEY (when Mr. CHANDLER's name was called). I announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague [Mr. CHANDLER] because of a death. He has a general pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS]. If my colleague were present, he would vote "nay."

Mr. HILL (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. BROOKS]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. TRUMAN] and will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. MURDOCK (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE], and will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. RADCLIFFE (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the junior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS], and will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. O'MAHONEY (when the name of Mr. SCHWARTZ was called). I announce that my colleague [Mr. SCHWARTZ] is unavoidably absent. If present he would vote "yea."

Mr. MCKELLAR (when Mr. STEWART's name was called). The junior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. STEWART] is unavoidably detained from the Senate. If he were present he would vote "yea." He has a pair with the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. TUNNELL].

Mr. THOMAS of Utah (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES]. I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. HUGHES], and will vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. TUNNELL (when his name was called). I have a pair with the junior Senator from Tennessee Mr. [STEWART], who, as I understand, if present, would

vote "yea." If I were permitted to vote I should vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HILL. My colleague the senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD] is unavoidably absent. If present and voting he would vote "yea."

The senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN] is necessarily absent. I am advised, if present and voting, he would vote "yea."

I further announce that the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] is detained on important public business. I am advised that if present and voting he would vote "nay."

The senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HUGHES] are absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from Iowa [Mr. HERRING], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. BROWN], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. TRUMAN] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE] is absent on official business in connection with the duties of the Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program.

The Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] has been called from the Senate on important public business. He asked me to state that he was in favor of the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS].

Mr. MCFARLAND. The junior Senator from Nevada [Mr. BUNKER] is unavoidably absent. I am informed that, if present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. McNARY I desire to make the following announcement: The senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], whose pair has already been announced, if present, would vote "yea."

The junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY] is necessarily absent on a public matter.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], whose pair has been announced, would, if present, vote "yea."

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BARBOUR] is paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD]. If present, the Senator from New Jersey would vote "yea."

My colleague the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. HOLMAN] is necessarily absent. If present, he would vote "yea."

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. BROOKS], whose pair has been announced, would, if present, vote "yea."

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY], whose pair has been announced, would, if present, vote "yea."

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS], whose pair has been announced, would, if present, vote "yea."

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKIN] is necessarily absent.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS] are absent on public business.

The result was announced—yeas 39, nays 31, as follows:

## YEAS—39

Aiken	Ellender	O'Mahoney
Andrews	George	Reed
Bailey	Gillette	Rosier
Bilbo	Johnson, Calif.	Shipstead
Bulow	Langer	Smith
Butler	Lucas	Spencer
Capper	McFarland	Taft
Chavez	McKellar	Thomas, Idaho
Clark, Idaho	McNary	Thomas, Okla.
Clark, Mo.	Maloney	Van Nuys
Danaher	Norris	Walsh
Downey	Nye	Wheeler
Doxey	O'Daniel	Willis

## NAYS—31

Austin	Gurney	Radcliffe
Ball	Hatch	Reynolds
Barkley	Hayden	Smathers
Bone	Hill	Thomas, Utah
Brewster	Lee	Tydings
Burton	Lodge	Vandenberg
Caraway	Maybank	Wagner
Connally	Mead	Wallgren
Gerry	Murdoch	White
Green	Overton	
Guffey	Pepper	

## NOT VOTING—26

Bankhead	Glass	Murray
Barbour	Herring	Russell
Bridges	Holman	Schwartz
Brooks	Hughes	Stewart
Brown	Johnson, Colo.	Tobey
Bunker	Kilgore	Truman
Byrd	La Follette	Tunnell
Chandler	McCarran	Wiley
Davis	Millikin	

So the amendment of Mr. O'DANIEL in the nature of a substitute for the amendment of Mr. NORRIS was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question recurs on agreeing to the so-called Norris amendment, as amended.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the amendment as amended was agreed to be reconsidered.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. BILBO obtained the floor.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, as I announced earlier in the afternoon, I think it is the unanimous desire of the Members of the Senate that the pending bill be disposed of today, and in the interest of accomplishing that purpose, I ask unanimous consent that during the further consideration of the bill no Senator shall speak more than once or longer than 15 minutes on any amendment, on any amendment thereto, on the bill, or on any motion pertaining thereto, until final passage.

Mr. McNARY. I wish to express the hope that the agreement may be entered into.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. BILBO. There was so much noise I did not hear what the proposal was.

Mr. BARKLEY. The request was that during the further consideration of the bill no Senator should speak more than once or longer than 15 minutes on any amendment, or any amendment to an amendment, on the bill, or on any motion pertaining to the bill, until final passage.

Mr. BILBO. I had already taken the floor. Would the agreement cover my remarks?

Mr. BARKLEY. I am sure the Senator from Mississippi would be glad to



be included in whatever is the unanimous wish of his colleagues.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Kentucky? The Chair hears none, and the agreement is made.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, it is with deep and profound regret that I am compelled to register my opposition and give expression to my reasons for objecting to the request and demand of the chiefs of our Army and Navy to draft and induct at this time into our armed forces for combat service in the present global war the youth of our country within the ages of 18 and 19 years.

I am not unmindful of the fact that anything I may say or do will have little effect in stopping or retarding the Congress or the country, which have been stampeded into making what, in my heart and conscience, I believe to be a sad, tragic, and irreparable mistake in the prosecution of this war.

If this country were being invaded, or if there were any shortage in the reservoir of manpower within the military ages of 20 to 44, inclusive, as already established by the conscript acts of Congress, I, no doubt, would be willing to vote for the pending bill, but this war is not going to be fought on this continent. This war will be lost or won in the air, on the sea, and on the land, in foreign countries. But let it be understood that I am not entertaining any doubts about ultimate victory.

However, in my honest opinion the war will last from 5 to 10 years. As someone has said, we are not yet ankle deep in the war. We are not yet prepared to fight the war. We are not yet properly organized to prosecute the war.

Personally, I believe we are going to have to resort to total mobilization, even if such a step is totally out of harmony with our democratic ideals and the American way of life. I have felt so strongly the inevitable necessity of total mobilization that on March 23, 1942, I introduced the first total mobilization bill, and spoke at length on the imperative need of such an act, and I ask unanimous consent that my address on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD at this time, because the soundness of what I said has become more and more evident the deeper we have become involved in this world conflict.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

(The address referred to will be found under the proper heading in the Appendix.)

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, I would not be so presumptuous as to venture a suggestion as to military strategy and the planning of the campaigns to be waged by our air, sea, and land forces. That is the duty and responsibility of the Commander in Chief and the heads of the Army, Navy, and Air Forces, but as one of the Representatives of my State and a Member of the Congress, I have a duty, and I have the right to give expression to my views and vote my convictions in providing the means in money, men, and re-

sources which our military experts must use to prosecute this war successfully.

We are told by the military leaders of our Army that they plan to train and equip an armed force of 7,500,000 by December 1943, and they frankly admit that there is no shortage in the reservoir of manpower that is already registered and waiting to be drafted.

In this connection I wish to read from the hearing to substantiate what I have stated. I was present at the hearings of the Committee on Military Affairs, although not a member of the committee. By the gracious kindness and hospitality of the chairman of the committee, the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS], I was permitted to ask some questions, and I read the following from the testimony of General McNarney:

Senator BILBO. General, I want to get clear in my mind one fact. It is not that you are short in the reservoir that you have been drawing from that will make the Army, at the end of 1943, 7,500,000, the manpower is there and you can get it under the present draft law; but what you are after is this younger blood, is that it?

General McNARNEY. That is correct.

Mr. President, it is well known to all that there are millions of young men, many of them single, who have not yet been called and inducted into the armed forces of our country. Hundreds of thousands of these young men, many of whom are unmarried, have been deferred for various and sundry reasons, and in many cases for reasons that will not stand the acid test, with the country at war to the death.

These young men are not essential in the ranks of the home front, because men not within the military age, and the patriotic womanhood of the country, who are anxious to serve, could just as well fill their places so that they could be inducted into the combat service of the Nation.

The time has come when this "monkey business" with the draft must stop. The time has come when that trite old saying, found in all the old copywriting books of the Nation, is a thousand times true: "Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of their country." No young man's place is so essential but that it can be properly and efficiently filled by some older man or patriotic woman.

The young Government clerks, the glamour boys and girls, must be rounded up and made to work and fight for their country. The drug-store cowboys, and sons and daughters of the rich, as well as the poor, must be made to realize that they have to work and fight to save their country. The young and able-bodied men within the military ages, as already prescribed, even if they are married and with children, must be told that it is their patriotic duty to get into this war at once, and begin to fight for themselves, their wives, and their children. The Congress has made adequate provision to take care of the wives, children, and other dependents of every man who is inducted into the service. We must either do this or lose this war.

A married man, even with a family, has two or three times more to fight for than a teen-age boy, who is either in school, or should be in school, preparing himself for the duties and responsibilities of this war and of the country after the war is won.

Yes; the chiefs of our Army and Navy tell us that there is no shortage of manpower, but they want these 18- and 19-year-old schoolboys because they are young, daring, dashing, reckless, foolhardy, and will do and die because they are not developed enough in mind and thought to even protect their own lives. Common sense tells us that an immature mind is a risky proposition in any situation, and I can imagine situations where the immature, reckless eagerness for action of an 18- or 19-year-old boy would result in jeopardizing the lives of hundreds because a thoughtless boy went off half-cocked.

No one questions the daring, valor, and courage of the American youth, but maturity of thought and mind and caution are sometimes just as essential in a battle as action and courage.

General Hershey, Director of the Selective Service System, has been doing a wonderful job, but he admits frankly that many mistakes have been made in the enforcement of the draft law. Let it be said to his credit that he is not altogether responsible for some of the most serious mistakes made.

The rule of the Army by which they have heretofore rejected all the men below the fourth grade in literacy is, to my mind, an inexcusable mistake. It is from this class of illiterate and partially illiterate that some of the Nation's greatest military heroes have come. To continue to enforce this regulation means that we do not want any more General Nathan Bedford Forrests or Alvin Yorks in our Army, because under the present rule both of these great heroes would have been rejected.

Any citizen of this country of sound mind who can talk, can take and understand orders given to him, and can carry orders, and in this class will be found some of the finest specimens of physical manhood, and they will make great fighters. It is not absolutely necessary that a man be able to read and write before he can be trained to shoot straight and kill a Jap or a German.

Again, the Army has been rejecting by the hundreds of thousands young men because they have syphilis or some other venereal disease. There is no good reason why this should be done, because these men can be very easily isolated and treated in the Army camps and cured while their training is in progress. There may be one out of a thousand who could not be cured.

In many States and many sections of the country where the Negro race predominates few Negroes are being inducted because of the literacy test and the prevalence of venereal diseases. This fact is especially true in some of the Southern States and in the congested Negro sections of some of the larger cities of the country.



The draft law has been so administered in my home State of Mississippi, where the population of whites and blacks is equal, that practically all the whites have been inducted into the service, and the young, able-bodied Negroes have been rejected, either because of the literacy test, or because of venereal diseases. Out of 1,000,000 Negroes in my State 250,000 of them have venereal diseases.

I want to read here a telegram from the executive secretary of the State Board of Health in Mississippi, which proves the truth of my statements:

JACKSON, MISS., October 1, 1942.  
Senator THEODORE G. BILBO,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.:

Two hundred and fifty thousand cases syphilis among Negroes. Thirty thousand cases in white population. Out of 80,000 selectees 12,000 rejected account venereal diseases. Two hundred and fifty women infected with venereal diseases are in need of isolation detention and treatment immediately.

FELIX J. UNDERWOOD.

The Army may claim that they have no facilities for treatment of venereal diseases, and this may be true at the present time, but the Army has been provided with sufficient funds to do whatever is necessary for the prosecution of the war. Therefore, the Army should lose no time in providing adequate quarters for this purpose.

It is a sad commentary, and I regret to make it, but since the Army has been rejecting the Negroes of my State because they have syphilis, many young Negroes who do not want to go to the war have gone out looking for syphilis.

The drafting of men to fight a war is nothing new in the history of the world. The first conscript army in recorded history will be found in the Fourth Book of Moses, commonly called Numbers, beginning with the first chapter:

And Jehovah spake unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, in the tent of meeting, on the first day of the second month, in the second year after they were come out of the land of Egypt, saying, Take ye the sum of all the congregation of the children of Israel, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, every male, by their polls; from 20 years old and upward, all that are able to go forth to war in Israel, thou and Aaron shall number them by their hosts.

By this first draft, by the order of God to Moses and Aaron, the Israelites raised an army of 603,550 and no male was conscripted unless he was 20 years old or upward, and was able to go forth to war in Israel.

I believe that the order of Jehovah to Moses and Aaron to draft only the males from 20 years old and upward, was sound many thousands of years ago, and it is just as sane and sound today.

I have offered the following amendment to the bill which, if adopted, will be acceptable to the fathers and mothers of America:

At the end of the bill insert the following new section:

"SEC. —. Section 3 of such act, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(g) Persons inducted into the land and naval forces under the provisions of this act who are of the ages of 18 and 19 shall be assigned to duty in educational institutions, in which facilities for military training have been provided pursuant to this section, where they shall be permitted until they reach the age of 20 to continue their educational pursuits while receiving basic military training. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy shall designate an appropriate number of either elementary or high schools, colleges, and universities and shall furnish such schools and colleges such equipment, facilities, and instructors as may be necessary for the purpose of providing such military training. All costs of such training and education shall be borne by the United States and persons so assigned shall be entitled to the same pay and allowances which they would receive if they were assigned to regular active duty. Nothing in this section shall be construed to prevent the voluntary enlistment of men under the age of 20 for regular training and service, providing the person voluntarily enlisting secures the written consent of one or more of his parents or his guardian."

The amendment is on the table, and I shall call it up after I conclude my remarks.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 2 minutes more on the amendment.

MR. BILBO. Mr. President, personally I have always believed in universal military training, and I trust that before this war is over the Congress will enact legislation that will put this country upon a universal military training basis. Japan has had universal military training since 1875, and to my mind that is one reason why the Japanese have the best soldiers in Europe or Asia. The Japanese soldiers are also educated. Their literacy rating is higher than that of our Army.

Universal military training does not mean that the education of our youth will be neglected, but I rather believe it would enhance the cause of public education among the masses. This in itself would be well for the future of our country.

Mr. President, I shall not have time to finish the speech I had prepared. I now ask that my amendment be read at the desk.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be read.

THE CHIEF CLERK. At the end of the bill it is proposed to insert the following new section:

SEC. —. Section 3 of such act, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(g) Persons inducted into the land and naval forces under the provisions of this act who are of the ages of 18 and 19 shall be assigned to duty in educational institutions, in which facilities for military training have been provided pursuant to this section, where they shall be permitted until they reach the age of 20 to continue their educational pursuits while receiving basic military training. In any case, every selectee under this act shall receive at least 6 months' literary and military training. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy shall establish or designate, or both, an appropriate number of either elementary or high schools, colleges, and universities and shall furnish such schools and colleges such equipment, facilities, and instructors as may be necessary for the purpose of providing such military training. All costs of such training and education shall be borne by the United States, and persons so

assigned shall be entitled to the same pay and allowances which they would receive if they were assigned to regular active duty. Nothing in this section shall be construed to prevent the voluntary enlistment of men under the age of 20 for regular training and service, providing the person voluntarily enlisting secures the written consent of one or more of his parents or his guardian."

MR. BILBO. Mr. President, I believe I have 2 minutes more on the bill. I shall use those 2 minutes and then will take 15 minutes on the amendment which I have offered. That gives me a total of 17 minutes, and I ask the Chair to keep a record of my time, please.

Since this war is going to last a long time, and it must last until we win it, I can see no harm coming to the teenage youth of our Nation by inducting them into the Army at 18 or 19, and have them classified, and utilize the high schools, junior colleges, colleges, and universities of the Nation for the further education of these 18- and 19-year-old boys, and at the same time give them basic military training so that they can be inducted into combat service upon reaching the biblical military age of 20.

Mr. President, I have listened very carefully to the extended debate on the question of training these boys for a year, and have heard nothing said about educating them or permitting them to finish their education. It is a fact well known to the people of the country that all our junior colleges, our colleges, and our universities are withering up. Many of them will be obliged to close their doors and go out of business because so many young men have left and volunteered in the military service, or left to work in munitions plants or in other Government production industries. The colleges are having a hard struggle. If we want to save the educational system of the country and keep the schools going it will be necessary to adopt my amendment, by which the Army will be directed to take the boys who are inducted, and classify them, and then designate the schools, colleges, and universities to which boys of certain classes shall be sent, where the Government shall provide the military facilities and instructors, and they can finish their education and receive basic military training at the same time.

Speaking about football, I wish to say that the most rigid training in the world is that given to a football team. I have played on a football team and I know. The fact that a boy is being trained after school hours to play football does not mean that it will interfere with his educational progress. That is true of any military school. The boys at West Point are given a military training while they are pursuing their educational training.

I am sure the colleges of the Nation will be glad to accept this opportunity of making a great contribution to the war effort. The Federal Government can well afford to pay for the education of these teen-age boys in the schools of our country, as it will make them better soldiers, and while they are being thus given literary training at the same time they will be well grounded in basic military training.



We have an adequate number of Army officers and Army men who are too old for active military service, who will be happy to be assigned to the schools throughout the Nation to carry on the basic military training of these boys, while at the same time they are being given a chance to secure an education before induction into a war that will last, God only knows, how long.

To take a young boy at 18 or 19 who has not had an opportunity to finish his education—and many of them will not even have had an opportunity to finish high school—and induct him into the Army without this opportunity of securing an education for life, is so unfair and discriminatory that it is almost criminal, especially when we consider that the boys and men 20 years old and upward have had their day in school. When the war is over, they will have been prepared for life.

After the war only a few of these teen-age boys will ever go back to the schoolroom when they come home from the war, and they will, therefore, go through life with this great handicap, and certainly they will not be qualified to make as great leaders of the future or contribute as much to the public welfare and community life of the Nation as they would if they had been given an opportunity to secure an education, as my amendment provides.

In other words, these boys are not being treated properly. Men from 20 to 44 years of age have had their day in school. They have had their chance to prepare themselves for life, to finish school, to get their college degrees. But it is proposed to yank these boys into the Army, without giving them a chance to finish their school education. They will then go through life with this handicap. A dirty deal is going to be given to these boys whom some persons are in such a rush to put into the Army.

It is true that our enemies of the totalitarian governments, such as Japan, Italy, and Germany, trained and inducted the teen-age boys even from 16 years old and up, and made cannon fodder out of them, but that is not the American way; that is not the democratic way. We have some regard for youth and for the ideals of Christian humanity.

Mr. President, I wish to read a dispatch from old England as follows:

Registration in British universities has fallen from the 1939 figure of 50,000 students to 37,000, but the number of women enrolled remains almost the same—11,000.

Men students in nontechnical subjects are allowed 1 year's deferment above the calling-up age—18½ years—

It has been changed to 18 years now—provided that they undertake fairly rigorous military training. Science and technical students are given deferment for 2 or more years, and medical students for 5 years. A "war degree" is granted by most universities after 2 years' attendance, plus satisfactory subsequent national service.

Women at the age of 20 are now subject to conscription as auxiliaries in the armed forces. They are normally granted deferment only until the end of the academic year in which they reach their twentieth birthday. They may stay for 1 more year if they proceed immediately after graduation to an approved technical or higher course.

Both men and women students at teachers' training colleges receive the same deferments as for scientists.

All students and staff members are liable for 12 hours of fire watching or other A. R. P. work per week. Many put in heavy additional volunteer duties.

Special courses, known as State bursaries, have been added at Government request, ranging from 6 months to 2 years, and from radio physics to oriental languages. There are also special short courses in statistics, personnel management for women, tropical and war-time medicine, and special preparatory work for students wishing to enter the engineers, artillery, signal, or armored corps.

In other words, England, which has been in the war for 3 years, is just now calling up the 18-year-olds, and yet England is providing for their education. We propose to call out our 18- and 19-year-old boys, but are doing nothing about deferring them so as to enable them to prepare and finish their education.

Again I repeat that I regret to take issue with many of my colleagues and with the chiefs of our Army and Navy but in the name of humanity and in good conscience I am compelled to take this stand; otherwise, I would have to stultify every conviction that I have concerning the welfare and lives of the young boys of my country.

In taking this stand let no one say that I am doing so with any desire to disseminate disunity among the people of the country in time of war, for every Member of this body can bear witness to the effect that since I reached the Senate in 1935 I have voted for every dollar to enlarge and expand our Army, Navy, and Air Forces. In fact, I was elected in 1934 on a platform that committed me to work and vote to give our country the greatest Army, Navy, and Air Force of any nation on earth. I have voted to tax the people to provide the funds with which to fight this war. I have voted to surrender the powers of the Congress to the Commander in Chief to enable him to prosecute this war—and perhaps I have overdone that.

I have left nothing undone in my record in contributing my all to the winning of this war at the earliest possible moment and at the least cost in dollars and loss of lives. But not being convinced that the success or failure of this war depends upon this legislation I cannot, I will not, vote to put these immature, undeveloped, physically and mentally, youth of our country on the battlefields in foreign countries, where I know that they will be used for shock troops and Commando forces. I care not what course others may pursue, but the blood of these young boys will not be upon my conscience.

Mr. President, as a part of my remarks, and in line with the observations which I have made, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks an article from the Washington Daily News of Friday, October 23, 1942, under the headline:

United States quarantine urged. Prostitutes "guarantee" to infect draft dodgers.

The article says:

HOT SPRINGS, ARK., October 23.—Surgeon General Thomas Parran told the National Ve-

neral Disease Control Conference yesterday that prostitutes have been guaranteeing infection to men seeking military service deferment.

That is also happening in the "black belt" of Chicago.

The disclosure by Parran was followed by a recommendation that prostitutes be quarantined and treated to prepare them for work in war industries.

Parran said 120,000 men previously rejected for military service because of syphilis infection would be inducted soon after completing treatment.

I ask that the entire article be incorporated in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks, for the information of the country.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Daily News of October 23, 1942]

UNITED STATES QUARANTINE URGED—PROSTITUTES "GUARANTEE" TO INFECT DRAFT DODGER

HOT SPRINGS, ARK., October 23.—Surgeon General Thomas Parran told a National Venereal Disease Control Conference yesterday that prostitutes have been guaranteeing infection to men seeking military service deferment.

The disclosure by Parran was followed by a recommendation that prostitutes be quarantined and treated to prepare them for work in war industries.

Parran said 120,000 men previously rejected for military service because of syphilis infection would be inducted soon after completing treatment.

#### QUARANTINE NEEDED

The conference, sponsored by the United States Public Health Service, drew nearly 300 medical officers from every branch of the armed services in addition to many city and State officials vitally interested in the problems of disease control.

Parran said that quarantine of prostitutes was the urgent need of the moment because here is a source of womanpower badly needed in the war effort. "The job of controlling syphilis and gonorrhea is so big," he said, "that no one agency can lick it alone."

Lt. Col. Richard H. Eanes, Assistant Director of the Selective Service Medical Division, said that rather than fight for their country some men had been known to deliberately contract gonorrhea for the second time.

The Selective Service organization thus far has turned up 284,000 cases of syphilis and 71,000 cases of gonorrhea, he said. Syphilis was the primary cause for rejection of 120,000 men, while gonorrhea accounted for 30,000.

#### CONDITIONS "SHOCKING"

Capt. C. S. Stevenson, of the Navy Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, said that conditions in Pensacola, Fla., were "shocking."

Lt. Col. T. B. Turner, of the Preventative Medicine Division of the Army, said that licensed brothels gave medical officers less trouble than "call girls, pick-ups, and bar flies."

Other highlights of the day's disclosures included:

1. Venereal diseases in 20 leading cities cost more than 62,106 man-days of work.

2. Half the licensed prostitutes in one large Navy city were found to be suffering from syphilis, gonorrhea, or both, a constant source of infection for men in service.

3. Members of draft boards have been censured for leaving "apparently healthy" men at home while drafting others, unable to



reveal that those deferred were being treated for venereal infections.

4. Men now past the contagious stage will be inducted as rapidly as possible.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, in this connection I have received many telegrams and letters, not only from my own State but from practically every State in the Union. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed as a part of my remarks, because they cover the points which I had proposed to discuss with the Senate if the time had not been limited. I wish to have them appear as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the letters and telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COHOES, N. Y.

HON. THEODORE G. BILBO,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I am enclosing a news clipping that will be of interest to you. It would appear that England always can be depended upon to look out for her own. It is small wonder that George Bernard Shaw once said that Americans were boobs.

Very truly yours,

WALTER LEAVY.

#### ENGLAND WILL DRAFT 18-YEAR-OLD YOUTHS

LONDON.—King George, in the presence of South African Minister Jan C. Smuts and Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labor and National Service, signed a proclamation at Buckingham Palace today making 18-year-old youths eligible for military service.

Bevin, disclosing the action in the House of Commons, emphasized that the young class would not be required to serve abroad.

"We propose to register November 7 those who have reached the age of 18 between July 1 and September 30, inclusive," he said. "They will be medically examined later in the month and called up as required.

"Many of them may expect to join the services in December."

Who's Who in America,  
Chicago, October 15, 1942.

The Honorable THEODORE G. BILBO,  
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Since its establishment Who's Who in America has been primarily directed to the compilation of mental achievement—material achievement has never, in other words, been its yardstick—and I imagine this fact is largely responsible for our interest—for nearly a half century now—in private educational institutions, and in more recent years in their pressing specific problems, including endowment incomes.

It follows that we are at the moment keenly interested, as surely are many others, in these schools being enabled to serve the country's needs mentioned in the attached clipping quoting General Somervell, and in their having this opportunity without being taken over by the Government, forced into insolvency by educational facilities completely dominated by State or Federal funds, or eliminated by the military undertaking instruction they can readily provide. We believe the country owes a very real debt to the private educational institutions because of the statesmanship, leadership, and character they create for us—8 of the last 13 Presidents were educated in small institutions, for example.

The pending legislation lowering conscription to the eighteenth birthday involves many problems for these institutions. They can most effectively make of their classrooms the "citadels" General Somervell envisions if this legislation is enacted with their facili-

ties recognized in at least general terms prescribing educational deferment that is in the country's interest. In this connection you may be interested in the British practices—the item enclosed is from England's Bulletins from Britain—which provide for calling young men up in their nineteenth year (at 18½) and allows thereafter a 1-year educational deferment on a fairly general basis. English young women are not normally conscripted until the end of the academic year in which the twentieth birthday falls, and an additional scholastic year is then permitted under suitable restrictions. (These are general provisions totally aside from the 2-to-5-year deferments thrown around English students following courses of study particularly important in the wartime emergency.)

Yours sincerely,

WHEELER SAMMONS, Publisher.

Lt. Gen. Brehon B. Somervell told them the war might be won or lost in the schools. The Army, he said, is dangerously short of technically trained men. Example: though the Army needs 4,689 trained radio operators in every 300,000 men inducted, it is getting only 135. In an army of 4,000,000 there is a shortage of 139,160 auto mechanics, a total shortage of 838,040 specialists.

Said Somervell: "Let us be realistic. Every able-bodied boy is destined at the appointed age for the armed services. It is the job of the schools and colleges to provide the opportunity for every youth to equip himself for a place in winning the war. You must do this regardless of cost, time, inconvenience, the temporary sidetracking of nonwar objectives, or even the temporary scrapping of peacetime courses. \* \* \* Every classroom is a citadel."

COMMITTEE ON DRAFTING YOUTH,  
New York, N. Y., October 21, 1942.

HON. THEODORE G. BILBO,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR BILBO: You will agree with me, I think, in regarding the experience of the British with the 18- and 19-year-olds as not without significance for us because of their longer experience in the war. While it is probably true, as Mr. Stoneman says in the enclosed statement, that British boys are apt to be less mature than ours, nevertheless the fact that they have waited until April of this year before drafting their 18-year-olds, despite their desperate need of manpower, should be weighed carefully.

They have drafted their 19-year-olds, to be sure, but they have kept their 18-year-olds as a reserve and the last to be drafted. To quote Mr. Stoneman, "Before these men were finally conscripted, the government had first drawn all available men from age groups between and including the ages of 21 and 41."

May I call your attention again also to the experience of our own Army with neurosis in different age groups in the First World War? The paragraph that I quoted to you in my letter of October 17 deserves repeating:

"These figures reveal a marked disproportion between the admissions to the hospital of men under 21 and their number in the Army at large, 77 percent more men from this group being admitted to the hospital than their proportion in the Army would lead us to expect. That is, there was a marked tendency for men under 21 to develop neurosis in greater numbers than their proportion in the Army would warrant." (Vol. X, sec. II, ch. VIII, p. 430, Studies of the Medical Department of the U. S. Army in the World War, volume on neuropsychiatry.)

As you know from our correspondence, some of us believe that the Army will have great difficulty with many in both the 18-

and 19-year-old groups because of immaturity. While some boys of 18 have the development of men of 20, other boys of 19 are not yet 16 years old in development. I hope that you will give careful consideration to the possibility of placing both age groups in reserve status for essential national service on farms or in industry or to pursue their education, as suggested in the closing paragraph of my letter of the 17th.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE S. STEVENSON, M. D.,  
Secretary.

#### BRITISH LOATH TO CALL YOUTHS OF 18 EXCEPT AS LAST RESORT

(By William H. Stoneman)

LONDON, October 16.—If the American Government calls men of 18 and 19 to the colors, it may profit by the experience of the British with youngsters they have had to summon to the service in both this war and the last.

Boys of 19 have been considered as men in both wars, but 18-year-olds have been reserved until the last possible moment, trained with care and used with caution.

In the last war, boys of 18 were taken into the Army only when terrific casualties on the western front created a definite shortage of manpower. Then, when they were put into uniforms, the rule was to give them a full year of careful physical hardening, followed by 6 months of military drill, before sending them as draftees to depleted units in France. When the 18-year-olds turned up in France in 1918, it was found that they were excellent soldiers, thanks largely to the preparation given them.

#### NINETEEN-YEAR-OLDS TAKEN EARLY

Nineteen-year-olds were caught by the first militia call-up in England in April 1939, before the war began, and they have been serving since. Eighteen-year-olds were not called up until April 18 of this year, 19½ months after the war began, the second section of the 1924 class being summoned August 15. Before these men were finally conscripted, the Government had first drawn all available men from age groups between and including the ages of 21 and 41.

Eighteen-year-old Britishers are not as mature either mentally or physically as boys of corresponding age in the United States, but the rules applied to them may be helpful in deciding how to deal with our young men.

#### YOUNGSTERS NEED HARDENING

Most British officers will agree, in the first place, that boys of this age require a great deal of physical hardening and mental discipline before being thrown into action. A year or more of drill and camp life will make an 18-year-old greenhorn into a tough, frontline 19-year-old and that year is worth the trouble and expense, they believe.

They also believe, in the light of their experience, that it is best to mix 18-year or 19-year-old troops with older men who have learned discipline themselves in private life and can act as wise uncles to the kids in their new military environment.

#### BEST AGE 22 TO 30

As far as fighting qualities in modern warfare are concerned, the British believe that the ideal age for a soldier is somewhere between 22 and 30. A man is physically at his best when he is around 22 or 23, they argue, but he has not achieved the maximum amount of common sense and individual judgment until he has gotten past the 25-year mark.

The fact that they themselves have finally drawn upon 18-year-olds without having reached the low-water mark of British manpower is accounted for, first, by the fact that modern war requires greater supplies of manpower in industry and, second, that the British do not expect to get through this without casualties of serious dimensions.



GREENWOOD, Miss., October 21, 1942.

Hon. THEO. G. BILBO,  
United States Senator,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I am absolutely opposed to drafting children for military purposes, and believe and hope you will do everything in your power to prevent the passage of this bill. It is wrong, and everybody with whom I have discussed it think, too, it is wrong, and believe that it is not yet necessary to do it.

Please give the mothers and fathers of these children your support.

Respectfully yours,

Mrs. J. G. COLSON.

MIAMI, FLA., October 23, 1942.

Hon. THEO. G. BILBO,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.:

Don't vote for 18-year-olds to be precipitated into the war machine for the dubious purpose of reducing to fictitious fighting averages. Physical check-up will show more than 50 percent still suffering; yes, suffering from childhood ailments, such as asthma, croup, food allergy, etc. If you must vote for this unwanted and unnecessary measure, at least insist on liberal deferment for boys showing signs of physical or psychological handicap. Also no combat service before reaching 20. Permit those under 20 to finish school year, also not less than 1 year's military training, and continue enlistments in reserve corps for boys under 20 now attending college selected for officer training, but with definite unconditional guarantee they will be permitted to finish their 4-year course in special subjects. This is a time for you to display your individual courage and earn the everlasting friendship of millions of parents.

FRANK ROSS.

OCTOBER 19, 1942.

Senator BILBO,  
Senator from Mississippi,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: On the strength of your kind and assuring letter of a definite stand against drafting our teen-age boys I have told several friends, who I am sure will write direct and thank you for such stanchness in the face of overwhelming opposition.

Senator BILBO, I pray men of your character will not fail us and the youth of this country. It is a heart-breaking fact that we see portrayed football players, basketball players, Government men, experienced men, and then President Roosevelt asks for our little boys still in schoolrooms without any adequate idea of life, let alone war, on the grounds of necessity. Quite ironical that he wishes to save all the youth of other lands and seems more than willing to sacrifice our very own, and leaves the above-mentioned men to stay at home, not even in service.

Mr. Stimson speaks of an old men's army as does Mr. Marshall—well it seems to me after the blunder at Pearl Harbor with Kimmel and Short they had better clean out their own ranks and perhaps some young men at the head of our military operations might prove satisfactory in more ways than one.

This country was founded on faith—in the name of the God to whom you pray I beg do not send our little boys to war, save them, for Christ himself said anyone who harmed one of these little ones "might better never be born, or that a millstone be tied around his neck and he be cast into the sea." Our teen-age boys are helpless, they cannot vote—but they can be sent out to die for cowardly men, they have no recourse to law, their parents are helpless—their only hope lies with men of your character. Do not fail us. Our prayers and blessing are with you.

My husband spent 16 months abroad in the First World War; he knows what war is—we

are loyal to the ideals of this country, not to the betrayal of its teen-age boys.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. H. M. MILLER,  
Muncie, Ind.

GREATNECK, N. Y., October 23, 1942.

Hon. THEODORE G. BILBO,  
Senate Building, Washington, D. C.:

As a mother I wish to express my deep appreciation of your brave effort to prevent the assignment of teen-age students to active military service.

MAUDE A. GLOVER.

HATTIESBURG, Miss., October 23, 1942.

Senator THEODORE G. BILBO:

Please vote against draft age bill

Mrs. LOUIS S. ZEHNDER.

COLUMBIA MISS., October 22, 1942.

THEODORE G. BILBO,  
Washington, D. C.:

Vote against lowering draft age. Keep boys in school.

Mrs. D. B. CONERLY.

WEST, Miss., October 20, 1942.

SENATOR BILBO,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We farmers have always given you our support, we have never failed to rally in your behalf. We have never asked you for any special favor. We feel like that you are our friend. We have that confidence.

We are asking for once that our boys of 18 and 19 years not to be drafted in this war. We farmers need our boys on the farm. Farm labor cannot be had at present time. We are facing the greatest shortage of food in 1943 that the world has ever known, if this draft takes farm boys off the farm.

You will see our need before the war is lost by food shortage.

Yours truly,

S. C. SANDERS.

GREENWOOD, Miss., October 21, 1942.

Hon. THEODORE BILBO,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BILBO: This is a protest against the drafting of our school children. There are thousands of them who will be taken out of high schools and first-year college and sent to camps surrounded by vice and whisky. The very least that the Congress should do is to remove these vicious things by the proper legislation.

Out of a population of 130,000,000 people why can't the Army raise 5,000,000 men without taking the youth of our Nation?

If we had more young blood in the generals and strategists who now occupy the high places, we would need less in the Army. If all the bills that are so vital to the winning of this war were given the speed that this draft bill has been given, why we would be a long way on our road to victory.

Yours respectfully,

Mrs. L. H. MICHAUX.

NEW AUGUSTA, Miss., October 15, 1942.

Senator BILBO: Again I am appealing to you concerning this drafting of our children, for boys 18 and 19 are still children. I do hope something can be done to keep the bill from passing. I do feel like the older men are more needed to go first. And I'm sure I can't see why they plan to take out the ones always and already trained and having to train more.

Please don't think I don't want things done to try to end this awful war, for I wish we could all wake up and realize that we are at war. But it's so crushing to see our baby boys have to go in and be in the camps where there's so much beer and common vices for them to be tempted with, and seems that anyone could know that older men would be better able to resist all these temptations.

Have they considered raising the draft age and not lowering it so much?

I'm not pessimistic, and no one wants all this over and done with any more than I. Just think if you had an 18-year-old son how much you'd hate to see him have to be subjected to all this.

Can't we do something about this beer and stuff in our Army camps?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. R. W. DAUGHDRILL.

ROSE HILL, Miss., October 20, 1942.

Hon. THEO. G. BILBO,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Am writing you in interest of draft bill. I think it a scandal and shame to take babies out to fight a man's war. I am asking you to use your influence to let these kids finish school before they are put in service. Boys put in service before they finish school will never finish. You know what it will mean to their education. Those that return will not be able to find jobs, as you know we are living in a day when this is a requirement. They are the future hope of our country and should be given a chance with the older boys then. I do hope and trust that our lawmakers will see the need of this act.

Yours truly,

Mrs. L. A. BOULTON.

HANNAH, SIMRALL & FOOTE,  
Hattiesburg, Miss., October 21, 1942.

Hon. THEODORE G. BILBO,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

Hon. WALL JOXEY,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATORS: I wired both of you gentlemen today relative to the drafting of 18- and 19-year-old boys.

First and foremost, let me say that, insofar as I know, I do not have a relative in the world who would be affected by the drafting of the 18- and 19-year-old boys.

Let me say further that very much of what the President says and does, I do not approve of; particularly have I had no patience with his effort to tag "planned economy," "anti-inflation," and "individual savings" onto our effort to try to win this war.

We should go all out to win this war and forget planned economy, anti-inflation, and all of the other damn-foolishness.

We should stop holding an umbrella over laborers who are making more money than they ever made in their lives.

There should be a national sales tax in order to get the money with which to pay for this war.

Coming back to the drafting of the 18- and 19-year-old boys: If these boys are needed to win this war, they should be drafted, but they should not be drafted until these married men without children and under 30 years of age are in the Army, and they should not be drafted until all of these slackers are chased from defense industries—and they should not be drafted until a lot of other deferred slackers in other places are pushed into the Army.

Consequently, the records of the local draft boards should be made public as to every deferment. If the claims and sworn statements of people who seek deferments were made open to public inspection, there would be fewer of these claims and affidavits.

Again, why don't you first exhaust the 20-year-old class before taking the 18- and 19-year-olds?

If the President is interested in planned economy and in individual savings, then why isn't it logical that the 18 and 19-year-olds should be permitted to finish their high school and college training before being slapped into the Army?



By all means, if these boys are going to be pushed into the Army, give them the right to vote.

Cordially yours,

T. C. HANNAH.

P. S.—There is a further report that the physical standards are going to be lowered in order to take these boys in the Army. The physical standards should be raised, rather than lowered, as to these children.

T. C. H.

ROCKVILLE CENTER, LONG ISLAND, N. Y.,  
October 22, 1942.

HON. THEODORE G. BILBO,  
United States Senate,  
Senate Building, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: Every effort should be made to win this war without calling our boys of 18 and 19 years into service, and I do hope you will seriously consider the social as well as the military question before casting your vote.

Let's so equip our armies that it will not be necessary to take these boys in their formative years.

Sincerely yours,

L. R. KUHLMAN.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., October 22, 1942.

HON. THEODORE G. BILBO,  
United States Senate,  
Senate Building, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: Before voting on the conscription of boys 18 and 19 years of age, I hope you will seriously consider the moral and social question as well as the military problem involved.

I do believe that the country can better serve its own interests and its future welfare by making every effort to so equip our armies with the materials of warfare that it will not be necessary to depend upon these young boys in their formative years.

Sincerely yours,

MICHAEL J. HALL.

ANDOVER, N. Y., October 20, 1942.  
Senator THEODORE G. BILBO,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We have noticed from newspaper reports that you opposed lowering the draft age and taking the 18- and 19-year-olds. We certainly admire you for expressing your opinion and trust you will vote on the measure accordingly.

There are quite a number of young married men in this community who have married since the draft and are hiding behind the women's skirts.

It will be a great blow to the rural communities especially and will lower the morale of the people more than anything we know of.

We hope and pray that you will vote for the people and vote "No" against this measure.

Yours truly, a mother and father,

Mr. and Mrs. CHAS. RUGER.

YOUNG WIVES COULD WORK AND RELEASE THEIR MEN

So, they are going to draft 18- and 19-year-old boys. I suppose they must eventually, but it seems to me there is too much bending backward in an effort to spare married men. I don't mean men with children, I mean childless married men who have only wives to support. Why can't these young wives support themselves and release their husbands to do their duty?

I know of many brave women who are working, not only to support themselves, but children and other dependents as well. Not all of them are young. If they can do it, why can't some of our childless wives do the same?

Mrs. J. H. D.

#### ANOTHER WOULD EXHAUST I-A CLASS LIST FIRST

I wonder why Senator GURNEY takes it on himself to speak for the mothers and fathers of 18- and 19-year-olds. I have spoken to many on this question, including those who have no sons in that age limit and none approved. Exhaust the I-A classification first. We know plenty of them have not been called. We also know that many men were married to avoid the draft within the past year. Why make a distinction now about the married men who are healthy?

#### CROSSWORD PUZZLE

#### MOTHER RESENTS TAKING OF THE YOUNGER BOYS

I wonder if other mothers feel the same as I do about our teen-age sons who are in the new draft. The best authorities say that none of these youngsters are physically or mentally fully developed at 18. Plunging them into the carnage of war at this age certainly will ruin their future to the point where it will reflect even in the future generation.

The law upholds this because boys are considered infants regarding the handling of money and property and must have a guardian appointed until they reach 21. Boys are not allowed to vote until the age of 21 because they lack powers of good judgment. How then does our Government consider these youngsters good soldier material?

If I remember correctly, there was great hue and cry in this country about a year ago regarding the tender age of the German boys found frozen on the steppes of Russia. When my boys are 21 I will give them up willingly and gladly.

#### JUST A MOTHER.

#### ANOTHER URGES PARENTS TO PETITION CONGRESS

Why don't mothers and fathers and voters who do not approve of the 18-, 19-year draft bill send telegrams and letters to their Representatives and Senators urging them to defeat it? Why take them instead of the non-essential workers, the young men of draft age who have gone into industry in order to avoid the draft? Also there are the men who have married since the emergency was declared in the hopes that they won't be called into the armed forces.

#### THOROUGHLY PATRIOTIC.

CUBA, N. Y.

AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLISHING CO.,  
Laurel, Miss., May 28, 1942.

The Honorable THEODORE G. BILBO,  
United States Senator,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am entering my sincere protest against any effort to change the present draft laws so as to include boys 18 and 19 years of age in military service.

Such a change in the present laws will not only rob millions of boys of their God-given right to acquire an education at home but will go a long way toward weakening the morale of the people. Shall we rob the cradles so soon in this war?

I am sure you will find that I am expressing the sentiment of thousands of people in this section of the State.

Therefore I am urging you to use your influence against a change in the present laws so as to include boys under 20 years of age.

Yours sincerely,

Rev. D. N. JACKSON.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, May 25, 1942.

DEAR SENATOR: I see in the newspapers that the Selective Service Act is to be revised to include youngsters of 18 years. Why take

in the children? No particular advantage is to be gained by such action.

Boys of 18 years are too immature to be thrown on their own resources. They are utterly lacking in judgment regarding proper clothing, care of their bodies after exposure, proper elimination, and diet. Such matters at home or in a boys' camp are the responsibilities of their elders and are totally ignored by the boys themselves.

These children are of an age that is particularly susceptible to unwholesome sexual influence. They will be thrown with older men, some of whom will indulge in obscene language and boast of their sexual adventures and conquests.

Youngsters of this age exposed to such an influence may be ruined physically and morally.

Take the matter of education. Most boys at 18 years have just finished high school. Many who have gotten a late start or have been handicapped by sickness do not finish until they are 19 years old. Few at 18 have been to college. The Government will defeat its own purpose by inducting so large a group of partially trained and educated children.

Such a practice has only the initial temporary advantage of increasing for a short time the eligible draftees. The same sorting and selecting will have to be done as with the older men. Additional numbers could just as well be obtained by a more thorough reclassification of the present lists. There should be no blanket exemptions such as railroads, miners, and farmers. There are plenty older men in each group to take their places. Once the age limit is lowered, there will be a constant stream of immature and half-educated youths to fill the Army vacancies. Colleges, as far as male students go, will be out of business.

If the war drags on 5 or 6 years, these young people will belong to an age group practically devoid of professional men. Few will go back to pick up the schooling they missed.

How unfair this is to the youngsters. They cannot legally enter into a contract, marry, hold public office, or vote, being considered too immature to properly participate in public affairs. They are not yet deemed mentally competent to exercise the rights of a full-fledged citizen, yet we adults would thrust upon them the burden of the adult citizen to die in defense of his country.

It is most unfair to draft such boys into the Army, where a bewildered homesick youth could only hope to attain the very lowest Army ratings. Utterly lacking in any technical experience, profession, or trade, only half-educated, half-child, half-man; ignorant of the ways of the world, he becomes the goat of the whole Army. Commissions, noncommissions, ratings, special technical assignments will all be closed to him. He will indeed be a babe in the woods.

Yes, you guessed it—I have a son this age and I know whereof I speak. I don't expect any special concessions to him because he is my boy but I do ask, in all fairness, that he be given at least an equal chance with the other draftees.

The lower age limit should have remained at 21—the age at which a person legally becomes an adult. Let our judgment not be stampeded by certain military theorists; they may be wrong—they usually are.

Why cast aside humanity and democratic principles for doubtful expediency?

History tells of one of the Russian czars who confiscated sturdy male infants to raise for certain imperial guard regiments. These boys were raised with absolutely no home life or sympathetic kindness, no laughter, no play. They were taught to fight one another; were subjected to brutal discipline.



Result: A highly efficient human beast; a man without a soul. I don't believe Americans want this.

I'll admit that some aggressive and precocious youngsters may "get by." I am speaking of the average. Let the children assume their duties when they grow up.

Respectfully submitted,

CLARENCE F. KROMER.

DUMAS, MISS., May 5, 1942.

Hon. T. G. BILBO,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: So many have expressed themselves that if the draft age is lowered to 18 or any below where it is now, they will surely not vote for a single Senator or Representative in the next election.

It is the men's place to fight the war and not our young boys. Our boys under 21 years of age haven't any other privilege given to men and it's wrong to make them fight.

We know of a great many boys, young married men with only a wife or small families, who are still at home. They say it is their place to go before the 18- and 19-year-old boys, or some say this: Take all this class before the young boys. You can find plenty of men between 21 and 45.

Now, please don't take the boys under 20, not even for training. This is the sentiment of the people everywhere.

Yours truly,

SOME TIPPAAH WOMEN.

NEW ALBANY, MISS., October 16, 1942.

Hon. THEODORE G. BILBO,

United States Senate:

Please fight 18-19 draft bill. Will appreciate doing best you can.

CLIFF DAVIS.

EVERETT ROGERS.

MATTHEWS, N. C., October 14, 1942.

The Honorable THEODORE G. BILBO,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR BILBO: I have noticed with a great deal of interest, as well as admiration, your stand in connection with the proposed move to lower the draft age to include 19- and 18-year-old boys.

I am in thorough accord with your views since, along with millions of other American parents, I thought that this question was settled last December when the draft age was lowered from 21 to 20 and the move to include 18- and 19-year-old boys was definitely defeated. I cannot help but feel that this continued war of nerves upon the heartstrings of American parents has produced and will continue to produce a most unsettled and unsatisfactory condition amongst those of us who should be devoting our full energy, time, and thought to our war work, instead of continuing to go through the uncertainty that we have experienced relative to this matter since our entrance into the war.

While I have a boy who was 19 in July and, at any rate would be entering the service some time this spring, I am addressing this letter to you not only in his behalf but in behalf of other boys who are now at the ages of 18 and 19, as well as those who will shortly come within this group.

I want to say that I fully expect my boy to do his duty by his country when the time comes for him to enter the service, and I know that he would not consider doing otherwise. I certainly do not expect the sons of other parents to do the fighting for me or for my boy. However, I do feel that it is unfair to place these immature lads in a position of such grave responsibility and one in which their undeveloped judgment may mean the difference between life and death. In our democratic form of government in which a person is not allowed to vote until he is 21, I do not see how it could be construed as fair play or even consistent to call these boys into

service before they are given the right to vote. If they do not possess sufficient judgment to have the right to select their legal representatives, how can they possess sufficient judgment to make decisions on the battlefield, upon which decisions their own lives as well as the lives of others may hang in the balance?

According to statements that I have read quite frequently, the armed forces of our Allies and of our own country are badly in need of armed equipment and are not suffering from lack of manpower. It therefore seems to the writer that we are only complicating our problem of winning the war by endeavoring to raise such a huge army as is now contemplated when these additional men, particularly the 18- to 20-year-old boys, could be producers of this badly needed fighting equipment.

During the last war our country did not find it necessary to lower the draft age below the voting age. It may be true that such countries as Germany, Italy, and France made the mistake of inducting immature youths into military service, but certainly we do not wish to follow in their footsteps when you see the type of men those countries have produced over the past 25 years, and I feel that Germany, Italy, and France are now paying the price for their mistake and will pay for generations to come.

When you reflect upon the fact that the influences to which these young boys of 18, 19, and even 20 will be subjected in a life that is entirely unfamiliar to them, you will certainly realize that you are dealing with a problem of grave importance and one that will have a tremendous effect upon the future welfare of our country. After all, the subjection of these lads to the horrors of war at an age of immature mental development will certainly produce a psychological effect that will make it practically impossible for them to have a normal outlook upon life or, in other words, a normal mental balance. You must remember that these are the lads upon whom our Nation will some time depend for its guidance. I cannot help but fear for the welfare of a nation that will be guided by minds that are not strictly normal, due to their exposure to the horrors of war at too early an age. Germany, Italy, and France are splendid examples of countries that have been ruled by men of abnormal mental balance.

I want to wish you and your associates success in your attempt to defeat the measure, which, I understand, will be placed before your legislative body before the end of the week.

Sincerely yours,

D. C. NEWMAN.

HOUSTON, TEX., October 15, 1942

(Dictated September 15, 1942).

Senator THEODORE G. BILBO,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have noted from press articles that you have manifest interest in the youths of 18 and 19 years during some of the clamor by some Congressmen and organizations exercising political functions to have the draft age reduced, apparently for the primary purpose of avoiding the drafting of men with dependents, all the result of politics or pressure from the group imminently affected by the draft laws.

While I recognize there is a delicate balance where family relationship exists, it is obvious that a man with a family and dependents has more to protect and fight for than the youths.

It occurs to me that in the recent passage of an act by the Congress giving to men in service the right to vote, the Congress impliedly stated that until a man has a right to vote the drafting of him is improper. In any event, the men now in service had the opportunity to vote for their Members of Congress before they entered the service. Drafting of boys without a vote or repre-

sentation is no different from taxation without representation. All men under 21 years of age, being minors, have always been a special charge of the State and subject to its protection, and because of minority are disqualified to vote or contract or assume any of the rights or obligations of citizenship. It therefore is most illogical and unfair (illegal) for a legislative body or any department of the Government to expect or require a person who has no rights or voice in the Government to assume and discharge the most serious obligation imposed upon the citizens. To draft young men under 21 years of age simulates vassalage and slavery. To impose upon them the obligation of citizenship without having a say in the Government or a vote for representatives in Government or a say in the disposition of themselves through their representatives is a form of bondage which you expect to find in Germany.

I wish to press a further viewpoint on the drafting of these young men. Where they are fitting themselves for the serious burdens which will fall on them in time, by their proper schooling in the high sciences and professions, the removing of them from their present training will only result in a hiatus in scientists and professional men of talents that must necessarily belong to this group in the future political and social structure, and once they are removed from their present schooling it will be a difficult matter to expect or to induce them to return to their schooling. They would be reluctant to take the support of parents or would expect to get married, and to attain that end would accept a job at a nominal wage or salary and forever lose to the future citizenry what their talents and skills could give, and be misfits forever. Biologically, the contemporary girls are entitled to have a proper and sufficiently schooled and trained group of young men from which to select their husbands.

It is noted in press articles that groups are taking polls. As shown in the last News Week, for instance, the American Institute of Public Opinion presumes to show that there was a poll of 6 to 1 in favor of drafting youths. This can hardly be considered a fair statement of the true feelings of the country at large as it is apparent that the group within the ages of 20 to 45 next marked for draft have cast their straw vote to draft the boys under 20 years so the 20 to 45 group will remain at home. Are these boys to be thrown to the lions in the manner of the days of the old Roman Coliseum upon the voice of the crowd or requisitioned like so many cattle, or are they to be still considered what they are—charges of the State, of immature judgment, reckless, impulsive, and daring to the extent of jeopardy to their associates and themselves? Certainly they will fight, and want to, but until they are of mature judgment they have no business in the maws of the vicious and wanton. This group of men, 20 to 45, have expressed themselves against the taking of men of their class by urging the drafting of youths who compose approximately one-twelfth of the number of the 20-45 group. Furthermore, these youths are not wont to express their opinions publicly or officially and therefore must take the consequences without having a champion to state a word in their behalf.

Furthermore, these youths have not attained stability of habits or character, and prematurely associating with and simulating the older men in an attempt to be men and not youths, will learn and practice the unsavory habits of older men, particularly when lonesome and despondent and in a mood of abandonment—what's the use or who cares. Men higher in military and executive life know nothing of the feelings or the abuse of the noncommissioned men and therefore are not qualified to speak thereon. Under



the draft the youths can only become the mass of the privates taking on the gravest burdens of citizenship while without any civil or political rights, as pawns to save for quiet and secure civil and industrial life the mass of single men and married men above 20 years.

In the drafting of the income-tax laws and schedules it has been the policy of the Government to tax the group which is stated to be most able to pay and the group which has the most at stake. On the same basis as this argument, the group that is most affected now by the outcome and consequences of this war is the man with dependents, and it is up to him to fight for his home and family and not ask the youths to do his fighting. I have heard too many in the 20-45 group express themselves in favor of the immediate drafting of boys—for no other reason than to have the boys do their fighting.

I have avoided using any letterhead so that my expression will be that of a citizen viewing the noisy and persistent clamor for 18- and 19-year-old boys in an effort of power politicians and self-serving groups to put pressure on the Congress, War and Navy Departments, and upon the executive officers of the Government to put into effect their views and to serve their personal interest.

I send these observations to you because you have championed the cause of the youths and I hope that with the aid of other good Congressmen a sensible view may be taken of a matter so vital to the youth as a whole. I have taken this liberty of writing to you in your position as a national figure and not as a Senator within mere State lines.

Yours very truly,

W. B. WAGNER.

TYLER, TEX., October 16, 1942.

Senator THEODORE G. BILBO,  
United States Senate,

Washington, D. C.:

Unseemly haste and stifling of debate draft law merits distrust authorities' intentions regarding adequate training period. Entire approach this subject has been by subterfuge and manipulation. Grossly misstated facts and comparisons being made not fooling parents or any intelligent person. Thousands resent lack of frankness or truth in matter so vital to lives of patriotic families. House committee should be ashamed of its gullibility. Possibly debate on the floors, if permitted, will develop facts instead of propaganda and a sane plan of required minimum training before active service.

SHIRLEY SIMONS, Sr.

LOUISVILLE, KY., October 16, 1942.

Senator T. G. BILBO:

Provision providing 9 months' training will preclude pitting immature boys against men.  
E. D. MOHR.

LONGWOOD, MISS., October 14, 1942.

Hon. Senator THEODORE G. BILBO,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing you tonight as my 18-year-old son studies his lesson for tomorrow's classes.

I am asking of you what millions of mothers are praying for. I am not against drafting 18- and 19-year-old boys after they have finished high school, provided they are not placed in combat service until they are 20 years old.

It is within the Senate's power to do this and still not retard the progress of building the Army.

If the Senate will only keep these boys out of combat service until they are 20, they will receive the everlasting thanks of millions of mothers.

Respectfully yours,

LORENE KING PATTON  
(Mrs. L. O. Patton).

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR  
MENTAL HYGIENE,

New York City, October 6, 1942.

Maj. Gen. LEWIS B. HERSHEY,  
National Headquarters, Selective Service  
System, Washington, D. C.

DEAR GENERAL HERSHEY: Many of us medical men are profoundly disturbed at the proposal to draft the 18- and 19-year-old group. We believe that they should not be conscripted now merely because it seems to be the line of least resistance or because they are more reckless than older men, but that they should be protected as long as possible because of the peculiarly injurious effect of combat service on the lives of this lower age group. We have heard the argument advanced that they can be adequately protected by more thorough physical examinations than those given to older men; that these examinations should include a psychiatric test. The same intention to make a thorough medical evaluation of men has been expressed in the past. Actually, the psychiatric examination has been most hasty, owing to the insufficient number of examiners available and the pressure of work and the inexperience of many of these psychiatrists with the handling of relatively normal persons. If it is said that more psychiatrists will be used, the blunt answer is that there aren't any more.

Advantage has not been taken to date of the opportunity to evaluate selectees through the behavior that they exhibited in civilian life. Approximately two-thirds of those men who break down mentally in the Army could by a very simple process have been eliminated in the first place on the basis of clear signs of mental instability.

In only one State (New York) has a well-developed process of making such studies been organized, and that has been done through independent civilian effort and not by Selective Service, although with some encouragement from Selective Service. In that respect it is impossible to arrive at as adequate an evaluation of the younger group proposed for Army service, since an important period to be studied in evaluating the older group is their civilian behavior between the ages of 18 and 21. This means that many more emotionally or mentally incompetent persons of that age would be taken than from the older group and unnecessarily ruined for life.

Under this proposal to draft him, a youth would step out of the state of dependence on his parents to a state of dependence on an authoritarian organization, the Army; and following the war would have no pattern of independent civilian responsibility to return to as a guide to his future living. He would, in other words, be excellent material for the development of a totalitarian ideology, but not for the thing for which he supposedly fought.

Such an attitude would confront him with conflict with society, which would continuously militate against his mental health.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE S. STEVENSON, M. D.,  
Medical Director.

OPINIONS OF EMINENT MEDICAL MEN AND EDUCATORS RELATIVE TO THE DRAFTING OF YOUTHS UNDER 20 YEARS OF AGE

From Dr. Edward A. Strecker, president-elect, American Psychiatric Association, Philadelphia:

"I believe that the 18- and 19-year-old boys should be the last group to be drafted. No other age group would be so seriously damaged as this one by its disarrangement and disorganization and would become so maladjusted not only immediately but throughout its future. If these boys are given 2 more years in which to grow up with perhaps part-time work on farms, where labor is evidently needed, they will be of more

value, both in the war and in the post-war world."

From Dr. Caroline B. Zachry, director, Child Guidance Bureau, Board of Education, New York City, to Dr. George S. Stevenson:

"Many of us who are close to the problems of youth are deeply concerned over the possibility of drafting 18- and 19-year-old boys. We realize how grave are the psychological dangers of war to boys of this age. I am writing to urge you to use your influence to the end that every other source of manpower be used before these boys are called."

From Nolan D. C. Lewis, M. D., New York State Psychiatric Institute and Hospital, New York City, to Dr. Stevenson:

"With the hope that my opinion may help a little in preventing the making of a serious mistake, I should like to say that any proposal to induct boys of the 18- and 19-year-level into our armed services at the present time is an unfortunate one. During this period of years the young boy is either in the midst of that formal education so necessary for the promotion of the best interests of society and civilization, or, if not in school, is, along with the others, just learning to adjust in the complexities of our social and economic system. Any measure taken to interrupt this course of events should be very seriously scrutinized. The majority of interruptions in these life factors will result in a permanent end or an irreparable deviation of the life plan that is so much needed to constitute a sound basis for reconstruction here at home, after the war. These persons should constitute the trained minds of the future. Those hardly out of adolescence are comparatively immature emotionally and intellectually, and many of them are as yet unstable constitutionally, and are thus unfit for the regimented camp life or for active field service. Certainly, the older groups, including the married men and those married men with children, should be utilized first, until the supply is exhausted, before considering the adolescents for service."

From Dr. David Beck, Mount Sinai Hospital, New York City:

"As a physician who has been medical director of one of the city's largest private schools for many years, and who has had other close contacts with young people in various institutions and in general practice, I wish to register my protest against the proposed drafting of boys aged 18 and 19. It is my earnest conviction that these boys are not fitted physically, and particularly mentally and emotionally, to be drawn into the war directly. I believe further that letting these boys first develop to the age of 20 will make far less likely the mental break-down under stress such as would surely be common in the younger-age groups. We must consider the blasting of individuals' lives and the resulting compounded cost to the country in money and more particularly in the most valuable unit of its manpower. We must learn from the experiences of others.

"If it is true that to us these boys has become absolutely and literally vital to the war effort, then there is this sane alternative: These boys may continue at college taking special preparatory courses, or they may be drafted for farms or defense industries for 2 years while they mature and grow less incapable of taking the impacts of war."

From Dr. Thomas V. Moore, Department of Psychology and Psychiatry, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., to Dr. George S. Stevenson:

"I shall be pleased to act upon the committee and would like to make the following remarks concerning the draft of boys of 18 and 19.

"The age at which the character of young men matures is a variable quantity. A number of boys of 18 have not the maturity of the normal boy of 16. A somewhat lesser



percentage of 19-year-olds will belong to the group of immature characters.

"If all boys of 18 and 19 are drafted, there will be a large number of youths mentally inadequate to meet the problems with which they will be confronted. Theoretically, it seems that there will be great danger in such a program being carried out indiscriminately. If the Government does decide to draft boys of 18 and 19, some effort should be made to test their emotional maturity and all those who are emotionally immature should be rejected. This would be a matter of some difficulty.

"It would seem to be a more rational procedure to provide for the further education of all boys of 18 to 19 of average normal intelligence. If they are drafted into the ordinary military services, their education will cease and we shall not have a body of men from whom to draw the officers of the future.

"Trusting that the National Committee for Mental Hygiene may be able to present this problem to Congress in its true light, I remain."

From Prof. George S. Counts, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York:

"It seems to me that we should proceed very cautiously in any move to draft into the armed forces 18- and 19-year-old boys. I am not saying that this should not be done under any circumstances. However, I have seen no sound argument for taking this step at the present time.

"I agree with you regarding the psychological and educational objections to drafting these boys. In addition, I am of the opinion that they are not required at this time in our armed forces. There are many other ways in which their energies and talents might be employed. What we need is a thoroughly accurate survey of our manpower and a thoroughly defensible policy for the use of that manpower in the total war effort. Quite possibly, from the standpoint of that effort, if the war is to be a long one a large proportion of these boys should go to school rather than enter the armed forces.

"There is much loose talk now about an army of 13,000,000 men. Such an army may be possible and desirable, but I doubt it. I do not believe that we have a sufficient industrial and labor base to maintain a mechanized army of that size. It is obvious that the question of the drafting of the 18- and 19-year-olds should be regarded as one aspect of the total problem and should be so treated."

From Prof. John Dewey:

"The morale and mental health of this country would be undermined by drafting the young boys of 18-19. These boys are inexperienced, impressionable, and have never yet had an opportunity to live independently; they have not the stability and preparation of the older soldier. When they reach the age of 20 they will still be available for military service and they will be better equipped physically, mentally, and emotionally to withstand the shock of war. They will be better either as soldiers or as civilians.

"We have in this vast land great reserves of manpower without sacrificing our boypower. All of us know many men in their twenties and thirties who have not gone into military service. They should be called first; the young boys should be the last to go. Those boys who are entering college should be permitted to continue their education. Unless we have boys with a basic college education the country will be depleted of trained men in the future when they will be so vitally needed. Being forced into the war machine will prevent their growth and development. Other boys who are not headed for college could replace unskilled labor on farms, in factories, etc., thus having a chance to grow up before going, fresh from school, to war."

From Carleton Washburne, superintendent of schools, Winnetka, Ill.:

"May I, as an educator, strongly protest against the drafting of the youths of 18 and 19 until all able-bodied men, married or not, are fully and effectively participating in the war effort?

"Temporary disruption of family life is, of course, undesirable—so is war. The question is the choice of the lesser of two evils. Mature men can readjust to the war situation and back again to civilian life, if they come back, with less loss to the Nation than can boys of 18 and 19 stop their education, stop their preparation to carry on after the war, and be thrown while still immature into the terrible maelstrom.

"There are plenty of us over 45 who, while we may not be fit for the rigors of infantry attack, could replace men of the present draft age behind the lines in the infinitude of services necessitated by the Army. Every such expedient should be used to the limit before we pull boys out of school and jeopardize the Nation's future."

From Dr. Frank J. O'Brien, associate superintendent of schools, former head of the child guidance bureau, New York City schools, to Dr. George S. Stevenson:

"I am very much concerned as to the wisdom of conscripting boys of 18 and 19 years of age in terms of the boys themselves, their value to the armed forces at this age, and their subsequent adjustment after the war.

"We are aware that many boys of 18 and 19 years of age are very immature emotionally, although there are exceptions. To take these boys away from the stabilizing influences of home and school and put them into our armed forces may only have the effect of producing emotionally unstable and, therefore, not particularly useful individuals.

"A 20-year-old boy is still plastic but certainly more mature, and is, therefore, better material for military training than boys of 18 and 19. I feel certain that the Army can accomplish a great deal more with 20-year-olds in a much less period of time than could be accomplished with the younger group.

"From the standpoint of subsequent adjustment, conscripting the younger group endangers their future service to the Nation. Already the proposal to draft the 18- and 19-year-olds, so my experience indicates, is having its effect upon those still younger. For example, a boy who is not yet 17 stated that he thought he would give up school and join the Navy. After some discussion with him about this, it was very evident that he had no desire to go into the Navy but he thought he would not be able to finish much of the school work he had planned, and, therefore, that he might as well quit school now as 2 years from now. This adds to the maladjustment of youth, therefore, even more than is indicated by the proposed conscription of 18- to 19-year-old boys.

"I recognize that conscripting these boys is a much easier procedure, and, therefore, less complicated than conscripting those of 20 or over. If this should enter into the picture, certainly the ease with which conscription can be accomplished should not be the determining factor in selecting our manpower for the armed forces.

"If the war continues and the manpower needed is so great that it will be necessary to conscript boys of 18 and 19 years of age or even younger, then, I think, we should do it; but I do not believe it is the wisest thing to do at this time, not only from the point of view of the individual but also from the point of view of the armed forces."

From Dr. Felix Morley, president, Haverford, College, Haverford, Pa.:

"I am fully in accord with the viewpoint about the undesirability of drafting boys of 18-19 for combat service. I am sufficiently well acquainted with the psychology of youths of that age to realize that the experience, wholly aside from the matter of risk, is unlikely to be helpful during these formative years."

From Dorothy Canfield Fisher:

"It would be the greatest calamity if boys of 18-19 were sent into active service. That goes without saying."

From George S. Stevenson, M. D., medical director, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York City:

"The question of drafting the 18- and 19-year-old group is one of concern to a number of psychiatrists of my acquaintance as well as to me. It is our feeling that the original selective service provision represented a decision untrammelled by pressures of emergency. It is important, now that these pressures appear, that we should not blind ourselves to some of the things involved in drafting the younger group. Selection of good soldiers from this younger group is bound to be much less successful for the simple reason that these men have had fewer years in which to show clues to their instabilities and disqualifications. These particular years have proved especially important in the evaluation of the older group. Thus, there will be an undue proportion of unfit men taken into the service.

"It must be remembered also that these 2 or 3 years, when young men are emancipating themselves, are the years in which they can gain great personal strength by being on their own. In the Army they will miss this opportunity since the Army, without question, continues a dependence and regimentation. These men may fight for a glorious victory and at the end find themselves confused by the absence of a background of civilian experience and so regimented that the freedom that we are fighting for means nothing to them.

"In concluding that it would be far better to take men with dependents, we have considered fully that it is not a good thing for a child to be deprived of a father or a wife of a husband but even this is not as serious as subjecting the 18-19-year-old group to combat experience. As an alternative, would it not be possible to provide for this group the same sort of military training that has been provided to college students, in order that they may acquire much of the technical elements needed in the Army and, at the same time, have 2 years or so of experience as civilians standing on their own feet?"

SHOULD 18- AND 19-YEAR-OLDS BE DRAFTED?  
(Address by J. Max Weis, director of research, World Peaceways, Inc.)

Two mighty phrases have slipped into our current speech: total war and global war. Recently, Maj. Gen. James A. Ulio, Adjutant General of the Army, complained about the reluctance of the American people to accept that concept of total war. "Too many of us," warned General Ulio, "are still qualifying the conditions under which we will go all-out to win the war." He criticized parents who were refusing written permission for their 18- and 19-year-old sons to enlist. He called that action of the parents "another example of America trying to fight a war with the policy 'business as usual.'"

In the absence of a law that would place the 18- and 19-year-olds within the Selective Service jurisdiction, the Army has undertaken special campaigns to obtain the voluntary enlistment of men in those two age groups. General Ulio justified one of the latest recruiting campaigns among the 18 and 19 year olds on the ground that this is a global war in which "we must have sufficient troops to serve on every front."

Under the influence of that concept of global war, many people concede that there is logic in the claim made by General Ulio. We have gained the impression that we must raise an army of huge proportions, possibly 13 million, or even 19 million. The Selective Service Director, Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Her-



shey, was cited as authority for the statement that our national objective was a force of 13,000,000.

General Hershey, speaking before the Tolan committee of the House of Representatives, denied that he had ever made such an assertion. He stated that our maximum total manpower resources for both the armed forces and productive work amounted to only 65,000,000. That estimate was confirmed by Mr. Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission.

General Hershey emphasized this further point before the Tolan committee. "We must all remember," he said, "that it takes at least 5 men or women to produce what 1 man eats, uses, fights with, and wears. With less than 60,000,000 available in this country, those figures," said General Hershey, "are worthy of deep consideration."

Representative JOHN J. SPARKMAN, of Alabama, interpreted that comment of General Hershey to mean that about 10,000,000 is our absolute limit and that we could very well dismiss any idea of a 13,000,000-man army. While General Hershey stated that it takes at least 5 men or women behind the lines to keep one soldier supplied, Mr. Donald M. Nelson, Chairman of the War Production Board, stated that he heard estimates ranging all the way from 14 to 25 men behind the lines as the number necessary to keep 1 soldier supplied at the front. We must also produce for millions of civilians and soldiers of our Allies. That leaves few men for fighting.

The total number of men between the ages of 20 and 45 who registered under the Selective Service law, was above 27,000,000. It is from that pool of 27,000,000 that America will have to draw the great bulk of her soldiers for the next 3 or 4 years. The number of young men who reach the present selective-service minimum of 20 years, totals only 100,000 a month, or 1,200,000 a year. Even if we counted the 18-year olds, we would still have in those two age groups of 18 and 19, a pool of only about two and one-half million, many of whom would fail to pass Army requirements.

We therefore evade the issue if we argue that we can raise a sufficient army only if we reach down into those two young groups of the 18- and 19-year-olds. We cannot escape the fact that America must still rely overwhelmingly on that pool of 27,000,000 between the ages of 20 and 45, if we plan to create a force of 10,000,000.

Let us see what some of our partners in the ranks of the United Nations have done about the 18- and 19-year-olds. Under the British National Service Act of 1941, those between the ages of 18 and 46 were required to register. But liability for service in the armed forces begins only at the age of 18 years and one-half. There is a strong feeling among the members of England's House of Commons that the 18- and 19-year-olds should not be sent to the fronts where the real fighting is taking place. On July 8, of 1942, the Secretary of State for War was questioned in the House of Commons about the young men in the services under the age of 20. He replied that all over 19 were liable for overseas service, outside of England, but that up to that point—July of this year—none younger than 19½ had been sent overseas.

There is nothing to indicate that the British have gone down that far in the age scale just because they were convinced that these young men of 18 and 19 made exceptionally daring soldiers. The real reason for taking those young men is to be found in Great Britain's terrific shortage of manpower for her considerable empire responsibilities. The same lack of manpower has compelled Great Britain to put to work 70 percent of all boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 17.

Canada is now thinking about lowering the conscription age from 20 to 19. There again the motivating factor is not that the young men of 19 make the best soldiers for the kind of battles fought today. Canada, let us remember, like Great Britain, has an extremely low manpower potential. The Canadians are debating the idea of conscripting the 19-year-olds only because they want to avoid withdrawing from the vital war industries, some of their efficient workers in the older age groups.

Our labor resources are much vaster than those of Great Britain or Canada. We have one labor pool of 34,000,000 made up of certain groups in the United States that are too largely discriminated against, on grounds of race, religion, or color, or because they are aliens, or because they are citizens whose parents and grandparents came from Germany or Italy. From that pool alone, we could draw several additional millions of workers under sound and fair employment policies. We have millions of mothers, married women with no children and unmarried women who could be used to greater extent in many production areas. Also 17,000,000 boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 17, of whom 1,000,000 a year would become available for jobs.

We do not know the exact total of our armed forces on August 31 of this year. But whatever the number of those already inducted into the Army and Navy, we still had on August 31 a labor force of 56,200,000 of whom 54,000,000 were employed, according to figures released by Washington on October 6. The evidence is overwhelming that if our Army should take immediate steps to complete a force of 10 million by drawing off men of 20 and above, there would be sufficient manpower left to handle every job on the production front, vacated by those who were drafted.

The United Mine Workers have lost over 100,000 workers through enlistment and through the lure of still higher wages in the city factories. They have argued that young men do not leave the city in order to become miners. That labor force depends upon recruits from the mining families. If a draft were to take their 18- and 19-year-olds, in addition to the present twenties and over, America might soon be sending up the same loud wail we have been hearing in Great Britain over the depietion of the labor force in the coal mines.

Secretary Wickard of our Department of Agriculture has stated that at the present rate of withdrawals for the Army, our American farms would lose 2,000,000 men by the middle of 1943. Any draft of 18- and 19-year-olds would inevitably draw heavily upon farm families and so accelerate the loss of workers on the farms. Or do the sponsors of an 18- and 19-year-olds draft intend to exempt youth on the farms and in the coal-mining districts? Will it, then, be primarily a draft of the 18- and 19-year-olds in our towns and cities?

The United States News, of Washington, D. C., in its issue of October 9, reported that these several factors appeared to be influencing the Government to scale down its ideas about the size of the Army we could set up. It gave as one reason that not more than 4,000,000 men could be moved overseas by the end of 1943. A second factor that appeared to compel a revision downward in the projected size of our Army, according to the United States News—a private publication—was that the camps in this country were beginning to be overloaded. The third factor it reported was that "men drawn indiscriminately into the Army no longer are producers." It concluded its reference to "these three factors with the observation that if "they cannot be moved to fighting fronts, they are an actual hindrance to the war effort."

There is this political consideration to be weighed. If we commit ourselves to drafting the 18- and 19-year-olds, we may see this country, after the war, swept by a movement to extend the right to vote to the men and women in the age groups of 18, 19, and 20. We heard some rumblings along that line in reference to the 20-year-olds, when the present Selective Service Act was being debated.

Remembering that political revolutions abroad have used the youth in those very age groups, many of us are fearful that our youth in the 18-, 19-, and 20-year groups returning from the war and agitating for a constitutional amendment to give them the right to vote, might become the nucleus of a Fascist movement led by some demagogue.

There may or may not be grounds for that political implication, but it is a consideration we should not brush aside.

Here is an important item from the researches of our own Army's medical department. In 1929, the Government published a volume on Neuropsychiatry, in its series on the Medical Department of the United States Army in the World War. In that volume it is pointed out that in World War No. 1 there was a marked tendency for neuroses to develop among our soldiers under 21, in greater number than the percentage of that age group in the total numbers of our Army. I shall leave the psychiatric features to Dr. Stevenson, who will speak later. But before we hear from Dr. Stevenson, the Honorable EMANUEL CELLER, Member of Congress from Brooklyn, N. Y., will now present his views on the question, Should the 18- and 19-year-olds be drafted?

EVANSVILLE, IND., October 15, 1942.

Senator BILBO:

—Why not pass bill boys of 18 eligible to vote?

TOM FLANAGAN,  
Vicksburg, Miss.

ONEIDA, N. Y., October 14, 1942.

Senator BILBO,

Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR BILBO: Sometime ago Chairman MAY, of the House Military Affairs Committee, made the statement, as did other Congressmen, that before considering the lowering of the draft age he would have to have a good reason for doing so. From radio reports of yesterday, he apparently feels that President Roosevelt, after conferring with General Hershey, has a good reason for drafting babies into the war.

The good people of this country have placed confidence in the Senators and Congressmen in Washington. Are they going to let us down, now? Isn't there some one Congressman or Senator who isn't afraid to vote against the lowering of the draft age and stick to it, no matter what the other fellow says or does?

I am sure, from reading articles in the papers regarding your attitude, that you are one of the few humane Senators who understands the tragedy of drafting adolescent boys, and I feel certain that you are too sensible to allow strong-willed politicians to overrule your good judgment.

The people in this city and nearby places are very bitter over the failure of Congress to come out in the open before election and declare itself opposed to the changing of the draft law.

We are not being fooled one little bit; the Army has had this in mind for some time, and it has been ruthless in taking young men off the farms and manpower in industry. Now that election is near, it has again been brought up for debate.

Please settle it this time so that General Hershey can go back to work and allow families to again take up their home-front duties without this terrible mental confusion which he has caused, not only in the home but in the schools and colleges.



People are displaying little interest so far this year in going to their respective places to register for the November election. Why? Because they are losing confidence in Washington. Each day we are told something different. If we knew that we could depend upon our Senators and Congressmen not to be swayed in their views by self-willed politicians after the election was over, there isn't anything that we wouldn't do to help win this war quickly; but in the past, when Washington wanted its own way, it got its own way, regardless of what the people thought; but when it comes to the Government dictating the drafting of youths, it is high time that the parents of this country had a voice in the matter.

What of these boys in colleges who signed up with the Army or Navy Reserve with the understanding of being allowed to stay at least 2 years? Again Washington has broken its promise. And what of these high-school boys who haven't graduated, but who have passed their eighteenth birthday?

The worry and confusion which has arisen among parents and students since President Roosevelt's chat is deplorable in a so-called educated country.

I have talked with businessmen, farmers, veterans from the last war, nurses, and doctors, and they all have said that the 'teen-age boy is far from ready for the Army training. In fact, just recently a doctor, home on furlough, was heard to remark, "I hope and pray that Congress will not pass the lowering-of-the-draft-age bill, as I have seen the outcome of taking these young lads before they were able to physically accept the terrific training that is demanded of them; their young bodies are not fully developed." Oh, what a crime, Senator BILBO, for these Army and Navy men to try and force such a bill.

I hope that the individual Congressmen and Senators, when making a final decision, will carry this thought with them as they vote, "Conscience is your soul, judging its own acts."

We want Washington to stop playing football and let the American people settle down to the business of winning this war efficiently, knowing that we have Senators and Congressmen in Washington standing firm for the right way—not what the other fellow wants to satisfy his own selfish ambitions, at the cost of the life of the youth of this Nation.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. A. M. GROCOCK.

PITTSFIELD, MASS., October 15, 1942.  
MR. THEODORE G. BILBO.

DEAR SIR: After receiving a nice letter from you September 7 I have again taken the liberty of writing you in regard to the boys. Guess the President and General Hershey, and a few others, are bound to get those boys in the service. It is too bad to think of, so many of them only out of high school; some are not out yet. What a future for them poor boys if they, that is, some of them, do come back broken in health and no schooling, what a future to face. In other words, it is a shame. Guess if they would take all the other available ones they would find plenty manpower in this city alone, where I have lived near 50 years when I came here. Since I have come to know a lot of people and other city affairs, in here alone there are a lot. All men with no children, so many who married since 1940 were told they would be in the draft; so many bragged a wife and couple of babies did the trick. Is it fair to others? All those with minor defects, who work all day, earn big pay, and are out part of the night having a good time spending it; then all those in jail and reform schools; give them a chance; they would gladly go in the service. That is the way, the same in all the United States of America. What a big Army could be got from all of them, and leave the boys alone for a while.

The cream of our country; so many have not a bad habit, drink, smoke, or swear. What chance have they to be put in with all other kinds of older men. Can't see how a man like General Hershey, with four children of his own, could want to do such a thing to those boys. At least give them a chance to reach their twentieth year; young enough then, God knows. When I watch those boys go by with their books under their arms, so happy, not a care in the world, ball games in their minds, it just breaks my heart, and I guess there are a lot of others think the same as we do here. I am sending you a few clippings I get out of the Boston Post paper. So many express their thoughts in that way.

I know you will do all in your power, and hope there are many others who will try their best to put this awful law out till they at least will become 20 years old.

I hope I have not taken too much of your time, but I just had to write you again. Thanks so much for your nice letter and hope to hear from you again.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Mrs. D. Doe.

P. S.—Just found these two more clippings. A father of 11 in Navy, he is a cook on a ship; what an expense to tax for only one man; he lives only a couple of miles from us here. Then the objectors, 5,000 of them. What about them? Why are the boys in Catholic churches made to go kill? They are taught to love their neighbors, not kill them. Their commandment says "thou shalt not kill." Is it any worse for those objectors to go than those boys?

#### WHAT POST READERS SAY

(Contributors to this column are urged to use brevity in their communications. Occasionally over-long letters are not used because of lack of space. Short letters—the shorter the better—are recommended.)

#### SAVE BOYS FROM WAR

To the EDITOR OF THE POST.

SIR: I am glad to see that other people like myself are vigorously protesting the proposal to draft our boys of the teen age.

Between 26,000,000 and 27,000,000 are registered for war service, and from any information that I have, about 40 percent of these are available for Army or Navy service. This represents some 10,000,000 men.

In addition, many former class I-B and IV-F men are being reclassified into class I-A, and also many men in class III-A with only collateral dependents are being placed in class I-A.

At present, boys reaching 20 years of age come into the fold, and this number is estimated to be between 600,000 and 900,000 per annum. So it would appear that the number would be adequate for the present, without compulsory service for our boys of 18 and 19.

Before these boys are taken, the following classes of people should be compelled to serve in our armed forces, or be placed in essential jobs.

Race track operators, employees, patrons. The same with carnival people, gamblers, loiterers, vendors, sportsmen, clerks in many occupations, salesmen in certain occupations, men in nonessential occupations, men rejected for high blood pressure caused by drinking, and many others in similar categories.

Many of our boys of 18 and 19 years of age are in high or preparatory schools or just finishing. Others are in college. By being called into service their plans are disrupted for life, and the future of the cream of the country is jeopardized.

Boys of this tender age are in many cases not fit physically or mentally for this most cruel and ruthless assignment, and these boys should not be pressed into the rigors of war and sent to foreign lands.

They cannot speak for themselves, and it is our obligation to defend them.

WORRIED FATHER.

#### TAKE OLDER MEN

To the EDITOR OF THE POST.

SIR: I read with great interest the letter by Raymond Osgood of Claremont, N. H., to the Post on the extending of the draft age. I fully agree with the young man. Being a veteran of World War I, I can't see where our young men of 18 or 19 should be drafted. They are the flower of our country. They have their whole lives before them, years of beautiful American life, where we of 40 years or more of age have little to live for. Our day has gone past forever. We have but a short time to be on this earth of ours. So why can't our Government take us older men that have experience in warfare?

J. W. MARTIN.

FITCHBURG.

#### ANXIOUS FATHER

To the EDITOR OF THE POST.

SIR: I would like to express my views as to the lowering of the draft age. What is our country coming to? Don't tell me that we are so short of manpower that we have to draft teen-age boys. Let them enjoy life a while longer.

Eventually, they reach 20 years. What's the hurry? The Japanese used teen-age boys against our troops on Bataan and from reports they were hopelessly slaughtered. Your son and mine won't stand a chance when they go to battle against seasoned, older, Axis troops.

I don't mean that our young boys are softies, it's just that they are not ready for the consequences of war.

ANXIOUS FATHER.

#### DRAFT FOR BOYS

To the EDITOR OF THE POST.

SIR: I would like to express my opinion about lowering the draft age. I do not think the boys of 18 should have to go to war yet.

I have heard married men say they would go rather than see one boy of 18 drafted. The strain of war is too much for minds of such tender years to stand. Why are the Senators waiting until after election to vote on the subject? They know they wouldn't get the parents' votes.

F. F.

#### TOO YOUNG FOR WAR

To the EDITOR OF THE POST.

SIR: Having been a Post reader for 25 years, I take this privilege to express myself on the drafting of boys 18 and 19 years of age.

I say that boys of that age are immature in every respect. Bad habits are formed quickly enough in normal surroundings and in normal times, let alone war times.

Boys of that age and upwards to 21 years of age are of far more use on farms and in factories where they are so sorely needed.

Let the older men take their place behind the guns and the front lines and let the boys up to 21 years of age help to feed the men who have less camouflage, courage, and more common sense.

For we all know that it is only false courage that an immature mind of 18 and 19 years puts forward.

Voters and parents go to the polls and vote for the man who will keep the boys on the farm where they are so badly needed.

A POST READER FOR 25 YEARS.

RAYMOND, N. H.

#### TOO YOUNG YET FOR WAR

To the EDITOR OF THE POST.

SIR: To the one who signs himself Anxious American in Friday's issue of September 11:



We are in this war to win it and to free the world from all sorts of tyranny, and win it we shall and must.

This can be done without taking our youngsters (18-19) and shoving a gun into their hands and saying, "Kill or be killed."

Why not take these men (or so-called men) who married just to avoid being called in the draft and brazenly stating so?

I have a brother 15 who keeps saying, "Wait 'till I enlist." What does he know about life or such things? I also have two other brothers who have enlisted.

So let's leave our youngsters alone until the last resources have been reached.

NODDLE ISLAND.

#### AGAINST 18-19 DRAFT

To the EDITOR OF THE POST.

SIR: I would like to add a word to the many letters in your column as opposed to the drafting of boys 18 to 19 years. It is unbelievable that in our country of 130,000,000 that the required fighting forces cannot be found between 20 and 45 years.

We do know that the Army has been striving for the cream of our manpower and over-looking millions with the slightest defects that in other countries and among our Allies are acceptable. Even England, where the strain upon her manpower has been tremendous and her security placed in dire peril, has not seen fit to draft boys under 20.

Let us reclassify our men who are mature and close the gap of deferments which seem so easy to obtain, thousands of which are nonessential and repeatedly procured, and these, together with the boys reaching the present draft age of 20 years, will provide adequate manpower.

On these grounds I am opposed to taking boys 18 to 19, due to their lack of development and mature experience to do a man's job. Only in a case of extreme national emergency should such boys be drafted. Then, and only then, should it be considered. I advise your readers to contact their Senators and Representatives as being opposed to the measure.

LOWELL READER.

#### NO HEARTACHES

To the EDITOR OF THE POST.

SIR: As the mother of five sons, I should like to ask Ida W. B. Wright, of Waban, if she has any sons in this war? I have, and I notice that most of the interventionists are the ones who are giving nothing but a lot of "hot air" as long as it costs them no heartaches. What does Ida W. B. Wright care about our boys or their mothers?

Mrs. L. M. RANSOM.

SOUTH BOSTON.

#### DRAFTING YOUTH

To the EDITOR OF THE POST.

SIR: I don't think the young boys of 18 or 19 should be drafted, because they'll have more than they'll need if they take the men from 21 to 45. Let's have all the men fight for their country and not have some do all the work while others sit back. Why should the young boys go out and fight for the married men? Let them go out and fight for their own homes and families, such as my husband is doing.

Do we want all single fellows to get killed off or crippled? Don't you suppose they want to get married and have homes and families, too?

I say all men should fight and not pick on just one group to do it.

A DAILY READER.

#### YOUTH'S COMPLAINT

To the EDITOR OF THE POST.

SIR: I am a young man 19 years old, willing and ready to go to either the Army or Navy

whenever I am called. But here is a question. Near me lives a football player, married 3 months ago, who is being deferred as a war worker.

His wife is a telephone operator and he is a laborer in a boat yard. I would think that if I have to go he should also go and play his football for a service team. Also the part that burns me up is that he has a C card and only lives 5 minutes from work, but he needs his card to go to football practice.

FRED W. GRIMES.

NEW LONDON, CONN.

#### AGAINST DRAFTING BOYS

To the EDITOR OF THE POST.

SIR: I would like to register my protest against the drafting of 18-year-olds, which is now in the offing. To me it is most contemptible for some of the proponents of the measure to offer as a reason the fact that 18-year-olds have no fear and can be placed anywhere, have courage, etc. That is the very reason why they should not be taken at such a tender age, and if they reason along those lines, then take 5-year-olds, mental deficients, etc., they have no fears. My older boy is just 20 and is going into the service and it is a dreadful heartbreak to see him go to war so young, but when I read that there is a chance that my next boy, who is just 18, might be taken, I am aghast. From what I have read on the subject, it seems to me that those who are crying for the 18-year-olds want to raise an enormous army quickly and they just say, "Well, there are no complications involved with the 18-year-olds, we'll take them and let alone those others," men wrongfully deferred, men married and evading all responsibilities as regards the bringing up of a family, but now quite willing to depend on the rest of us to send our boys to defend them.

It certainly seems to me that this country has not probed very deep for manpower if England, now in the war for 3 years, has yet to draft 18-year-olds. Certainly there are thousands of boys becoming 20 years old every day and thereby eligible for the draft, without taking those 18-year-olds who do not know what it is all about. I detest with every bit of feeling that is in me the thought of forcing boys of 18 years into the war, as they should not be called until the last grown man is taken.

ANXIOUS MOTHER.

#### IMPRISONED MEN

To the EDITOR OF THE POST.

SIR: With all this talk about drafting the schoolboy and young man with a dependent family, are we forgetting the many healthy young men confined in our State penal institutions? If some of these cases were investigated it would be found that a good many of them, if given the opportunity, would prove that they are loyal sons of this great country even though they had broken some of its laws.

In releasing some of these men it would in turn release a lot of men also who are employed as guards and are in good physical condition. It is strange that some newspaper does not find out about these things as we all know that in some cases pretty stiff sentences have been meted out and for that reason a commutation of some of them would result in Uncle Sam getting some good fighting men.

From an interested reader for 42 years.

#### ANSWERS YOUTH, 19

To the EDITOR OF THE POST.

SIR: This is in answer to the letter of "F. of Cambridge," headed, "Youth 19 speaks."

"F. of Cambridge" writes a letter that is an excellent illustration of the immaturity that, in the opinion of so many, makes him and

other lads in their teens unfit for the draft, except as a final resort.

It is not a matter of "being able to take care of himself" (whatever that may mean). Boys of 15 and 16 have often been able to get along in trying circumstances "on their own," but to have reached maturity with the help and guidance of good parents would probably have been better for them. Boys of 15, 16, and 19, on their own, may make life-marring errors, due to their inability to judge soundly, and to their inexperience.

A boy may be physically fit at 19, but he may still be far from physically fit for the rigors of war. He may survive such hardships—at the expense of disease and disability later on.

"F. of Cambridge" says, "I think the time has come to draft us, and I for one am ready to go." Then what is he waiting for? Why does he wait to be drafted?

WORLD WAR SOLDIER.

#### DRAFT OF BOYS TURNED DOWN—SENATE COMMITTEE REFUSES HEARINGS ON BILL

WASHINGTON, September 16.—The Senate Military Affairs Committee today rejected a motion to start immediate hearings on a proposal by Senator GURNEY of South Dakota to draft youths of 18 and 19 into the armed forces.

GURNEY said the committee voted to await receipt of formal recommendations from the War Department before beginning its inquiry and added that the Department was asked for recommendations "some time ago."

"They voted me down," GURNEY said. "I am disappointed."

#### USE OBJECTORS IN HOSPITALS

WASHINGTON.—Of 5,000 conscientious objectors in the United States, 200 are engaged in relieving the manpower shortage at 2 general hospitals and 6 State institutions, it was revealed today.

The figures were made public following a statement of Dr. Bert W. Caldwell, executive secretary of the American Hospital Association, who suggested that the Government turn all conscientious objectors to hospital service.

#### GREAT NECK, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: We mothers protest against the lowering of the draft age. It is undemocratic and intellectually indefensible to draft for service boys who have never had the right to vote.

In considering the wisdom of this legislation it is well to remember that upon the youth of today rest the hopes of tomorrow. These boys are the Nation's most valuable asset, and should be conserved rather than sacrificed first. They are less responsible for conditions conducive to war than the older men; therefore, it would be a palpable injustice and unfairness to shift the burden of fighting from older to younger shoulders. The older men have already lived half the span allotted to man, and tasted its sweetness and bitterness, whereas these innocent boys are just standing at the threshold of life. Notwithstanding propaganda to the contrary, boys of 18 and 19 are too young to be placed in battle against maturely seasoned enemy forces.

In other wars, it is true, they have volunteered that young, but never in the history of our Nation have they been drafted and forced to fight, deprived of all chance of higher education. If this is done, in future there will be a great shortage of doctors, engineers, chemists, lawyers, etc.—a reduction in our educated class of people.

The difference between boys of 18 and 20 is great. These 2 years gives them a chance to develop into men, hardened healthy specimens, physically and mentally fit. We beg



you to allow these boys to continue their education, and give them military training along with their other studies. By the time they are 20 they will be capable of becoming worth while soldiers, able to protect themselves and really help our dear Nation in this great fight for freedom.

Lucy R. Milligan, Luella L. Jordan, M. E. Peters, Mrs. Delia Angell, Mrs. Frank Eckburg, Dora M. Wilson, Mrs. Jos. W. McClannin, Mrs. Wm. H. Lawrence, Mrs. Jos. T. Riddler, Minette M. Turner, Mrs. M. A. Knox, Mrs. Ward V. Tolbert, Mrs. R. E. Cramer, Mrs. Jos. H. Enilee, Mrs. J. Inness, Mrs. T. J. Becker, Mrs. Ella Burnham May, Mrs. John Pittman, Mrs. Leland Frierson, Mrs. Edward R. Swett, Mrs. L. A. Linz, Elizabeth Carey, Mrs. Paul Van Wagner, Mrs. Frederick Uhl, Gladys R. Wittih, Gertrude Farnham, Lucille G. Jensen, Mrs. Dorothea B. Cook, Mrs. Guy Percy True-lock, Mrs. Charles Gore, Mrs. M. L. Robbins, Mrs. Gladys V. Draper, Mrs. T. E. Anderson, Mrs. J. Franklin Olsen, Mrs. G. A. Conariss, Mrs. E. L. Page, Mrs. Ethel H. Willits.

CHARLESTON, MISS., October 13, 1942.

Senator BILBO,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: The only way we people back home can tell you and other Senators our minds is to write you and that is what so many fail to do.

First, I want you to do everything in your power to keep them from drafting the 18- and 19-year-old boys. I think it is a disgrace to our country to take mere children and put them in the Army—boys that have never had a voice in their Government, and many will not have finished high school. Never had a chance in life, taken off to be shot as mere cannon fodder to satisfy a bunch of so-called military experts, and a bunch of older men to make a lot of money while the children fight and die for them. It has got the boys in school so torn up they do not know what to do. I am a veteran of the last war and I do know something of war. It is no place for mere children. You work and help to kill the bill and all mothers and fathers of these boys will see you through in the next election, and to give the bill hell that they are trying to put through to kill the poll tax. It is a disgrace to the South while we are fighting a war to try and force the Negro down our throats.

Be our friend and we will never forget you.

Yours truly,

C. M. BRUNSON.

HATTIESBURG, MISS., October 15, 1942.

Senator THEODORE G. BILBO:

As a member of board of education and as a parent urge you to see that 18-year-old boys are left in school until all 21- to 30-year-old men are in service. As a veteran of last war know what it does to boys as to continuing their education. Another year in school for 18-year-olds will mean much to them and to the country in future years. Of course when it becomes necessary think 18-year-olds and up to 50 should go out and protect our country. Do not believe time has come yet to take 18-year-old boys. If it has, then situation is worse than we people have been informed. Feel that 18-year-olds will be needed worse next year and year after. Will appreciate your reaction.

SIMON LONDON.

DREXEL PARK, PA., October 14, 1942.

Senator THEODORE BILBO,  
United States Senator from Mississippi,  
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE AND DEAR SIR: It is a bitter thing to understand that it is useless to address

one's own State representative in Senate, because in the light of past performance we have come to know that it is not the voice of their people that counts but the stubborn adherence to a rubber-stamp policy.

The people understand the necessity of supporting our beloved and respected President in his every suggestion for America's war effort.

But we know, too, that great and fearless men can be so burdened with the multitudinous problems of war that occasional blind spots develop.

It is feared that such is the case in connection with the recent developments in pressing induction of 18- and 19-year-old boys into the Army.

True, there is less resentment of the idea of drafting 19-year-olds. Primarily, because even a year at that point in a boy's life furthers greatly his development; and also because at 19 a boy has finished high school.

Surely our Senators know that of the 18-year-old group of registrants (after those already enlisted and those who will be rejected for physical reasons are deducted) there will be only about 500,000 18-year-old boys eligible.

Is their number sufficient to cause such anxiety, such doubt, such destruction of American principles and tradition?

It is not clear why Secretary of War Stimson should intimate that our survival hangs in the balance of decision to induct a handful of schoolboys. It is not clear why President Roosevelt should hail men in the early twenties as the best fighters and then point to the necessity of drafting 18-year-olds.

And, most of all, it is horrible to be suspicious, as the press has made us suspicious, that the question is purely political. We do not want to believe this is so. Yet what is causing the frenzied clamor, the urgent pressure to induct American schoolboys?

There is no manpower shortage in America. Observe the exodus from our office buildings, department stores, defense plants, at closing time. Why in this city alone there are hundreds of thousands of that very age group our President hails as excellent soldiers, young men who after a 6-month course of training have been granted deferment on the ground of indispensability.

Why cannot 18-year-old boys, if they face at least a year of training, be trained to release the more able-bodied young men of America for the critical work of winning the war?

Why is our Senate, or Congress, considering for one moment imposing on these immature, these so heartbreakingly young boys taxation of the most horrible kind without representation. We've said they cannot vote. They have not been permitted under our laws to consider themselves men until now, when we suddenly try to pretend these youngsters are fighters.

It is not only a gross injustice, it is un-American. God grant that you and enough other Senators to defeat the bill to draft 18-year-old high-school boys will be wise enough and sane enough and courageous enough to oppose it.

Sincerely and respectfully yours,

Mrs. EDW. FARRELL.

FORT LAWN, S. C., October 13, 1942.

DEAR MR. BILBO: We are heartbroken and crushed over the President urging the lowering of the draft age, and we are making our last plea to you to fight for our youth to a finish and we believe you will. It is true that President Roosevelt has sons in the war, but not of the tender age of 18 with no educational advantages whatsoever. These young boys are minors and haven't even enjoyed the privileges and opportunities of a citizen. Why were the funds appropriated for the married men if they are not going to use them?

If this passes, Mr. Bilbo, won't you try to get an amendment for them not to serve overseas until they are at least 20 or 21?

Please try and keep them in school this session at least. They have begun their work and tuition, uniform, and books have already been bought. Such a shame to treat them so unjustly when there's no necessity of it.

We are sorely grieved over this act of injustice. We do appreciate your views and interest in the youth of our land.

Best wishes and the best of luck!

Mr. and Mrs. M. S. McFADDEN.

DALLAS, TEX., October 9, 1942.

DEAR MR. BILBO: I, one of many Dallas mothers, want you to know I admire the stand you are taking in regard to our Army camp life. We mothers know first hand because men talk to their mothers.

Then, too, I want to make an appeal for our 18-19-year-old boys. If America is to carry on civilization she will need trained men for this stupendous task, and surely an army camp is not the place for molding character.

There is only one chance at life and are these 18-19-year-olds going to be deprived of learning how to live? In these chaotic times surely they need more training than ever.

I have one son in the armed forces and that is where we want him, but we think every youth should have an opportunity to prepare himself for life, namely, by going to school. Military training can be given as well in college as in an army camp.

I am a by-product of World War No. 1. My husband was fortunate enough to have been a college graduate and has gone on with his profession, but not so with the very young who enlisted before they finished school.

America needs Christian gentlemen to be our leaders, both now and in the future, and not just daredevils who, on account of their immature years, do not care.

This attitude of "aking boys, and not married men with children who should have something to fight for, is repulsive.

I am willing to give my husband again, but not the youth of America.

I am a good American mother who has the interest of our beloved land in my heart.

We need men at our helms who possess your fighting spirit.

Sincerely yours,

MARY ROLLINS  
(Mrs. A. P. Rollins).

COMBINED SOLUTION TO FARM LABOR SHORTAGE AND LOWERING OF DRAFT AGE TO 18 YEARS AND MAINTAINING SCHOOL AND COLLEGE ENROLLMENT

To United States Congressmen:

Farmers today in most cases are dependent upon their children who attend school for help on the farm. Youths from 18 to 20 are about the only available farm workers. Some schoolboys attend school at night, and others a few days a week, and still others all week, but there is always time available for them to work on the farms. Students in college who are fortunate enough to stand the Reserve Officers' Training Corps examinations have hopes of qualifying for an officership in the Army or Navy, but the boys who, through some physical defect, are not able to pass the examinations, necessarily have to abandon their schooling and would be subject to immediate draft into military channels unless provision is made to the contrary.

The country needs products from the farms and the farmers need help. Industries need help. Why not provide in the bill lowering the draft limit that if a boy of 18 to 20 is attending school and can do a certain amount of work on a farm weekly, such as holidays, Sundays, and afternoons, or on days when he is not in school, he would be deferred for military service. This would give these youths an opportunity to complete their education and yet be of use to the war effort. The law would furthermore provide so as to make it



possible for those school students who cannot work on the farm to devote a certain time in work of importance to the war effort. In rural sections and in cities, too, some students attend night school. They could always find time, whether they attended day school or night school, for their studies.

This program would help the farmers and would help industries and help the colleges in maintaining their enrollment, and should the war end soon, it will not interfere with the education of our citizens. In the summertime these students could be occupied for 3 or 4 months during their vacation period in the type of work discussed above. Several States in our Union have recently called upon the school children to help save our crops, so badly needed for the war effort. Summertime is the most important harvesting period.

Attached is a copy of an article appearing in the New Orleans Times-Picayune, dated October 2, 1942, which carries the above thoughts.

FROM A MOTHER.

#### ACT TO HALT FARM LABOR DRIFT TO CITY

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., October 1.—Illinois selective service headquarters acted Wednesday to halt movement of farm laborers to city industrial jobs by relaxing requirements for deferment of agricultural workers. Paul G. Armstrong, State draft director, also instructed local draft boards to consider induction of farm workers who leave their agricultural jobs. He directed deferment of farm laborers "if the evidence is convincing that a registrant is a 'necessary man' even though during part of his contemplated deferment he will not actually be engaged in planting, cultivating, and harvesting crops."

#### ENROLLMENT DECREASES

LEXINGTON, KY., October 1.—Student registration at the University of Kentucky reached 2,756 Wednesday, the final day for enrollment, university officials reported. The total was 491 under last year's figure.

ACKERMAN, MISS., September 30, 1942.

Senator THEODORE G. BILBO,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I believe this is the first letter (if you can call it a letter) that I have ever written you, but I noticed some time ago that you were against drafting boys of the age 18 years. I want to commend you on this stand. I hope there will be a lot more like you. I know a lot of older men in this county, that should have been in the Army a long time ago; they are still depending on someone to keep them out; I just do not think this is right. In the last war there were three boys in my family, all of us were in it; then, as now, there were a lot that never did go.

It reminds me of the scrap iron, every town is full of it, the Government hollering to bring it in. Still it lies here on the ground. Senator, I am enclosing a clipping I got out of the Commercial Appeal, last Sunday. I hope if you did not see it you will read this.

Respectfully,

W. F. IRVING, Postmaster.

#### OPPOSES DRAFTING OF 18-YEAR-OLDS—MOTHER OF ONE SAYS TAKE OLDER MEN FIRST

##### To the Commercial Appeal:

Boys of 18 and 19 are not, and can never be truthfully called men. They haven't the stamina—their minds and bodies require 2 or 3 years more to reach maturity.

There is no law pertaining to their status in the United States of America that gives them the right to vote, inherit property, or to help make laws until they are 21, the age of maturity. Wiser minds have placed the age to be drafted not lower than 20.

Then to take these younger boys and make of them hard, tough, and seasoned soldiers, ready to kill and be shot at, that will certainly take 2 years, as suggested by one of our Congressmen, or longer.

The heroes of this and all other wars have been older—men in their middle twenties. Younger men, who have had to fight in other countries, have died like flies and are dying every day without knowing how to protect themselves. Is this or must this be our way of doing things?

Yes, boys are reckless, daring, and foolish when it comes to risking their necks—youth is always like that—but does that give the military leaders or anyone else the right to urge that they be drafted to fill the positions in our armed forces which are considered the most dangerous, just because older men realize the danger and are afraid? I read that not long ago in one of your papers, and I thought—grand reading for my 18-year-old son.

You men who are in the draft but have been deferred because of dependents, or hold soft jobs because of politics—and there are many such—if you are willing for a boy of 18 or 19 to go out and face death for you, or you and your family (after all, it is your family) then you are a coward.

How can anyone say that young men working in union-controlled plants, making as much as \$400 a month, are doing as much as the boys who face death in the armed forces? Yet it has been said—and the remark is absurd

MOTHER OF AN 18-YEAR-OLD BOY.  
BROWNSVILLE, TENN.

ST. JOHN'S LUTHERAN CHURCH,  
Boyd, Minn., September 25, 1942.

Hon. THEODORE G. BILBO,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR BILBO: Please accept my heartiest thanks for your opposition to drafting the "babes" of 18 and 19 years. I wish that we had more men with vision in our Government. Surely boys 18 and 19 years old are not matured enough to resist the numerous temptations of Army life. They need parental supervision. They should finish their education.

I have written to my Senators and Representative in this matter. I have also written to Senator GURNEY, of South Dakota, who is sponsoring this legislation. Of course, love's labor is lost writing to men like Senator BALL and Senator GURNEY, but they should hear nevertheless that the folks at home do not approve of their dolings in Washington.

I am of the opinion that our country has enough men to draft without robbing the cradle. I believe that enough men could be spared in F. D. R.'s set-up to supply the needs of the fighting forces without resorting to the childish tactics recommended by GURNEY.

More power to you and other statesmen. May the day dawn soon when we have more statesmen and fewer politicians in Washington. May God bless your efforts in behalf of the youth of our Nation.

Sincerely yours,

A. W. FUERSTENAU.

KOSCIUSKO, MISS., September 29, 1942.

Senator THEODORE BILBO.

DEAR SIR: Please fight the bill to keep our 18- and 19-year-old boys out of the Army. I think we should wait until they are grown up and old enough that they can stand it mentally. I know two fine young men that joined the Army and one is in the hospital in Alexander, La. He is losing his mind. They are fixing to give him an honorable discharge. Send him back to his brokenhearted parents in a condition like that. The other one's home is in Chicago. I don't know just where he is now but his mother wrote he had a

complete nervous break-down, his mind is gone. Not even in a condition where they can discharge him. Of course, there are others I know nothing about. Of course, if they had been trained from the cradle to fight as the Germans are it would have no effect on them, but us American parents are training our boys different. But after they get old enough to understand and men enough to take it it will then be time enough.

I have a boy somewhere across now. I don't know where. He will be 23 in December. I haven't a thing to say about him being in service. He is a man now. Although it is hard, we miss him so much, but I feel and trust God to take care of him and if you will do all you can it will help you more than anything you could do. Even if you try and fail it will make friends for you in Mississippi. You know their minds are too young at 18 or 19. And I don't think God would be pleased for us to send our babies out to battle. But, of course, most people are not thinking of God, but they will before this is over. He tells us if we serve him he will be with us and if not he will cut us down with the sword. And the best thing to win this war with is for all to go to serving him and to look to him to guide us through for without him we can do nothing.

Hoping you can keep the bill from passing, and I believe if anybody can it is BILBO.

Your friend,

Mrs. W. A. WILLIAMS.

GREAT NECK, LONG ISLAND, N. Y.,  
September 30, 1942.

Hon. THEODORE G. BILBO,  
United States Senate,  
Senate Building, Washington, D. C.

Honorable Sir: Agitation is being developed for drafting of youths of 18 and 19 years of age.

I do hope that you will not only consider the military advantages of such action, but also the social question.

I do believe that the country can better serve its own interests and its future welfare by making every effort to so equip our armies with the materials of warfare that it will not be necessary to depend upon young boys in their formative years.

Life in the tropics, under the conditions of war, will not build virile manhood from youths needed to carry on in the reconstruction that will follow the war.

A well-equipped army can do the necessary without the loss of life that accrue to a large ill-equipped army without the support of the country behind it.

Sincerely yours,

L. C. EHRLHARDT.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., October 1, 1942.

Senator BILBO.

DEAR SIR: Thank you for protesting in the Senate against the draft of young boys 18 and 19. These boys should not be taken from their homes and exposed to temptations in camps before they are matured mentally and physically. When all available men with soft desk jobs and commissions, and all older men, well balanced and stronger in every way, are taken, it will be time to call the boys.

Please continue the fight to spare them, our children, from such cowardly suggestions and let grown men fight our country's battles.

Yours truly,

Mrs. KATHERINE MULKEEN.

PORT GIBSON, MISS., October 2, 1942.  
The Honorable THEODORE G. BILBO,  
Senator from Mississippi,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: We are voters and perform to the best of knowledge and ability our civic duties.



Will you kindly consider the following arguments against conscripting boys of 18-19 years of age?

1. With exceptions, these boys are not mature, but in plastic stage. It is for us to protect their welfare and give them opportunities of development. In every war boys from 17 to 18 have volunteered—this war is no exception; boys under 18 have been accepted in most branches of the service—some are overseas.

2. Scientific and careful researchers insist that it is the well-trained men who hold rock-like under fire and not the young, eager patriots, who often break and run.

3. Boys whose parents have sacrificed to send them to college; those who are there on working scholarships or on awards of merit, because of high academic standing and qualities of good citizenship, carrying all expenses, should be allowed to graduate if they are not urgently needed in Army, Navy, Air, Marine, Coast Guard, etc. or in munitions and ship-building.

4. The men in their twenties who are married, have a child or children are perfectly willing to go as soon as the draft board calls them up for service. They asked for no deferment—the boards reclassified them. These slightly older men, with ties of wife and child, as a rule are stronger to resist the manifold gross temptations surrounding camps.

5. It is injustice to draft the boys just because they are eager, the greatest lovers of adventure, the dare-devils and the foolhardy.

They should be in training (in college or elsewhere, not in camps) to fit them, physically, mentally, and spiritually, for rendering the greatest service to their country.

Boys with no mental aptitudes, but with gifts and bents of other nature; those who must get in before the war ends—which proves how impatiently youth champs at the bit—should be allowed to enlist, but not compelled. It is our contention that the present reservoir of manpower is not exhausted. Only a certain number may be inducted each year and thoroughly trained for fighting such as war demands.

Two years more of college or other discipline will bring the flower of our youth into full realization of the meaning of giving up the years of work and joy and that unhopied serene that men call age.

With appreciation of the perplexing problems of a war Congress and a reliance on you to claim the responsibilities and prerogatives of democratic government, we are,

Sincerely,

(Miss) ELIZABETH G. SPENCER.

(Miss) ANNA A. JONES.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

FOR MENTAL HYGIENE,

New York, N. Y., October 8, 1942.

Hon. THEODORE G. BILBO,

Senate Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BILBO: The question whether the 18- to 19-year-old group should be drafted is a serious issue which is of concern to many psychiatrists and other medical men of my acquaintance as well as to me.

A physician in charge of one of New York City's largest private high schools has well expressed our position. It is his conviction "that these boys are not fitted physically, and particularly mentally and emotionally, to be drawn into the war directly." He adds, "I believe that letting these boys develop to the age of 20 will make far less likely the occurrence of a mental break-down under stress, which surely would be common in the younger age groups."

We have considered fully the harm involved in depriving a child of his father or a wife of her husband, but even this is not so serious as subjecting the 18- and 19-year-old

group prematurely to combat experience. The experience of European nations indicates that they have found it desirable to protect this age group as long as possible. As has well been said, if this war is a long war, they can be conscripted for military service later. If it proves to be a short war, they will be equally needed in building the post-war world.

Should not alternatives be considered which will prepare them physically and emotionally for later service and permit those who are qualified to complete such technical and professional training as will replenish the Nation's exhausted skills for use both in the war and in the post-war world?

I enclose a copy of a letter on the subject I have written General Hershey.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE S. STEVENSON, M. D.,  
Medical Director.

AUBURN, MAINE, September 4, 1942.

DEAR SENATOR BILBO: Enclosed you will find a clipping from the Boston Herald published today.

It expresses quite well the feeling about drafting boys 18-20 that is in the minds of many fathers and mothers today. It would be fine if you would have this read into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The very least that the administration can do is tell us what is up, so we with boys going to college can plan accordingly.

Yours sincerely,

DR. A. L. GRANT, JR.

#### DECISION WANTED IN DRAFTING BOYS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD:

A great deal has appeared in the press about the drafting of all boys 18-20 years of age. In the first part of the summer, General Hershey issued a statement that this would take place. At a press conference, the President, after this statement appeared in the press, stated that he did not think it necessary in the immediate future. Many fathers and mothers interpreted it as meaning not before the fall elections. We all remember that famous "again, and again, and again" statement.

Politics or no politics, elections or no elections, it is the duty of the administration to tell the people of this country with boys 18 and 19 years of age if they intend to draft them, and when. The colleges of this country in most cases open in September. Many have conducted summer sessions. Boys are returning to or entering college. Parents are obliged to pay the first semester's tuition, room rent, special fees, board, and so forth. If all the 18- and 19-year-old boys are to be drafted immediately after the elections it is a rank injustice to the fathers and mothers of America to allow them to send their boys to school and then draft them before the term is half over.

It is a great sacrifice for many parents who in many instances cannot afford such a financial loss as this represents. The colleges, on the other hand, cannot afford to return this money. The very least this administration can do is tell the fathers and mothers of America what the Government's plans are and tell them now.

WALTER THURSTON.

AUBURN, MAINE.

PASADENA, CALIF., September 4, 1942.

Senator THEODORE BILBO:

Stand firm on magnificent effort to keep too young boys from slaughter.

JULIA ALLEN.

SHREVEPORT, LA., September 4, 1942.

Senator BILBO:

Don't send the kids to war.

R. W. HODGE.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., September 3, 1942.

Senator BILBO,

Senate Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

"THE MAN" BILBO: If we must use men, let's use them. Leave the children at home.

ARTHUR J. O'KEEFE, JR.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

SIR: Thank you for taking the human side of this question of inducting our 18- and 19-year-old youths into military service. They are neither physically nor mentally equipped as yet to go into combat.

Let them stay at school, where they are receiving training that will make them doubly useful to their country by the time that they are 20 years of age.

We mothers have had children. This crop of married people never had the time nor inclination to have them. Now they are fighting not to break up their homes. What homes? What families? Our children do not have wives to fight for them, and mothers are not considered these days; therefore it gives us heart to find that there is a man who is looking out for our boys.

A MOTHER.

ELMIRA, N. Y., September 4, 1942.

Senator BILBO,

Washington, D. C.:

Congratulations on your stand re non-drafting of 18- and 19-year-old kids. Clear, practical thinking is what this country needs to win the war. Let's not send a boy to do a man's work until we have to.

MARRIED MAN.

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA., September 3, 1942.

Hon. THEODORE G. BILBO,

United States Senator from Mississippi,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: As a result of having spent considerable time in Mississippi during a good many years past, I have ever since held you in very high respect for the sanity and soundness of your views and actions.

That respect and regard has now been further increased, for, with millions of thoughtful Americans, I am deeply appreciative of your recent courageous action in opposing the proposed Gurney amendment to the Selective Service Act.

I applaud your denunciation of the drafting of tenderly reared boys of 18 and 19 as a soul-abhorrent course, for it is exactly that to every man and woman that has a soul and a conscience.

The inborn and God-given principle that impels an adult to protect its young is a powerful force that antedates government and is stronger than government. Any attempt to legislate this prime principle out of existence would be a grave mistake, for it would not only arouse a deep resentment against Congress and the Government but might also seriously imperil our war effort as well.

Thank God that we still have a few statesmen left who do not rush about, in these times of peril, to enact, in a frenzy of panic, unsound or unworthy measures because they seem to have a momentary expediency.

Should you ever be made a candidate for even higher honors than are now yours, be assured that you shall have my heartfelt support.

With all good wishes, I am,

Cordially yours,

J. D. HIGHTOWER,

Certified Public Accountant.

BALTIMORE, MD., September 3, 1942.

Hon. THEODORE BILBO,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

SIR: Congratulations on your courageous American stand, and objection, to the selfish



proposal offered by Senator GURNEY, of South Dakota, as an amendment to the Selective Service Act, with regard to the drafting of our boys of 18 and 19 for military service.

I agree, and what true American does not, that these youngsters should have some sort of military training—as I agree that the war we are in will last for years. It is for this very reason that this Nation, which 130,000,000 people wish to defend, should do everything in its power to preserve the youths who will be vital factors in the years to come—when they, too, will have attained their majority, and their peaks of intelligence and common sense to carry on—rather than to be sent into the fray now as greenhorns, to be slaughtered because of the whims of ideologists, and of representatives of the people of certain States, who travel exclusively and extensively, and so wish to give the impression they have felt the public pulse, and know with certainty just what is expected of America to insure complete victory.

We understand from the distinguished gentleman from South Dakota that our enemy trains his soldiers from the cradle. That is true. But, what are we fighting for? Is America to fall in line with totalitarianism and adopt such tactics? God forbid. Shall we, the greatest Nation on the face of the earth, tear away the youth of this great democracy, when these young men know not the responsibilities enforced on them at their tender age—simply because the powers that be find in them the "physical fitness" required—while more mature men escape through favoritism—men who might be called and give a more favorable account of their stewardship?

Give our young boys a chance in the typical American way. Then, when mature and called upon to use their strength and intelligence, America will be on its way to inevitable victory. To me, the drafting of our budding manhood is a blot on the escutcheon of our democracy, which we are at war to defend, and on our American way of life. And I will support you, and any Maryland Representative in any stand taken to thwart this idiotic movement. I am 54 years of age, and please God, I am at the service of my country in the stead of any young man under 20, whose country this will be after the war. Its preservation is what we are fighting for.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM R. MACKIN.

—  
MERIDIAN, MISS., September 4, 1942.  
Hon. THEODORE G. BILBO,  
United States Senator,  
Washington, D. C.:

This is to congratulate you on your stand regarding the drafting of 18-year-old boys for the Army. This is a godly deed on your part and I hope you succeed at least in keeping them from being sent abroad before they are 21 years of age.

Your esteemed friend,

A. M. MERRELL.

—  
ST. PAUL, MINN., September 4, 1942.  
Senator BILBO,  
Washington, D. C.:

Congratulations on your stand against drafting 18- to 19-year-olds. Write or wire what we can do here. World War veteran.  
Dr. M. L. NORMAN.

—  
BIRMINGHAM, ALA., September 19, 1942.  
Senator BILBO,  
Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned mothers and fathers, want to congratulate you on the great fight you are making to keep the 18- to 19-year-old boys out of the Army and permit them to continue their education.

We hope that every Senator and Congressman will cooperate with you to keep these boys at home until they at least reach manhood.

We are sending our men, but do not believe in sending our young boys who have not become of age.

It would be a crime. Keep up the good work.

Thanking you in advance for anything you can do, we beg to remain,

Respectfully yours,

Mrs. Momie Lee Hanes, Mrs. M. T. Martin, Mr. and Mrs. E. N. Pardue, Mrs. J. M. Nelson, Mrs. W. E. Langford, Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Arbuckle, Mrs. E. N. Wheeler, Mrs. Dutch Becker.

—  
NEW YORK, September 3, 1942.  
Honorable Senator BILBO, of Mississippi,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Millions of parents are admiring you tonight for your highly moral statement against the premature lowering of the draft. We want to be the leading example in this poor world, and our elders are just scheming to stay at home and to exploit the adolescents.

We hope you are a member of the Military Affairs Committee or that you will be able to offer to it the following fair, honest, and sincere proposition:

"No drafting of 19-year-olds before [God forbid] 500,000 casualties: no drafting of 18-year-olds before 1,000,000 casualties."

Respectfully submitted,

A GROUP OF PARENTS,  
By ROGER C. BECK.

—  
[From the Commercial Appeal of September 27, 1942]

OPPOSES DRAFTING OF 18-YEAR-OLDS—MOTHER OF ONE SAYS "TAKE OLDER MEN FIRST"

TO THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL:

Boys of 18 and 19 are not, and can never be truthfully called men. They haven't the stamina—their minds and bodies require 2 or 3 years more to reach maturity.

There is no law pertaining to their status in the United States of America that gives them the right to vote, inherit property, or to help make laws until they are 21, the age of maturity. Wiser minds have placed the age to be drafted not lower than 20.

Then to take these younger boys and make of them hard, tough, and seasoned soldiers, ready to kill and be shot at, that will certainly take 2 years, as suggested by one of our Congressmen, or longer.

The heroes of this and all other wars have been older—men in their middle twenties. Younger men who have had to fight in other countries, have died like flies and are dying every day without knowing how to protect themselves. Is this or must this be our way of doing things?

Yes, boys are reckless, daring, and foolish when it comes to risking their necks—youth is always like that—but does that give the military leaders or anyone else the right to urge that they be drafted to fill the positions in our armed forces which are considered the most dangerous, just because older men realize the danger and are afraid? I read that not long ago in one of your papers, and I thought—grand reading for my 18-year-old son.

You men who are in the draft but have been deferred because of dependents, or hold soft jobs because of politics—and there are many such—if you are willing for a boy of 18 or 19 to go out and face death for you, or you and your family (after all, it is your family), then you are a coward.

How can anyone say that young men working in union-controlled plants, making as much as \$400 a month, are doing as much as

the boys who face death in the armed forces? Yet it has been said—and the remark is absurd.

MOTHER OF AN 18-YEAR-OLD BOY.  
BROWNSVILLE, TENN.

—  
MAYWOOD, N. J., October 21, 1942.  
Hon. THEODORE G. BILBO,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The bill drafting boys 18-19 which the President so urgently inspired and Congress so speedily prepared is before you. I have pleaded with many Congressmen to provide in the bill assurance that our boys will not be used for combatant purposes until they are fully qualified physically and mentally. These boys cannot humanely be expected to compete with the enemy with less than a year or two of training. As ruthless as our opponents are, they have taken years to train their boys for this war. Their boys may not have ridden around in jeeps and used up tons of explosives, but they have had years of actual practice as combatants. They have been shouldering guns and in uniform since elementary school days, educated in every murderous technique of the horrible art of war. To send our boys over too soon will be a repetition of the last war when the word "cannon fodder" so ghastly described them.

May I humbly stress, our boys are not merely boys but disciples of the principles of Americanism, representing the greatest investment in education of any group of individuals in the world. Roughly 2,000,000 boys educated in American ideals and tradition, not to state the bravest. Don't destroy them by inadequate preparation. Give them every chance even if victory has to wait.

May I also humbly stress, that while Congress so graciously slumbered, unscrupulous men, for 10 or more years, under the guise of commerce and international trade, fortified our enemies with armor, ammunition, and scrap. This same Congress as if aroused from a sound sleep, seemingly still in a stupor, now turns frantically to the youth of our country for the solution, drafting a bill in a week's time. How little thought must have been given to this all-important issue.

Thousands of our boys who have not finished high school have been stampeded into the armed forces. Thousands will be taken from colleges long before their time only to be pressed into service after a few months' training. Ironically, hundreds of thousands will be destroyed overseas to protect American ideals, while hundreds of thousands of pro-Germans are relatively free to curtail our war effort protected by the very principles we are fighting for right here in America. Yes, and while thousands of men still in their twenties are deferred by so-called defense work and while thousands of white-collared men in their early forties could take their places through selective service.

What is to become of these boys after the war? Will they be refused employment because of educational limitations; these boys who struggled during the depression years to attain an education, while many of their families wondered where the next meal was to come from? Will shortsighted employers reject them because they are not high school and college graduates, or will our Congress rush through a bill authorizing that 3 of 4 years in the armed forces be accepted as the equivalent to their education?

There may be thousands of these boys who will want to know, sooner or later, who were responsible for their sacrifice; thousands who will want to know what punishment will be meted out to those guilty. Thousands may want to know if the punishment will fit the crime or whether those who directly and indirectly brought about this mass



murder may be permitted to shyly abdicate to a life of seclusion, writing memoirs and chopping wood until quietly admonished by old age. They have a right to know, they will not have paid only with their young lives but those returning, and God grant that most of them will return, will also bear a greater burden of the war debt by virtue of their youth.

Don't act first and think after. Make sure this bill does not permit the induction of boys before their time, I pray of you.

Respectfully yours,

WILLIAM M. READ, Jr.

STROUDSBURG, PA., October 21, 1942.

Hon. THEODORE G. BILBO,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.:

For God and country's sake before casting vote on child war bill please visit any public school and look over average 18-year-old boys then let your conscience be your guide. Untrained boys in war is cold-blooded murder. Train our children, yes, murder them, no.

T. O. McCool.

DETROIT, MICH., October 21, 1942.

Senator THEODORE G. BILBO,  
Washington, D. C.:

Drafting young boys 18 would be doing them terrible injustice as thousands because of illness or not being apt students would only be halfway through school and boys at adolescent age should have parents' guidance. Confident General Marshall does not want young boys to leave school before having at least high-school education.

If boys 18 are drafted—thousands be taken from school before even reach the tenth grade and be an awful injustice to them as well as to their mothers. Eighteen-year-old boys should be allowed to attend school until 20 or 21 to gain high-school education.

Hope you will put forth your full power to allow these young boys the opportunity at least to finish their twelfth grade of school otherwise they will be forced to go through life without the equal education and opportunities offered high-school graduates before them.

E. A. WARREN, Vice President,  
The General Fire Truck Corporation.

CHARLOTTE, N. C., October 22, 1942.

The Honorable THEODORE G. BILBO,  
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Thanks for your letter of the 15th. Would appreciate receiving copy of your entire speech. It looks as though your associates feel that teen-age boys do not possess sufficient mature judgment to vote or to resist the temptations of vice attendant to Army life yet they seem to feel that these same boys do possess the judgment to handle matters pertaining to their own lives as well as the lives of their comrades on the battlefield. This seems quite inconsistent. I appreciate your attitude and wish you success in defeating the measure regarding the lowering of the draft age from its present too low level.

D. C. NEWMAN.

ALTADENA, CALIF., October 16, 1942.

DEAR SENATOR: If the draft law has to be lowered, why don't you gentlemen at least compromise with justice, humanity, and 90 percent of the American people who are against lowering and definitely stop at 19 years. Eighteen is much too young to fight and die fighting barbaric Japanese and German gunmen. Be men, and get men, not little boys.

God save our young 18-year-old boys!

Yours truly,

A. MUNYLINGER.

P. S.—Give our young boys the protection of 1 year of training. Australia protects her boys, won't let them fight in combat until 19.

HOUSTON, TEX., October 14, 1942.

Senator BILBO of Mississippi,  
House of Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The people in this country appreciate your sound judgment concerning the lowering of the draft age. It doesn't make sense that high-school children, many of them never having been away from home and likely would almost die of homesickness, would make better soldiers than more mature men who know what it is all about.

Other countries resort to it only after all other sources are exhausted, which should be expected, but to pass such a drastic bill without absolute necessity is going to be a great detriment to this country. These tender youths will be exposed to many things they should at their age be shielded from, and many of them will probably never receive an education once they are snatched away from it.

I have no children. I am writing this because it is only fair to the thousands who have contacted me since the bill was introduced, all of them hoping that there are enough men of your caliber in Congress to defeat the bill.

Very respectfully,

A. M. SUHR, Business Manager.

UNITED SPANISH WAR VETERANS,  
ORLANDO, FLA.

SENATOR THEODORE G. BILBO,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Having lived in Mississippi most of my life, and having voted for you for governor and senator, I feel I may write you a letter with respect to proposed legislation, drafting men from the teen age of 18 and 19 years of age. I am against this law for several reasons. I will not go into an explanation other than I have a boy just turned 18 who is still in high school, and I certainly want to see him finish school that he may have an opportunity to seek higher grades which he would not otherwise be fitted for in case he was taken out of school at this time. I trust that if you cannot delay the enactment of this legislation or defeat it, I trust you will so amend it that boys may finish school, that is, those who are now enrolled.

The enclosed clipping may not be so far wrong with reference to the slackers who should be in the Army, Navy, or Marine corps.

I feel that the draft boards (perhaps from orders from General Hershey's office) are not calling many single men who from one pretext or another have thus far avoided being called for the draft. The men I have in mind are past 20 years of age and have no dependents to support. It seems to me the draft has not nearly been efficient and fair in searching out those who have purposely avoided entering the services.

Thanking you kindly for a reply, I am  
Your friend,

H. B. WEBB,  
Commander.

[Enclosure.]

#### TAKE THE SLACKERS FIRST

The proposal to draft boys of 18 and 19 is about to receive serious consideration in Congress. Senator CHAN GURNEY, of South Dakota, has prepared an amendment to the Selective Service Act to include them. No doubt the overwhelming majority of the boys themselves are eager to go. No doubt, too, these younger men, with relatively few family and business responsibilities, with younger minds, and with bodies better able to bear the strain of campaigning, will have less difficulty in achieving the transition from civil to military life than their older brothers and will make as good or better soldiers. Against the proposal must be set the reluctance of many parents to send their 18-year-olds to war; but this objection will dis-

appear, we believe, if the need is clearly shown.

As to that, two points deserve attention. One is the fact that this war is being fought overseas, and, accordingly, there can be little reason for raising an army larger than can be transported and supplied in the ships which will be at our disposal when the men have been trained. The quantity of shipping available and to become available is something of a military secret, but we may expect that Congress will have been given the facts, at least in broad outline, before the decision is reached.

The other point is the obvious one that there can be no need for lowering the draft age as long as thousands and tens of thousands of men of military age are permitted to dodge their duty. Washington is crowded with these schemers and loafers. Some of them are in the Government civil service, in which approximately 2,250,000 civilians are now enrolled. Nearly 150,000 were added in the month of June alone. Today we have more than two and a half times as many Government employees in the executive departments as were employed at the peak of the war effort in 1918, when the number of men under arms was considerably larger than it is today. Many of the Government employees wear skirts, but no one who has been in Washington can doubt that in the vast army of Government clerks are many thousands of draft dodging oafs and loafers.

Many other men, physically sound and of draft age, are slackers though they wear the uniform of the fighting services. These men, because of social position or some other kind of pull, have been given commissions and soft jobs, involving no risk to themselves. They ought to be sent to camps for military training and, if they are too cowardly to fight, should be enrolled in labor battalions where they might return some value for the pay they receive.

As long as the Government permits itself to be used as a screen behind which slackers can hide the Nation will question the necessity of lowering the draft age.

WOODVILLE, MISS.

Honorable Senator BILBO,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Attached is clipping from Times Picayune of October 15, which no doubt you have already seen.

Dr. Reynolds' sentiments are ours, exactly, and should be of every right-thinking statesman and citizen, and why the President and the others insist on the youth of the Nation going in training, I cannot understand. This professor says it's unwise and unnecessary.

These innocent, tender minds will most assuredly be dissipated, what with mingling with all those older ones, so many, the biggest majority, whose morals are so lax and so many who have none at all. Even the leaders of these boys, captains, and so forth, who should be upright and gentlemen in every sense of the word, many have no morals. So, Senator BILBO, it seems as if the bill will pass regardless, but it will surely be a calamity when it does. I hope you, and our other Representatives, will do everything in your power to keep these youths out of Army training camps.

Thanking you, and with our best wishes to you.

Yours sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. J. M. MILLER.

HENDRIX COLLEGE HEAD OPPOSED TO YOUNGER DRAFT

CONWAY, ARK., October 14.—Dr. J. H. Reynolds, president of Hendrix College here, expressed the opinion that lowering the draft age to include 18- and 19-year-olds was unwise and unnecessary.

Dr. Reynolds, an author of history and political science textbooks, served 26 years on



the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church's general board of Christian education.

"Our present draft laws are providing all the men needed at present for the armed forces," Dr. Reynolds said in a prepared statement.

"It is unwise in any case to dissipate those youth below 20 who have not already enlisted. America to win the peace as well as the war must continue even in the emergency to train future leaders.

"Half a million youth of this age with intellectual and social gifts should be placed in general colleges to prepare for the larger intellectual and social responsibilities of post-war civilian leadership. Post-war problems will call for the greatest wisdom and statesmanship.

"Let America not forget that her history teaches that from general education have come her statesmen, educators, and social leaders. For us to provide an inadequate supply of well-trained civilian leaders will lead straight to a third World War as this same failure did a quarter of a century ago."

#### DRAFTING THE BOYS

President Roosevelt said in his radio talk Monday evening that the drafting of boys 18 and 19 years of age "would be necessary." Yesterday morning, Speaker SAM RAYBURN of the House announced that legislation would be passed this week authorizing extension of the Selective Service Act to youths of these ages.

The Commercial Appeal believes the President and the House are right, and it is moved by what it thinks are manifestly the best interests of the boys and of the Nation. The Nation's point of view was tersely put by Secretary of War Stimson when he declared that "we must face the truth" that "American youth is our strength."

Every consideration urges that these youngsters be inducted as soon as may be, so that they may be physically and mentally prepared for whatever the war may demand of them. Early enlistment will likewise give them time to be trained in the use of weapons and equipment so that both their effectiveness as soldiers and their chances of survival will be vastly improved over any other possible conditions. In fact, any soldier's chance of survival is in direct ratio to his skill, knowledge, and training.

We are not blind to the gravity of the move here in question, nor to the pangs of apprehension and anxiety it will unavoidably create in millions of American homes. What we see also is that these griefs would be immeasurably greater and based on far sounder ground if these same boys had to be rushed into the fight without adequate preparation. There were no tragedies of World War No. 1 equal to those attributable to the necessity of sending ill-trained men to fighting fronts.

Before the President and the Congress summon up youths of 18 and 19 years, however, they should perform some other tasks. Washington bureaus, departments, agencies, authorities, administrations, and the like should be swept clean of young men of draft age who are deferred to warm chairs because they are the kin or the pets of someone in authority. There are thousands of these preferred junior bureaucrats—no one knows just how many—but every one of them should be in service before any other young man is called.

A national pool of young men should likewise be formed of those now eligible under Selective Service. It is rank folly to call married men and young boys in one state while unmarried eligibles are left in others. The capital should also be cleared of young officers of the Army and Navy who now have desk jobs that older men could fill as well or better. More ought to be done with the Specialist Corps to fill any gaps that might be left if young officers were shunted from

the avenues and boulevards to the camps and fronts.

By all means draft the boys for training, but not until we can look them in the eye and say that no other recourse is available and that all the eligibles only slightly older are already doing the tasks for which youth is imperative.—Commercial Appeal

COMMITTEE ON DRAFTING YOUTH,  
New York, N. Y., October 17, 1942.  
Hon. THEODORE G. BILBO,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: We are deeply concerned over the bill to draft the 18- and 19-year-old boys for combat service that is being hurried through Congress without what seems to us adequate discussion of the grave problems involved. I sent you a few days ago a copy of a letter I had written General Hershey on this subject. Since then a committee has been formed to do what we can to safeguard these immature age groups both in the pending legislation and in the administration of the law that you may pass.

The New York Times of September 16 published a letter signed by members of our committee and other medical men in which we summarized our case as effectively as we could. The enclosed document contains excerpts from a number of medical men and educators on this important subject. None of us would want to obstruct the war effort in any way. What we deplore in the hasty action of the House of Representatives on this bill is the fact that no over-all plan for the use of our manpower has been made, and that therefore no proper balance has been struck between purely military considerations and the possible use of many of these boys to better advantage, both for themselves and for our country, on our farms and in industry and continuing their education, until they are more mature.

The Medical Department of the United States Army, in a series of studies of our experience in the first World War, which covered among other things the prevalence of neurosis among different age groups, says on this point:

"These figures reveal a marked disproportion between the admissions to the hospital of men under 21 and their number in the Army at large, 77 percent more men from this group being admitted to the hospital than their proportion in the Army would lead us to expect. That is, there was a marked tendency for men under 21 to develop neurosis in greater numbers than their proportion in the Army would warrant." (Vol. X, sec. II, chap. VIII, p. 430, Studies of the Medical Department of the U. S. Army in the World War, Volume on Neuropsychiatry.)

Might not these boys be drafted and then held in reserve status until they reach the age of 20, receiving basic military training but available in each State as a pool of labor for essential national service on farms or in industry, or to pursue their education, at the Government's expense when necessary, in order that our Nation may not be without trained skills, both during a long war and afterward?

Sincerely yours,  
GEORGE S. STEVENSON, M. D.,  
Secretary.

EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENTS OF EMINENT MEDICAL MEN AND EDUCATORS RELATIVE TO THE DRAFTING OF 18- AND 19-YEAR-OLD YOUTHS

DON'T SACRIFICE OUR BOY POWER YET, SAYS JOHN DEWEY

We have in this vast land great reserves of manpower without sacrificing our boy power. All of us know many men in their 20's and 30's who have not gone into military service. They should be called first; the

young boys should be the last to go. Those boys who are entering college should be permitted to continue their education. Unless we have boys with a basic college education, the country will be depleted of trained men in the future, when they will be so vitally needed. Being forced into the war machine will prevent their growth and development. Other boys who are not headed for college could replace unskilled labor on farms, in factories, etc., thus having a chance to grow up before going, fresh from school, to war.

Dr. JOHN DEWEY,  
Teachers College, Columbia University,  
New York City.

MANPOWER SURVEY NECESSARY FIRST, SAYS  
GEORGE S. COUNTS

It seems to me that we should proceed very cautiously in any move to draft into the armed forces 18- and 19-year-old boys. I am not saying that this should not be done under any circumstances. However, I have seen no sound argument for taking this step at the present time.

What we need is a thoroughly accurate survey of our manpower and a thoroughly defensible policy for the use of that manpower in the total war effort. Quite possibly, from the standpoint of that effort, if the war is to be a long one, a large proportion of these boys should go to school rather than enter the armed forces. It is obvious that the question of the drafting of the 18- and 19-year-olds should be regarded as one aspect of the total problem and should be so treated.

PROF. GEORGE S. COUNTS,  
Teachers College, Columbia University,  
New York City.

SHOULD WORK ON FARMS UNTIL MATURE, SAYS  
EMINENT PSYCHIATRIST

I believe that the 18- and 19-year-old boys should be the last group to be drafted. No other age group would be so seriously damaged as this one by its disarrangement and disorganization and would become so maladjusted not only immediately but throughout its future. If these boys are given 2 more years in which to grow up, with perhaps part-time work on farms, where labor is evidently needed, they will be of more value, both in the war and in the post-war world.

DR. EDWARD A. STRECKER,  
President-elect, American Psychiatric Association, Philadelphia.

20-YEAR-OLDS BETTER ARMY MATERIAL, SAYS  
DR. FRANK J. O'BRIEN

A 20-year-old boy is still plastic but certainly more mature, and is, therefore, better material for military training than boys of 18 and 19. I feel certain that the Army can accomplish a great deal more with 20-year-olds in a much less period of time than could be accomplished with the younger group.

I recognize that conscripting these boys is a much easier procedure and, therefore, less complicated than conscripting those of 20 or over. If this should enter into the picture, certainly the ease with which conscription can be accomplished should not be the determining factor in selecting our manpower for the armed forces.

DR. FRANK J. O'BRIEN,  
Associate Superintendent of Schools,  
New York; Former Director, Child Guidance Bureau, New York City Schools.

ARMY CAN USE OLDER MEN, SAYS DR. CARLETON WASHBURN

May I, as an educator, strongly protest against the drafting of the youths of 18 and 19 until all able-bodied men, married or not, are fully and effectively participating in the war effort?

There are plenty of us over 45 who, while we may not be fit for the rigors of infantry attack, could replace men of the present draft



age behind the lines in the infinitude of services necessitated by the Army. Every such expedient should be used to the limit before we pull boys out of school and jeopardize the Nation's future.

CARLETON WASHEBURNE,  
*Superintendent of Schools, Winnetka, Ill.*

#### 18-YEAR-OLDS NOT ALWAYS 16 IN DEVELOPMENT

The age at which the character of young men matures is a variable quantity. A number of boys of 18 have not the maturity of the normal boy of 16. A somewhat lesser percentage of 19-year olds will belong to the group of immature characters.

It would seem to be a more rational procedure to provide for the further education of all boys of 18 to 19 of average normal intelligence. If they are drafted into the ordinary military services, their education will cease and we shall not have a body of men from whom to draw the officers of the future.

DR. THOMAS V. MOORE,  
*Department of Psychology and Psychiatry, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.*

#### COLLEGE, FARM, AND DEFENSE INDUSTRIES ALTERNATIVE SERVICES FOR IMMATURE

We must consider the blasting of individuals' lives and the resulting compounded cost to the country in money and more particularly in the most valuable unit of its manpower. If it is true that to use these boys has become absolutely and literally vital to the war effort, then there is this same alternative: These boys may continue at college taking special preparatory courses, or they may be drafted for farms or defense industries for 2 years while they mature and grow less incapable of taking the impacts of war.

DR. DAVID BECK,  
*Mount Sinai Hospital, New York City.*

#### THESE YOUTHS SHOULD FURNISH TRAINED MINDS OF FUTURE

These persons should constitute the trained minds of the future. Those hardly out of adolescence are comparatively immature emotionally and intellectually, and many of them are as yet unstable constitutionally, and are thus unfit for the regimented camp life or for active field service. Certainly, the older groups, including the married men and those married men with children, should be utilized first, until the supply is exhausted, before considering the adolescents for service.

NOLAN D. C. LEWIS, M. D.,  
*New York State Psychiatric Institute and Hospital, New York City.*

#### TOO MANY MISFITS WILL FOLLOW THIS DRAFT

Selection of good soldiers from this younger group is bound to be much less successful for the simple reason that these men have had fewer years in which to show clues to their instabilities and disqualifications. These particular years have proved especially important in the evaluation of the older group. Thus, there will be an undue proportion of unfit men taken into the service.

It must be remembered also that these 2 or 3 years, when young men are emancipating themselves, are the years in which they can gain great personal strength by being on their own. In the Army they will miss this opportunity, since the Army, without question, continues a dependence and regimentation. These men may fight for a glorious victory and at the end find themselves confused by the absence of a background of civilian experience and so regimented that the freedom that we are fighting for means nothing to them.

GEORGE S. STEVENSON, M. D.,  
*Medical Director, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York City.*

#### DRAFTING 18-19-YEAR-OLDS CALLED UNDESIRABLE

I am fully in accord with the viewpoint about the undesirability of drafting boys of

18-19 for combat service. I am sufficiently well acquainted with the psychology of youths of that age to realize that the experience, wholly aside from the matter of risk, is unlikely to be helpful during these formative years.

DR. FELIX MORLEY,  
*President, Haverford College, Pennsylvania.*

#### GREATEST CALAMITY

It would be the greatest calamity if boys of 18-19 were sent into active service. That goes without saying.

DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER,  
*Arlington, Vt.*

#### USE EVERY OTHER SOURCE OF MANPOWER FIRST

Many of us who are close to the problems of youth are deeply concerned over the possibility of drafting 18- and 19-year-old boys. We realize how grave are the psychological dangers of war to boys of this age. I am writing to urge you to use your influence to the end that every other source of manpower be used before these boys are called. (From a letter to Dr. Stevenson.)

DR. CAROLINE B. ZACHRY,  
*Director, Child Guidance Bureau, Board of Education, New York City.*

#### DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, Quitman, Miss., October 15, 1942.

HON. THEODORE G. BILBO,  
*United States Senate, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I am writing you concerning a matter of grave concern to the citizens of this State and the entire South. I refer to the present system of sending back to the community Negro selectees who are of low educational level and who have syphilis. The low educational level men are referred to the county superintendent for rehabilitation. There are no restrictions as to where they go, so they are here today, somewhere else tomorrow. The county superintendent cannot follow them.

Those with syphilis are turned back into the counties for the health department to treat. The Negroes themselves are trying to get deferred on these grounds. The number of Negroes, as compared with the number of white boys, at home is already causing some racial trouble.

It seems to me that men having syphilis could be placed in a section of the camp to themselves, treated by Army doctors, and trained at the same time. Also those of low educational level could be trained and taught what they need to know by the Army more economically and more efficiently than can be done by turning them back into civilian life to go where they please. This would strengthen our war effort and at the same time avoid the trouble that is sure to come under the present system.

I am writing you because I know you are interested in a program that will help in this emergency and at the same time save additional heartaches in the South.

If you can be helpful in getting this matter corrected, you will render a great service to your State and Nation.

Sincerely,  
M. M. SHIRLEY,  
*County Superintendent of Education.*

DALLAS, TEX., October 16, 1942.  
HON. THEODORE G. BILBO,  
*United States Senator from Mississippi, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: As I read of the trend that seems to be sweeping the country to take our 18-year-old boys and offer them up as a sacrifice, I am compelled by a sense of fairness and decency to protest such action.

In order that you may know some of the background of the protestant, I am submitting some facts pertaining to my family.

My great-grandfather fought with General Jackson at New Orleans, my father and two

of his brothers fought in the Confederate Army, one of my brothers was in the Spanish-American War. The writer and three brothers were in the service during the war of 1917-18. I now have a son 24 years of age who has been in his country's service since August 1940. I have six nephews in the service at this time.

I have a son in college who will be 18 in December and a nephew in college who is now 17. I feel that these boys should be permitted to obtain the education that is now made possible for them, if they can complete their work before they become 21 years of age.

During the war of 1917-18, I had something to do with the training of men and I know the effect of war training upon the untrained youthful mind. I was asked by men, "Why should we strive to retain a sense of decency when we are being trained to be murderers?" And such a feeling is stronger among the younger men who have not had time to develop stamina and strength of character. This plea about the educational advantages of the Army is a mirage or a smoke screen. Let any man in Congress go out to the bayonet courses where we are training men, or onto the grounds where Commando squads are being made ready for their gruesome work and see how uplifting Army training is.

One other thing I note in the sentiment expressed daily is, "That if we take in the 18-year-old boys then we won't have to draft men with one or more children." Why should my 18-year-old boy have to fight to defend the home of a 25-year-old who is not willing to fight for his own home? Shouldn't selections for service be on the basis of need, both in the service and at home, instead of being made on family basis? Why shouldn't a man with a family be more willing to fight for that family than the 18-year-old boy who doesn't know what it is all about?

I believe that the 18-year-old boy should be given a fair deal and should not be discriminated against because of his age or because he has not had an opportunity to get married; or perhaps because he doesn't even have a voice in the selection of our public officials.

Yours very truly,  
A. P. ROLLINS.

PHILADELPHIA, October 16, 1942.

SIR: I am directing this letter to you as a Member of Congress now considering the subject of new legislation for the drafting of boys 18 to 19. You have repeatedly been quoted as being opposed to the drafting of boys of teen age into the armed forces unless you were convinced that there was an urgent need for the drafting of boys. Meetings are now being held to determine whether or not such an urgent need exists.

In all my life, and I am now 48 years of age, I have never written to any of our legislators, whether State or Federal, to express my personal views on pending legislation because I always felt that the legislators were and did perform their duties as right and conscience dictated. The American public, and I as one of them, have been led to believe since the first of the year, and yes, even at the time when the draft law age limit was lowered to include the 20-year-olds, that the 18- and 19-year-old boys would not be mustered into the service for a long time to come unless the war situation became so serious that it would be absolutely necessary to take this step.

This belief on the part of the American public was a well-founded one, and was primarily based on the action and attitude of Congress when the draft law was reduced to 20. By skillful propaganda on the part of the Army leaders, a great many of the American public has for some time sensed that the Army leaders would shortly force Congress to lower the age limit to include 18- to 19-year-olds, and had gone so far in



their use of pressure to prevail on our President to recently make the astounding request for the induction of our young boys into the armed forces. And now Congress, particularly the House of Representatives, is rushing pell-mell to adopt the legislation which will be, and is, a tragic mistake.

I have read the reported testimony of Army and Navy leaders before the committee, and there is nothing in their testimony which can or should convince Congress that there is such an urgent need for boys in the Army or Navy.

I was a boy once and so were you, and you and I can use our own judgment as to whether or not we could, if we were 18 or 19, cope with equal prowess with young men who had reached their majority.

I would like to suggest that the members of your committee acting on this legislation take a trip to some of our high schools and our colleges to survey these respective groups and remind themselves of what boys of 18 and 19 look like and convince themselves in that manner whether the Army knows what it's talking about.

It would be a sad mistake and tragedy and a great wrong to the youth of our country if such law were adopted forcing boys now in their senior year at high school or freshman or sophomore year at college to break away from their educational training which is making them fit to carry on the traditional way of American life, each in his own selected field.

I can well understand the argument of survival forcing the interruption of their education and training, were there such compelling necessity, but you and every clear-thinking individual must admit that no compelling necessity as yet can be convincingly shown, nor is any even remotely imminent.

I join the great number of American fathers of boys of teen age in voicing this objection against any such legislation, and I make my objection with all the strength that I can muster. Should the legislation be adopted, and I regret to say that I am fearful that it will because of the apparent haste and speed with which action is now being taken, as reported by the newspapers, that history will prove that a great and unnecessary wrong was perpetrated by the Congress of the United States on our boys of teen age.

Very truly yours,

L. A. J. ROBBINS.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, let me say in conclusion that I have no patience with the speed and the hurry-up action on the part of congressional leaders to have this legislation passed. As the distinguished Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] has said on the floor of the Senate, we are going far beyond what our Allies have done in forcing the young men of our Nation into combat service before they have finished their college education, or even their high-school courses.

I have before me a special dispatch from London, which I wish to read to the Senate:

King George, in the presence of South African Minister Jan C. Smuts and Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labor and National Service, signed a proclamation at Buckingham Palace today making 18-year-old youths eligible for military service.

They are just being made eligible.

Bevin, disclosing the action in the House of Commons, emphasize that the young class would not be required to serve abroad.

This morning we heard our distinguished friend from Alabama [Mr. HILL] trying to broaden that expression by saying that it includes continental Europe. The people of England have the English

Channel between them and the continent of Europe. When a man stands in England and talks about going abroad, he means to France, Belgium, Denmark, Russia, or some other part of Europe or Asia, or to the South Pacific or Africa. The British mean to keep the younger boys at home, on home duties, until they are trained and seasoned, as my friend the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. GURNEY] wishes them to be, to meet the professionals of Germany and Japan who have been trained from 2 to 4 years.

We propose to register November 7 those who have reached the age of 18 between July 1 and September 30, inclusive—

He said.

They will be medically examined later in the month and called up as required. Many of them may expect to join the services in December.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Mississippi has expired, both on the bill and on the amendment.

Mr. BILBO. As a final word, I wish to say—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President—

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Washington yield to me half a minute of my own time?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair has not yet recognized the Senator from Washington. The Chair intends to recognize the Senator from Washington.

The Senator from Washington is recognized.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BONE. I am very glad to yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I should like to have the RECORD show at this particular point that there are several Senators in the chamber—of which number the Senator from Maryland is one—who, if they had had an opportunity, would have supported the Norris amendment in its general philosophy. It provided against sending abroad inductees who are less than 19 years of age. Unfortunately, the amendment of the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL] precluded us from expressing that opinion. Therefore we voted "nay" on that amendment, having no other vote. I make this statement lest our position be misinterpreted. I believe I speak for the Senator from Arkansas, the Senator from Michigan, and others who have indicated the point of view which I have just expressed.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me a minute of my own time?

Mr. BONE. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I wish to concur in the statement made by the able Senator from Maryland. I voted against the O'Daniel amendment because I favored the Norris amendment. So far as I am concerned, I would stop entirely the drafting of 19-year-old boys if I could.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, the Senator from Maryland and the Senator from Michigan have just now literally taken the words out of my mouth. They served by their statements to make plain

what I now desire to make plain in my own behalf.

At this point in my remarks I should like to have the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], as modified, printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the amendment, as modified, was order to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Amendment proposed by Mr. NORRIS to the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, viz: At the end of the bill add the following:

"SEC. 5. Nothing in this act shall authorize the sending of troops inducted into military service by this act into combat service beyond the limits of the continental United States who are less than nineteen years of age unless such troops have had at least 1 year of training."

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, due to the parliamentary situation so aptly described by the Senator from Maryland, it was impossible for those of us who would have been happy to support the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] to vote in the affirmative on it. I have no great dissatisfaction with the philosophy expressed in the amendment of the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL]; but I much prefer the language of the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska. I regret that I was thus unable to vote upon it. I am sorry that the situation was not reversed, so that the Norris amendment might have been tendered as a substitute for the O'Daniel amendment, thereby permitting us to vote first on the Norris amendment. In that case I should have voted for the Norris amendment. I merely wish the RECORD to show my attitude toward this problem, so that it may not be misunderstood in the history of our actions.

Mr. President, I take a moment more to comment upon a bit of history. This morning the able Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL] spoke about the attitude of President Lincoln toward General Grant in his great campaign of 1864. There are sons and grandsons of Confederate veterans in this body, and I think they probably will be interested in my remarks of the moment.

It is my recollection that the Senator from Alabama said that President Lincoln had said to General Grant, "Go right ahead. You have my undivided support to fight this war out, no matter what it costs."

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BONE. I yield.

Mr. HILL. I am afraid the Senator, in his enthusiasm, is putting words in my mouth.

Mr. BONE. I shall be glad to have the Senator repeat his statement.

Mr. HILL. I said that Mr. Lincoln had stood squarely behind General Grant, and let General Grant follow his own course. He told him that the reason he did so was that he—Lincoln—thought that Grant knew best.

Mr. BONE. In the Wilderness campaign there occurred probably the most astounding manifestation in the military history of this country or any other country.



Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. BONE. I do not have much time. If I have time I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. HILL. I wish to refer the Senator to Lord Charnwood's *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, page 353.

Mr. BONE. I refer my very able brother from Alabama to a great many critical histories of the Civil War which I have perused, including Sandburg's *Life of Lincoln*.

When Grant crossed the Rapidan, I believe in May 1864, and plunged into that bewildering section of the Virginia country known as the Wilderness, with the greatest army ever gathered under the American flag up to that time, a sturdy body of fighting men, almost all of them trained and hardened veterans, with a vast park of artillery, he gave notice to the country that he would fight it out along that line if it took all summer.

In that campaign he lost more men than Lee's army contained. He wound up that summer campaign—I believe in the middle or the latter part of June—with 10,000 casualties, dead and wounded men, at the second battle of Cold Harbor, a battle so savage that it staggered the conscience of America. Wounded and dying men lay out in the fierce sun of Virginia, rising and falling like a carpet, their agonized throats parched with thirst. The air was filled with the screams of the wounded and dying men crying in vain for relief, for Grant and Lee did not arrange an armistice. Those men had to lie there and die in the blazing Virginia sun.

Lee retreated across the James River to Petersburg, Va., and holed in there. He dug trenches and America saw real trench warfare.

Then occurred the peculiar manifestation which I mentioned. For some reason neither Grant nor Lincoln elected to press Lee with great vigor and for 9 months, from about July until the following March, the Confederate Army stood in its trenches at Petersburg. Grant possessed magnificent artillery, including siege guns—the finest artillery of its kind in the world at that time.

I shall not hash over old history. Historians have done that. I do not propose to do it on this floor, except to say that the whole country was staggered by the libations of blood poured out at the Wilderness, Spottsylvania Court House, and Cold Harbor, and every Senator on this floor knows that there was such an upheaval in this country, such an outpouring of sentiment, whether justified or not, against the letting of blood in that campaign, that Lincoln himself was afraid he would be defeated in the election of 1864. So military activities were almost stopped; the troops remained in the trenches at Petersburg for months. Nothing vital was done. The killing, the butchery, the blood-letting which occurred during those months in the Wilderness campaign had staggered the North. When the Union army lost more men in that campaign than the whole number of men in the Confederate army under Lee, it came as a stunning blow.

There was a reason for the cessation of activities. The administration was actually afraid that that terrible loss of life among the young men of the North might cost Lincoln his reelection. Every historian in this body knows that was true. So the war in the eastern theater of operations almost ended for the Army of the Potomac and the Army of northern Virginia, except such minor battles as the one at Fort Steadman and at the crater at Petersburg. Then gallant Lee, with his men hungry, ragged, and starving, got out of the trenches at Petersburg and hurried westward. He got only as far as Appomattox when his dwindling legions of brave men were surrounded, and had to surrender. There was no use fighting further because there would have been an unjustifiable loss of life. When the end came, only a few thousand of Lee's once fine army were capable of bearing arms.

Critical historians have explained why fighting ended at Petersburg, as I have indicated. It is true that fighting went on in other places, but that was a terrible example of what sometimes happens in war when vast numbers are being killed.

I express interest in those matters because my father was with Grant, and my mother lost her young brothers in that campaign. So I speak with a knowledge of one who has heard men who participated in those stirring events and who saw the shambles of Spottsylvania Courthouse, the Wilderness, and Cold Harbor.

So at that time, whether Grant was going along with Lincoln, or Lincoln was putting the destiny of the country in the hands of Grant, for 9 months the whole war in Grant's sector was in abeyance.

I rose to say that I would have voted for the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska; and I desire to repeat for the sake of the cold record that the parliamentary situation did not permit me to vote for it. If I had been able to do so I would have reversed the situation, and would have voted for the Norris amendment.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. BURTON. I should like to know what the present parliamentary situation is.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. BILBO].

#### FRIENDS OF DEMOCRACY, INC.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I do not rise for the purpose of speaking on the pending amendment, although I think there is a great deal in what the Senator from Mississippi has said with reference to it.

I rise to speak on a matter which is somewhat extraneous. I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Oklahoma to an article appearing in the *New York Times* of Friday, October 23. The article is entitled "Lawlessness Depicted in Dry Oklahoma; Prohibition Disunity Held to

Be Axis Aim." I read from the article as follows:

A picture of bootlegging in Oklahoma was drawn by the liquor industry in an effort to remind Senator JOSH LEE—and the rest of the country—how prohibitory law is working in that State. The Oklahoman was author of the dry amendment to the 18-19-year draft bill which was referred by the Senate to the Military Affairs Committee for hearings.

The following paragraphs are the ones to which I wish to invite the particular attention of the Senate:

At the same time, Friends of Democracy, Inc., said "the present utterly fantastic drive to disunite America by prohibition legislation is sparked from Axis propaganda."

The Reverend Leon M. Birkhead, national director of Friends of Democracy—

I desire to call attention to the fact that this Dr. Birkhead and the Friends of Democracy were the ones who started out to purge every Senator who wanted to try to keep this country out of war and who disagreed with the foreign policy of the President prior to Pearl Harbor. At that time Dr. Birkhead was accusing all of us who were opposing some portions of the program of the President because we thought it would lead to war, of being guided, either innocently or directly, by Axis propaganda.

Now he says that all the church people of this country, including the fine church women, likewise were being guided by Axis propaganda.

Let me read further from the article:

The Reverend Leon M. Birkhead, national director of Friends of Democracy, said he believed, with Secretary Stimson, that the Senators espousing military-zone prohibition were sincere in their motives. However, he said prohibition arguments now advanced here could be traced to a Nazi-subsidized organization in Geneva, Switzerland.

Mr. Birkhead offered to show records at his office, 103 Park Avenue, to substantiate his charge that propagandists had filtered "much of the Goebbels' secret prohibition propaganda into sincere but innocent front organizations." He said that Nazi agents "understand, if Senators do not, that bitter resentments would flare in American military, naval, and civilian masses if prohibitory legislation could be manipulated."

I read further from the article:

Asserting that prohibitory law in Oklahoma fails to protect either soldiers or the public, Thomas F. McCarthy, president of the Allied Liquor Industries, quoted from accounts in Oklahoma newspapers of bootleg liquor seizures, of racketeering in sugar to make illegal whisky, of prevalent prostitution, and of costly splurges by war workers in Oklahoma City speakeasies.

I have read from the article, not for the purpose of casting any reflection upon the State of Oklahoma or the Senator from Oklahoma, but merely to show the Senate what a despicable character this man Birkhead is, and because of the fact that from one end of the country to the other he attempted to blacken the character of every individual, every patriotic organization, and every peace organization that had the temerity to want to try to keep this country out of war, by saying that they were inspired, either innocently or openly, by the Axis Powers.

He even charges the great church organizations with being so inspired. I do



not know how many Senators have received telegrams and letters from members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. I have received many telegrams from members of that church who live in my State, and many telegrams from leading Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and from members of women's organizations throughout the country, supporting the Lee amendment. While I did not vote to place it in the present law, but voted to refer it to the committee because of the pleas which were made upon the floor of the Senate by our Democratic leader and by other Members of the Senate, nevertheless I resent the actions of a man such as Birkhead, who apparently can be bought and sold by anyone who has the price. I resent having him charge anyone and everyone who does not agree with him with being dupes of the Axis agents.

He says that measures such as the Lee amendment stir up disunity. As a matter of fact, the so-called Friends of Democracy and this man Birkhead himself have done more and are now doing more to stir up disunity in this country by charging everyone who does not agree with him with being an Axis agent or the dupe of Axis agents, than anyone I know of is doing. I desire to take this opportunity to pay my respects to this man and to the kind of people he represents and the people who associate with him and are putting up the money for him to carry on such propaganda.

A repeat a portion of the article:

The Reverend Leon M. Birkhead, National Director of Friends of Democracy, said he believed, with Secretary Stimson, that the Senators espousing military zone prohibition were sincere in their motives. However, he said, prohibition arguments now advanced here could be traced to a Nazi-subsidized organization in Geneva, Switzerland.

In other words, he would have us to believe that the arguments which were made on the floor of the Senate by the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma were advanced or could be traced to Nazi-subsidized organizations in Geneva, Switzerland.

The article further states—

Mr. Birkhead offered to show records at his office, 103 Park Avenue, to substantiate his charge that propagandists had filtered "much of Goebbels' secret prohibition propaganda into sincere but innocent front organizations."

Are the church organizations of this country sincere but innocent front organizations for Nazi propaganda? Were the Senators who voted upon this floor for the amendment inspired by Nazi propaganda, and were they taking up the Goebbels propaganda which came out of Switzerland?

As a matter of fact, I do not suppose any church group in the United States—not one group in this country, not one Senator—ever heard of any propaganda for prohibition coming from Switzerland, and neither did any other people in church organizations.

The group, the Friends of Democracy, Inc., was the group that deliberately and premeditatedly started to go into every locality of the country trying to purge every Member of the House of Rep-

resentatives and every Member of the Senate who did not agree with the President or the policy laid down by that group in New York prior to Pearl Harbor. One could well come to the conclusion that the only people in this country who had any patriotism left in them were a group of Wall Street bankers and a group of others in the city of New York who are financing Mr. Birkhead and his so-called Friends of Democracy. "Friends of Democracy!" They are not in favor of democracy; they do not even know what the meaning of democracy is. They are in favor of a dictatorship in this country, and they want the kind of dictatorship, if you please, that exists in some of the countries of Europe. They are preaching democracy, but, at the same time, they seek to set up in the United States of America some form of dictatorship under the guise of democracy.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHEELER. I yield the floor.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, I shall undertake to answer the article. I saw it in the New York Times. I do not believe there is a Member of this body who believes that I or any one of my colleagues is in any way connected with Nazi propaganda. That, of course, is merely a ridiculous charge. I know that some Senators who favored the amendment designed to prohibit liquor in and around military camps voted to send the bill to the committee because they feared that consideration of that question at this time would create dissension which might, in some way, hinder the war effort. I think the vote of many Senators was a hard one for them to cast on that very account.

With respect to liquor in Oklahoma, I believe that the liquor laws of Oklahoma are as well enforced as laws of that nature are enforced anywhere. I believe there is as little liquor per capita in Oklahoma as there is in any other State in the Union and much less than in many States. I believe that every Senator will agree with me that an organization which has as much money as the Allied Liquor Industries, Inc., who sponsored this article can hire someone to go through the newspaper files, collect every headline about every violation of the liquor law, and make it appear that the conditions in any State are very bad, when quite the contrary is true. I challenge anyone to make a fair comparison between conditions in Oklahoma and any other State in the Union.

If a fair comparison is made the result will show that there is much less crime, drunkenness, and violation of law per capita than there is in any wet State which can be chosen.

I have lived in Oklahoma since statehood. The prohibition laws of the State began with statehood. Oklahoma came into the Union legally dry, and the law has been well enforced, considering the difficulty of enforcing laws of such nature.

The difficulty of enforcing the law in Oklahoma has been greatly increased because of a failure on the part of the Treasury Department of the United

States Government to keep faith in helping dry States to protect themselves against the importation of liquor from other States.

In 1932, before national prohibition was repealed, the Democratic Party pledged in their platform protection to the dry States in this language:

We demand that the Federal Government effectively exercise its power to enable the States to protect themselves against importation of intoxicating liquors in violation of their laws.

That was in the platform of the Democratic Party. Following that President Roosevelt said:

I say to you now that from this date on, the eighteenth amendment is doomed. When that happens we as Democrats must, and will rightly and morally, enable the States to protect themselves against the importation of intoxicating liquor where such importation may violate their State laws.

Then, in order to carry out the pledge of the party and the promise of the President, the twenty-first amendment was enacted in this language:

SEC. 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Following the twenty-first amendment, the Congress enacted the enforcement law of 1936. That law was intended to protect the dry States. Then for 7 months the Federal officials enforced that act to protect the State of Oklahoma and other dry States until, out of a clear sky, the legal counsel for the Treasury Department struck down that law, not as the result of any case at law, not as the result of any judicial decision, but simply in a memorandum in which he said the law did not give protection to the dry States.

Then I offered in the Senate an amendment to a revenue bill. My colleagues heard the plea I made, they supported and the Senate adopted the amendment which would have given the dry States the protection which had been promised them. The amendment was adopted by the Senate by a vote of 53 to 16. Then the Legal Counsel of the Internal Revenue Bureau got busy and prevented the adoption of the amendment by the House and the dry States were denied the protection which had been promised them. So, if there is any place to lay the blame for such infractions of the liquor law as we have in Oklahoma, it should be on the doorstep of the legal counsel for the Internal Revenue Department who struck down the law which was passed to protect the dry States.

Mr. President, I leave it to the fairness of any man, whether he is a Member of this body or outside this body, if the statement be not true that if there be collected from the newspapers and added together news stories which point out infractions and violations, as has been done in this article, the cumulative effect will be such that any law under the sun can be made to appear to be a failure. That law is not a failure in the State of Oklahoma.

I realize that in thickly populated metropolitan areas there is a different situa-



tion. My State is an agricultural State; its population does not live in large cities, and, therefore, the enforcement of the liquor law is relatively easier than it otherwise would be.

The article had no purpose in the world except to try to hurt me and to discredit the State I represent, merely because I conscientiously supported a measure which I believed to be for the best interests of the armed forces of this country, supported a measure which was actually a part of the draft law of 1917.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LEE. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. As the Senator knows, I did not agree with the principle of the Lee amendment, and I did not agree with the principle of the Sheppard bill, for the reason that I did not believe that either the Sheppard bill or the Lee amendment would accomplish the aims and objectives which those Senators announced, but I thought that, on the contrary, it would bring back all the evils which the country suffered under national prohibition, including turning the soldiers and others over to the tender mercies of bootleggers. Therefore I voted to refer the Lee amendment to the Committee on Military Affairs, for consideration, but if a vote had been taken on the amendment, I should have voted against it.

I do not think the Senator from Oklahoma, or the Senator from Montana, or any one else, need lose any sleep or be worked up over the aspersions which have been attempted by this renegade preacher Birkhead—and he is a renegade preacher—who used to live in my State, and left the State for the good of the State, I may say. He is a professional mud slinger, who will undertake to asperse anybody who happens to be in opposition to the crowd he represents. It seems to me too much attention is being paid to him. If everyone whom he has denounced as a Nazi agent had been a Nazi agent, it would seem that Goebbels had changed his staff of agents in this country with great rapidity, because anybody who differs with Birkhead is immediately denounced as a Nazi agent.

My purpose in rising was to say that, while I was not in favor of the amendment, if anyone, Birkhead or anyone else, undertook to intimate that those who had favored the Sheppard bill and favored the Senator's amendment are not among the very best people in the United States, I should regard it as absurd. I have received a great many letters from people in Missouri whom I know, and know very well, who favor the amendment, and who favor the Sheppard bill, and they are the salt of the earth. I do not agree with them; I think they are wrong. I think that the objective at which they are aiming is excellent, but I think adoption of the method they are suggesting would be disastrous to the country. As to their motives and their patriotism and their freedom from any impulse except to work for the highest interests of the American people, for them to be berated by a fellow like this man Birk-

head is utterly ridiculous. Those people need no defense from anyone.

Mr. LEE. I thank the Senator. I merely wanted to repudiate the article referred to by the Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER].

The conditions in Oklahoma are mighty good conditions under which to live and bring up a family. I live in a little town of 12,000 inhabitants. The children go to school, and on Sunday we go to church. We see very little of intoxicating liquors there, and the people of Oklahoma like that atmosphere. We struggle along to enforce the dry laws as best we can since the Federal Government has not given us the protection we were promised.

#### REDUCTION OF DRAFT AGE LIMIT

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2748) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD an editorial from the Washington Post entitled "Our Enemy Syphilis."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post]

#### OUR ENEMY SYPHILIS

When the Tolan committee wrote, in its latest interim report, that "this war can be lost in Washington," it was thinking of our failure to make the best use of our manpower. In a more limited way, that statement seems to be applicable also to the scandalous vice conditions in the Capital. The fact that hundreds of young men are being infected with syphilis and gonorrhea on their visits to Washington, and thus rendered unfit for military service, is more than a national disgrace. It is a shameful waste of manpower at a time when the country needs the services of every able-bodied citizen.

Prostitutes spreading venereal disease among soldiers are a sort of sixth column working to undermine the strength of the Nation in the hour of its peril. They strike as directly at our armed forces as do Jap and Nazi guns. The measure of the damage they do is to be found in the fact that the Army refuses to induct venereal disease victims until treatments carry them beyond the infectious stage of their affliction. When men acquire syphilis after their induction, they are recognized as a menace to the Army. Yet Washington has permitted this loathsome sixth column to flourish here at the headquarters of the United Nations without an effective check.

The Washington Criminal Justice Association directed attention to the prevalence of vice and venereal disease here months ago. Senator McCARRAN, chairman of the Senate District Committee, has introduced a bill to tighten up the flimsy law under which the prosecutors and police have been operating. And now the courts are beginning to crack down upon the hapless victims of this racket. But no real solution is yet in sight. The McCarran bill is still awaiting committee action, and even when Congress gets around to passing it the police will be so short of men that enforcement will be difficult. Unless there is consistent cooperation from the courts, moreover, centers of vice cleared out from one place will quickly go into operation elsewhere.

Surgeon General Parran has disclosed that some prostitutes are guaranteeing infection to men seeking to evade the draft. It is impossible to determine how many men are stooping to this disgusting means of letting their country down. But the record shows that syphilis has already deprived the Army of about 6 divisions of 20,000 men each. Dr. Parran recommends that prostitutes be quarantined and treated so as to prepare them for jobs in war industries. It is time for the country to wake up to the fact that loathsome venereal diseases are undermining our nation's strength, particularly in the Capital City. If we are facing this global war with deadly earnestness, we will strike at venereal disease as vigorously as at any other enemy.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I inquire what is before the Senate at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. BILBO].

Mr. TYDINGS. I wish to offer an amendment. Of course, it would not be in order until the pending amendment was disposed of.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, many Senators are anxious to have the pending bill disposed of today, and many are awaiting action on it in order to fill important engagements. In order that we may arrive at a vote upon the pending measure and all other amendments which have been offered, I hope we may forego the pleasure of consuming time on extraneous matters which have already been disposed of and which are not before the Senate.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, it had not been my intention to speak on the pending measure, but the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. BILBO] has just referred to a factor which has been a source of great worry to me. I feel more deeply regretful than I can express at the situation which makes it impossible for me to support the pending proposal. I would be hesitant indeed to set up my own individual judgment against a position which those in authority in our armed services, from the Commander in Chief down, have presented as their considered judgment, but there is a duty I have to perform and there are conclusions which to me are inescapable which force me to a position where I cannot support the pending proposal.

I am not unduly swayed by the discussions as to age. Once more I know my colleagues will pardon me if I make a personal allusion. I wore the uniform of the United States in active service, in domestic turmoil, when I was 14 years old. I wore it again in the Spanish-American War, when I was 18. I wore it again in the World War, when I was 38 or 39 years old. The question is not one of age. Nor is it a question of the feelings of the mothers. Every mother looks on her boy as a babe in arms, whom she held and attended when he was a tiny babe. Her grief is no less poignant, the strain on her heartstrings is no less keen, the ache in her heart is no less searing when her 20-year-old boy is called into service, than it would be if he were 18 years old or 19 years old.



Nor am I moved by statements such as those made by General Marshall in his testimony before the committee, that he went into hospitals and saw in the beds elderly men who had been in the service for 4 or 5 years. I recall a very particular occasion when in Chattanooga, out of a company of 120 men 18 and 19 years of age, only 17 turned out, because all the others, 103, were in the hospital with dysentery and typhoid. So those things are to me somewhat pointless, though they may weigh with others.

There is a situation, Mr. President, which weighs heavily with me, and forces me to the conclusion which I must reach. If this Nation needs 18- and 19-year-old boys, I am for taking them, and I would support a measure providing that they should be taken. If the Nation needs 17- and 16-year-old boys in order to win the war in which we are embarked, I shall support a movement to that end. But I must be convinced that the necessity exists. I am willing to throw every ounce of power, every resource we have, into the effort to bring the war to a successful termination, but it must be shown that there is a necessity, and that it is inescapable.

Mr. President, what would be the effect of the adoption of the proposal? Let me use this illustration: If it ever became necessary, I should consent that factories in this country now making munitions should be torn down and the metal taken to make guns for use in the war. But why destroy the factories? We have heard statements made concerning the boys in the Civil War who were 12, 14, 15, and 16 years of age. That was a deplorable situation. After the war some of those boys came into my State and took up quarter sections of land, married young girls, and settled down. In those days they could do that. But let me point out what is proposed to be done now. We are being asked to call out of high school, boys 18 and 19 years of age, directly from the senior class, and directly on their graduation, not for a short war within the realm of any probability, but for a long war. Those boys may not return until they are 24 or 25 years of age. Will they then go to colleges? They certainly will not. By then their outlook will have been changed entirely, and they will have no inclination to go into schools to learn professions. They will therefore never become equipped. They will acquire no technical knowledge. They will have no professional schooling.

What are we asked to do? We are asked to approve a measure which will destroy an asset of the Nation and thrust these boys into the insatiable jaws of the god of war. If we desire to fit them in, let us fit them in, but why destroy the future industrial possibilities of the Nation, saying "we need them," why force generations one after another into the war and destroy them?

A few days ago an eminent American appeared before one of our committees and cited the instance of a Japanese transport ship on its way to Java with 780 highly skilled technicians and professional men to take charge in Java of Japan's activities. The ship was sunk,

and this eminent man stated that the loss of the technicians and skilled workers was a greater blow to Japan than could have been the destruction of six battleships, because Japan does not have replacements.

Mr. President, shall we destroy the replacements of our country? Shall we put the country into such a position that it will not have technicians or skilled workers for the future, and will have no professionally trained men skilled and able to carry on the work, and no boys returning from the war capable of assuming the burden?

Mr. President, if such conditions become inevitable, and a measure is submitted such as the one now being proposed, I shall vote for it, but I cannot vote for it on the case that has been made here in its support. Give the boys a year's training; then take them into the service, and when they come back they can finish their skilled training. Until the necessity arises, Mr. President, I cannot, deeply as I regret it, support the bill on the basis of any case which has been made for need at the present time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. BILBO].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment which I ask to have stated by the clerk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. It is proposed to insert the following at the proper place:

Every registrant found by a local Selective Service board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2) of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, to be regularly engaged in an agricultural occupation or endeavor essential to the war effort, shall be deferred from training and service in the land and naval forces so long as he remains so engaged and until such time as a satisfactory replacement can be obtained: *Provided*, That should any such person leave such occupation or endeavor, except for induction into the land or naval forces under such act, his local Selective Service board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2) of such act, shall reclassify such registrant in a class immediately available for military service, unless prior to leaving such occupation or endeavor he requests his local board to determine, and his local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2) of said act determines that it is in the best interest of the war effort for him to leave such occupation or endeavor for other work.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, the amendment which has just been read was prepared at my request in the office of General Hershey. I have quite thoroughly canvassed the members of the Military Affairs Committee, and I do not know that any of them are opposed to the amendment. Most of them have said they were in favor of it. I do not believe the Senator in charge of the bill is opposed to the amendment, although I understand that he is not in position to accept it. However, the officials of the Selective Service System are not opposed to it—indeed, I believe they favor it.

Basically, the amendment provides that in the case of a person who is working on a farm and is called for induction into the armed service, if it can be shown that by drafting him a large area of agricultural land will not be worked, in other words, that there will be a reduction in the production of food because of the drafting of the particular individual, and that he is bona fide and in good faith continually employed, the local board may defer such a farm worker until such time as a replacement can be found for him.

I was impelled to offer this amendment because of correspondence I have had with many farmers in my own State and some outside the State. I know of a farmer who after he does his day's work, because all his help has left him, goes to his cornfield at night in his automobile and turns on his automobile headlights and husks his corn in order to get it into the barn. I know of a farmer who is sowing and drilling wheat by moonlight at night after his day's work is done in order to get his wheat planted. These are only examples of the extreme shortage of farm labor. All my amendment seeks to do is to provide that whenever a person is employed continuously in good faith in the production of food, and taking him off the farm would leave a large section of land uncultivated, and there is no replacement, he shall be deferred upon those facts until a replacement can be found.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Does the Senator's amendment apply only to the draftees involved in the pending bill or to all draftees?

Mr. TYDINGS. It would apply to all draftees. As I said, the amendment was drawn in General Hershey's office at my request, and I think I am authorized to say that they are in favor of it. As a matter of fact, through general interpretation in some sections the philosophy of the amendment is already being employed. Most Senators on the floor have indicated to me that they are favorable to the amendment. I hope it will provoke no debate.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. HILL. Let me say to the Senator that, of course, I have no authority to speak for anyone but myself, but I have conferred with representatives of the Selective Service System. They have no objection to the amendment. As the Senator knows, perhaps the most critical shortage we have today in what we ordinarily call manpower, is in agriculture, on our farms.

Mr. TYDINGS. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HILL. So far as I know there is no objection to the amendment.

Mr. TYDINGS. The whole trend has been from the farm to the factory; not from the factory to the farm.

Mr. HILL. That is true.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.



Mr. BILBO. Does the Senator's amendment apply to those who are now employed on the farm or to those who may become employed on the farm in order to escape the draft?

Mr. TYDINGS. It means those who are actually working on the farm continuously, employed in good faith, where the local board, on the facts, finds that the drafting of such individuals would leave a large section of land uncultivated.

Mr. BILBO. The Senator appreciates the fact that if we adopt the amendment every farmer in the country will at once get plenty of farm help.

Mr. TYDINGS. I hope the Senator is correct, but with \$120 a week being paid in cities to former farm laborers, I do not think the exodus back to the farm will be very great. The adoption of the amendment would, however, afford some inducement to farm laborers to stay on the farm.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. I think the Senator from Maryland has done a great service to the country by the submission of his amendment. I hope there will be no opposition to it. I am thinking, Mr. President, of the war, and the war effort, and not of any individual. I am thinking of the relief which I believe the provisions of the amendment, if properly carried out, would bring to the country, and not to any individual. If its provisions should bring relief to an individual, well and good. I have had the same experience, I suppose, that all other Senators have had who represent agricultural portions of this great country. In my judgment we ought to have done this thing long before.

I am not authorized, of course, to speak for General Hershey or for any of his assistants. I have not talked with them about the amendment, but I have had many conferences with them and a great deal of correspondence with them, and, in my judgment, from what they have said and written to me, I believe they are in favor of just such a procedure as the amendment proposes.

Mr. President, I do not know that the amendment will work fully. I think a great deal of damage has already been done, but it is apparent to everyone, it seems to me, whether he be a military man or a layman, that one thing is absolutely necessary in this and every other war: We must supply our Army with what the farmer produces. If we do not do it we are bound to be defeated on the battlefield. It is just as important to produce the food which is necessary and the clothing which is necessary as it is to produce guns and ammunition, and provide the men themselves. The man between the plow handles is just as much a real soldier as the man at the battle-front. He does not risk his life, it is true, he is not in the same danger, but he is performing an absolutely essential service. We cannot put men on the battle line unless we have men on the farms producing the food that must supply our Army. We must have the food there, not only every year, not only every month, but it must be there every day. Already I know of large portions of the

agricultural areas which are going to lie idle next year. I am afraid we will have a food shortage next year.

Mr. President, it must be remembered that when the war is over—and I hope to God it will be soon—we are then going to be called upon to feed the world. We are the only country left that can do it, and we ought not to be afraid of producing too much. I am afraid we will produce too little.

We must feed our soldiers, we must feed our civil population, and then we will be called upon to feed those all over Europe and nearly all over the world who have suffered more than we have, and we will probably not be able to do it fully.

This provision will go a long way toward putting us in a position where we can do that.

Mr. TYDINGS. I thank the Senator from Nebraska, because I think he has expressed the case very completely.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. WHEELER. I have received a number of letters from various stock men in my State, pointing out the necessity of selling their sheep and their cattle. I was told that in one county of Montana alone 30,000 breeding sheep were sold.

I have received from the operator of a comparatively large ranch a letter which came to my office this morning, and I happen to have it in my pocket. The letter is as follows:

The enclosed clipping appeared in the October 18 issue of the Sheridan Press, a daily newspaper printed here. I thought you might be interested in reading it and in passing it on to some of the officials of the Selective Service organization in the Capital.

I am residing in Sheridan temporarily as I was obliged to sell my ranch in Powder River County because of inability to get help with which to operate it. It means that the production of 300 to 500 head of cattle is ended and there is that much less produced. When you multiply this by two or three hundred, you will realize what Washington is doing to an industry which is said to be bringing close to \$100,000,000 into Montana this year.

These people in Washington don't seem to get it through their heads that ranching and farming are two separate and distinct industries and that livestock hands—cowboys—are skilled labor and cannot be replaced with women, businessmen on their vacations, Jap, or Mexican help. It is not common labor. The ordinary laborer would be absolutely worthless—and would get lost, let alone be able to do any work of value, in a big country where a man must not only be resourceful, but have a lifetime of experience.

Mr. TYDINGS. I am sure that the conditions depicted in the letter the Senator has read could be multiplied all over the farming areas.

Mr. WHEELER. That is correct. The letter continues:

What in the world is the matter with those people in Washington? I can truthfully tell you that the Democratic Party, and I'm a Democrat, is going to get very scant consideration from the ranch people in these Western States. They are really incensed over the ignorance and indifference shown by the bureaucratic element in Washington.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely, yours,

F. H. SINCLAIR.

Mr. President, I ask that an editorial from the Sheridan, Wyo., newspaper to which the writer of the letter referred, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Sheridan (Wyo.) Press of October 18, 1942]

#### A CRISIS IN FOOD PRODUCTION

Some people in positions of authority in Washington don't seem to realize that the farmers and stockmen of this region need to know now what they may be able to expect next year in the way of necessary help and labor available for them in their vitally important business.

It does not make sense to a stockman to try to winter many cattle or sheep during the coming 6 months, with his already greatly reduced number of employees, if he has no assurance whatever that his labor problem will not become continuously more severe and difficult, with the result that 6 or 8 months from now he may have to sell at least a large part of his stock and at a time when they will not be in proper condition for market. Far better for him to sell now when the stock are in shape for market and not attempt to winter his normal number.

A stockman must look ahead for about a year. He can't operate on a month-to-month or on a quarterly or even a semiannual basis. Quite naturally and understandably stockmen are besieging their local draft boards for information and advice. But the local boards have no information on which they can base definite advice as to next year.

Volunteer emergency help by people from the towns, high-school students, and women, no matter how generously offered, cannot answer the stockman's need for labor. He does not need large numbers of helpers for short periods. But he does need a few men of experience in the livestock business upon whose skill and knowledge he can rely when they are off alone with the stock, often in remote places, men who know what to do and how to do it, men who the employer knows will do their work when he is not there to tell them and see that they do it.

A few men of that type engaged in the livestock business can and do produce a very great amount of food per capita. Removal of too many of them is an extremely serious threat to that essential war industry, the production of food. And they cannot be replaced by transferring men from other less essential civilian activities, untrained and without experience in the stock business. Several untrained and inexperienced men cannot begin to do the job and assist the production of meat as can one trained and experienced man.

These facts are all so obvious to us in this region that it should be entirely unnecessary to mention them. But apparently they have not yet fully registered in Washington.

The threat to the future production of food for our armed forces and the civilian population by the current sales of breeding cows and ewes in unprecedentedly large numbers by stockmen who feel forced by the labor shortage to reduce their operations, is extremely serious. The same is true of milk cows. Entirely too many of them are being sold for slaughter for the same reason. If, for the Army alone, 7,500,000 men are to be out of productive work next year, those that are left must produce more, not less. That means that the men remaining on the ranches must be skilled and experienced.

This is a critical situation in a most important phase of the war effort, and it requires immediate and most serious attention.

Mr. TAFT and Mr. MALONEY addressed the Chair.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, my time is running short. I am going to



yield to the two Senators who are on their feet, and I shall thank them if they will be brief in their remarks.

I yield now to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT].

Mr. TAFT. I wanted to report to the Senator from Maryland that on Thursday I was in East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. The Ohio Farm Bureau chairman there called on me and stated that a survey had just been made of the production of the farms of Columbiana County, which is mostly dairying, between Pittsburgh and Youngstown. He told me that whereas they had been requested next year to have a 12 percent increase in agricultural production, they could not provide such an increase. According to the survey, as a result of what has already happened to farm labor, there will be an 8 percent decrease in production, and if the draft continues to take their farm workers from them, all the single men, and men married since Pearl Harbor, the decrease will be 21 percent in the agricultural production of that county, which is fairly typical of counties which adjoin large cities.

Mr. TYDINGS. I thank the Senator from Ohio, because I know that what he has said applies to an exceedingly large section of the country. The industrial worker will be the one who will profit by this amendment, because more food will be made available, and there will be fewer meatless or milkless days. It ought also to mean lower prices.

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President—

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. MALONEY. I desire to ask the able Senator from Maryland what is meant by the language "to be regularly engaged in an agricultural occupation." For how long a time must he be so engaged?

Mr. TYDINGS. "Regularly engaged" would not mean permanently, of course, because there is no such thing as permanence in life. It would mean what it says—a regular, bona fide, employed farm worker. That language was selected from the experience of the Selective Service Bureau with occupational requests for deferment. If it is used in that way, it will convey to the local draft boards what previous instructions have already defined.

Mr. MALONEY. Might it mean that a man who was engaged in farming for a period of 1 month could be exempt under this language?

Mr. TYDINGS. Absolutely not.

Mr. MALONEY. Where is the line of demarcation?

Mr. TYDINGS. It would be up to the local board to judge the case on its merits. Any citizen may appeal from the decision of the local board if he does not like the decision. So the whole community, including those who have already given their sons, will be on notice to intervene if this privilege is abused.

Mr. MALONEY. As a matter of fact, the period might be 1 week.

Mr. TYDINGS. No.

Mr. MALONEY. Where is the dividing line?

Mr. TYDINGS. In my humble judgment, the dividing line would be such period of time and such background as to convince the local board that the man was a regularly employed farm worker who knew what it was all about.

Mr. MALONEY. So the intent is that anyone receiving such deferment or exemption must have been a farmer for some considerable time.

Mr. TYDINGS. The Senator has put it better than I was able to express it.

Mr. MALONEY. The Senator from Maryland knows that once we adopt such an amendment, the labor shortage on farms will disappear.

Mr. TYDINGS. I hope the Senator is partly correct; but my opinion is that the effect of this amendment would be felt from now on, rather than to recover any of the farm labor which has already left the farms and gone to factories for higher wages.

Mr. MALONEY. The Senator from Maryland does not anticipate that a man could now go from a munitions plant or any other industry to a farm, and, 3 or 4 or 5 or 6 months hence, apply for deferment on the basis of the language of this amendment?

Mr. TYDINGS. I should say that if he went back to a farm where there was real need for him, and worked for 9 or 10 months or a year before he was called, and had made a record of 9 or 10 months or a year in a position where he was needed, and where he could not be replaced, then I think the board might consider that situation.

Mr. MALONEY. If this amendment should be adopted and put into the law, so many persons would be anxious to take advantage of it that in my judgment there would not be a sufficient number of farm places for them.

Mr. TYDINGS. I do not believe so; but I hope the Senator is partly correct, because we shall need farm labor to feed the Army before the war is over. Make no mistake about it.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. AUSTIN. I wish to point out one important benefit which I think would be a consequence, in addition to the other beneficent consequences. That would be to send out to the owners of herds and farms some word of confidence indicating that Congress really considers their act in this war an essential war act.

Mr. TYDINGS. That is correct.

Mr. AUSTIN. It would at least result in a pause in the panic which is causing farmers to dispose of their herds and farms. Recently I have had absolute, certain proof of the sale of as many as 75 herds on farms in northern Vermont, putting out of commission seventy-odd dairies which are an essential part of the support of our armies.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Maryland has expired.

Mr. TYDINGS. I will take time on the bill.

Mr. AUSTIN. The Senator may take my time, if that can be done.

Mr. TYDINGS. Let me point out to the Senator from Vermont the fact that many farmers must now put in their crops for harvest next year. In my judgment, this amendment, if adopted now, would permit many of them to plant a crop for harvesting next year. Many crops, including dairy crops, would not be harvested if some assurance of this kind were not given.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I interrupt the Senator only for the purpose of saying that my colleague [Mr. STEWART] has telegraphed me that he is very much in favor of the Senator's amendment. He has asked me to have him paired in favor of it. I am also in favor of it. I have a bill before the Senate providing for exactly the same thing.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. BUTLER. Would the local board which would have the decision be the same board which has heretofore made such decisions?

Mr. TYDINGS. It would be the same board.

Mr. BUTLER. Would this amendment give the local boards more power than they now have?

Mr. TYDINGS. Through the regulations of the Selective Service System, more or less indefinite power has been given the local boards to do substantially this, but such power has never heretofore been expressly provided.

While I am on this point I desire publicly to thank General Hershey and his staff for the fine spirit of cooperation they have exhibited in an attempt to solve this very difficult problem.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Maryland a further question in my own time.

Many of the deferments which are now pending have been given for 2 or 3 or 4 months. Would they come under the provisions of this amendment?

Mr. TYDINGS. I think so; but the complete answer to that question, of course, is that if this amendment were adopted I think General Hershey would immediately issue to the local draft boards all over the country the proper answers to the questions which occur to many Senators, questions which I think it would be presumptuous on my part, with my limited experience in the selective-service field, to answer on the floor of the Senate. Certainly the whole purpose is to exempt no man unless his services are indispensable to the production of food, in good faith.

Mr. BUTLER. I thank the Senator from Maryland. I wish to say further that I feel that the amendment proposed by him is one of the most important amendments that have been suggested.

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, I am heartily in favor of the amendment of the Senator from Maryland. I remind the Senator that some time ago he read a letter from General Hershey about the draft dodgers in the departments in Washington. I hope that General Her-



they will keep after the draft dodgers who have been deferred, particularly here in Washington. It is a disgrace.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, while I dislike the idea of any class deferment, yet I believe that the situation has now become so critical that it is absolutely necessary to adopt the amendment proposed by the Senator from Maryland.

Three days ago a young man, who is a graduate of Connecticut Agricultural College, came into my office. He is operating two farms in Vermont. He has been ordered to report for induction next month. Three days ago he had 4 weeks left, and during that time he had to sell the stock which he had on his farms. This is what he must dispose of before he reports for induction next month: 34 head of cows which he is now milking; 60 head of cows and heifers due to freshen soon; 30 head of younger dairy heifers; 23 hogs—incidentally, he raised 103 pigs this summer—3 horses; 40 acres of crops; and his hay and farm tools.

The young man told me that he did not mind going into the Army and losing everything which he had accumulated up to this time and going back to nothing; but he did not like to see all his possible production of meat and dairy products wiped out at this time, when our country needs it more than ever before. The case of this man is only one of innumerable others. It seems to me that it is absolutely necessary for the food supply of our country that the amendment offered by the Senator from Maryland prevail at this time.

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, I desire to offer an amendment to the amendment, after line 3, to strike out at the beginning of line 4 the words "to be" and to insert at that point the words "and who is a legal member of a farm family and is", so that the language would then read "as amended, and who is a legal member of a farm family and is regularly engaged in an agricultural occupation or endeavor," and so forth. I shall not take the time to discuss the amendment to the amendment, because of the lateness of the hour, and because I think it is easily understood.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I cannot accept the amendment, not because I am out of sympathy with what the Senator wishes to do, but because the particular language of my amendment is the result of the experience of the Selective Service System, and the experience of the Selective Service System would throw around the amendment all the safeguards which can be thrown around it. Many persons who work on farms are not members of regular farm families; that is, they do not own the farm. They work by the day or by the month. While the Senators amendment is well intentioned, in my humble judgment it is already covered, so far as its philosophy is concerned, by the provisions of the amendment as it stands.

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, do I have the right to offer an amendment to the amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is open to amendment.

Mr. MALONEY. I thought the Senator from Maryland had some doubt about my right to offer an amendment to the amendment.

Mr. TYDINGS. Oh, no.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, does the Senator believe that his amendment would eliminate farm hands? On some farms laborers have been working for quite a while, but they are not regular members of farm families.

Mr. TYDINGS. I am not trying to eliminate anyone. The existing law takes care of that kind of a situation.

Mr. LEE. I am strongly in favor of the amendment to defer farm labor. The selective service defers farm labor, but only for a certain period of time. Farm labor may be deferred for 6 months or a year; but the deferment is temporary.

As a result, quite often the man who is deferred feels that at the end of that period he will be drafted anyway; so he goes ahead and enlists.

However, if the original amendment becomes law it will give such a man a feeling of permanency and he is more likely to remain on the farm. I believe this is one of the most important amendments which have been offered. Already so many boys have left the farm that the situation has become critical. Therefore, we must provide for the permanent deferment of enough men to keep the farms producing.

The amendment offered by the Senator from Connecticut—

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to interrupt him for a moment? I should like to know whether the Senator wants me to believe that he does not want any more young men from farms to go into the Army.

Mr. LEE. No.

Mr. MALONEY. What does the Senator want?

Mr. LEE. The Senator from Oklahoma does not want that; but the amendment reads "regularly engaged in an agricultural occupation or endeavor essential to the war effort." That would mean that such men shall not be taken from the farms.

Mr. MALONEY. Let me point out to the Senator, in a somewhat different way, that the words "an agricultural occupation or endeavor" might mean such an agricultural endeavor, for instance, as driving a milk wagon.

Mr. LEE. It is rather essential that milk get to the people; is it not?

Mr. MALONEY. Of course; but I want to protect the Selective Service Act. I do not want to permit every newly made farmer to be henceforth exempt.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MALONEY. I shall yield if the Senator from Oklahoma has concluded.

Mr. LEE. I desire to say that I understand the purpose of the Senator's amendment, but I do not believe it would be interpreted to prevent the deferment of any farm hand, because the farm hand would not be considered a legal member of the farmer's family.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MALONEY. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I say again to the Senator that I share his anxiety to close up any loophole which may exist in the proposal, but let me say that the very point the Senator is now discussing was fully considered by the Selective Service Board; and the gentlemen who drew this amendment from their experience in the various farm communities where deferments have already been asked, and where in some cases deferments have been granted, have chosen these words as being the best vehicle to carry out the very idea the Senator from Connecticut wants carried out in throwing safeguards about the proposal.

Mr. MALONEY. I should like to be persuaded that that is true.

Mr. TYDINGS. It is true.

Mr. MALONEY. If I could be so persuaded, I should withdraw the amendment.

However, I am not persuaded. I think it would result in terrible confusion. I think there is a possibility of unfairness, and I think it will stir up the American people as they never before have been stirred on legislation of this kind.

Mr. TYDINGS. I do not know whether the Senator from Connecticut thoroughly understands that most farm help today are getting \$50 a month or, if they are lucky, \$60 a month.

Mr. MALONEY. That is more than the soldiers are getting. I hope the Senator will keep that in mind—

Mr. TYDINGS. No; it is not.

Mr. MALONEY. And that is important in this connection.

Mr. TYDINGS. The point is that in all the other activities in which the farmer has lost his help, the men who formerly aided him are now receiving two, three, or four times as much money as they received when working on the farm.

Mr. MALONEY. I understand that.

Mr. TYDINGS. The point is that unless we give the Selective Service System the right to interpret this act, just so surely as the Senator is looking me in the eye, next year we shall have a shortage of food in this country. We shall not have the food, because the farmers cannot plant the crops without help.

I have almost been unwilling to believe some of the things I know have happened. It is brutal, the way the men who are feeding this Nation have been neglected in the whole arrangement. The amendment which has been suggested was prepared by gentlemen who were sitting in the gallery, officers from General Hershey's department, who out of a rich experience in dealing with this very subject, framed the proposal.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MALONEY. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. Suppose a farm were being operated by a widow who employed a hired hand, and suppose the hired hand had been working there for a year.

Mr. MALONEY. Let me ask the Senator how old is the hired hand?

Mr. NORRIS. Suppose the hired hand had started in when he was a boy of 13, 14, or 15—we can think in terms of any particular case. Would not the



Senator's amendment leave him out entirely? Should not he be deferred?

Mr. MALONEY. I think he should be.

Mr. NORRIS. Would not the Senator's amendment make that impossible?

Mr. MALONEY. No; I do not think so, although I am not sure. I think he should be deferred, and under existing law I think he would be deferred.

Mr. NORRIS. Perhaps he would be.

Mr. MALONEY. However, I am fearful that under the language of the amendment, persons desiring to avoid the draft might at an early age go to work on a farm. Under the proposed language I think they would be almost entitled to ask for exemption and to get it.

I want to protect the farmers because I realize the seriousness of this problem and our danger. I can see it in the difficult operation of the farms in my State. However, I think the proposed language might go too far. I think the language I have suggested might take care of the situation.

It seems to me that the amendment will be agreed to, and that it would not do any harm to take to conference the language I have offered, and there try to find more proper language.

Mr. TYDINGS. The whole thing will be in conference. If what the Senator from Connecticut says is true, the language could be changed in conference.

Mr. MALONEY. I should like to see my amendment taken to conference.

Mr. TYDINGS. The Senator's amendment, if I may say so, is subject to the objection that it excludes from consideration everyone except the family of the farmer who operates the farm.

Mr. MALONEY. I do not want to exclude such people.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MALONEY. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. Will the Senator from Maryland consider an amendment providing, "who have been regularly engaged for a period of two years," or some such provision?

Mr. TYDINGS. No; I should not want such language included.

Mr. TAFT. After all, a farm hand does not become an expert agricultural worker until he has worked on the farm for at least one year; and it seems to me that some restriction of that kind would be useful in protecting against the possibility of having people rush in to such work in order to avoid the draft.

Mr. TYDINGS. Let us be reasonable about the matter. General Hershey will enforce the law. He drew the amendment; I did not suggest the language. I suggested the idea. He agreed as to the need, and said we should have something of the sort prepared by his staff. He is to administer the law, and he has the responsibility of getting the men for the Army. That is his first responsibility.

Mr. TAFT. Let me say that the local draft boards will not look to General Hershey; they will read the words in the law. If a man began yesterday to engage in the particular business, in my opinion he not only should be deferred, but, if it is an essential activity, he must be deferred by the local draft board.

So, I am strongly for the amendment, but I think the language would be interpreted in that way.

Mr. TYDINGS. But General Hershey, through the regulations, has attempted to do in a general way what the suggested language would expressly require.

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, do I have the floor?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut has the floor.

Mr. MALONEY. I yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, as a matter of fact, General Hershey himself could have done this thing by regulation. The suggested language is wholly unnecessary. The same thing could have been done by General Hershey if he had wanted to do it.

I think perhaps it is all right to put in a legislative provision of the kind suggested; but it seems to me that, under the proposed language, anyone could get out of the draft by simply going on a farm and becoming regularly engaged. I think there should be a time limit in order to prevent such a thing.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, if the Senator wants to vote in a time limit, that is a different matter; but I should be unwilling to change the law, and thus change the system which the men who for 2 years have been administering the act feel is the most efficacious way to accomplish the desired objective.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MALONEY. I yield to the Senator from Maine.

Mr. WHITE. I should like to ask the Senator from Maryland a question relative to the matter. In line 4, reference is made to a person "regularly engaged in an agricultural occupation."

Then the language is "or endeavor essential to the war effort."

Mr. TYDINGS. That is correct.

Mr. WHITE. Is an "endeavor essential to the war effort" the same as "an agricultural occupation"; or is it something in addition, something beyond?

Mr. TYDINGS. As the Senator already knows, General Hershey now has the power to defer a man working in a shipyard.

Mr. WHITE. That may be true.

Mr. TYDINGS. My amendment provides nothing new.

Mr. WHITE. Let me repeat my question: Do the words "endeavor essential to the war effort" enlarge the previous language—that is, the words "agricultural occupation"?

Mr. TYDINGS. They interpret it; they act as an interpretation, so that the language would not be construed to apply only to a man who plows ground.

Mr. WHITE. It seems to me that if we want to have the provision made clear we could with advantage strike out the words "or endeavor," and have the amendment read "engaged in an agricultural occupation essential to the war effort."

Mr. TYDINGS. Very well.

Mr. WHITE. I should want to strike out the words "or endeavor."

Mr. TYDINGS. The production of food at Lubec, Maine, is one of the great industries of the Senator's own State.

At Lubec there is a large canning house which cans food almost all the year around.

Mr. WHITE. That prompts me to ask more directly what I have in mind: Would the language "or endeavor essential to the war effort" include the fisheries of the United States?

Mr. TYDINGS. In my opinion, it should be interpreted to include the fisheries of the United States, provided—

Mr. WHITE. Was it intended to do so?

Mr. TYDINGS. I did not present that problem to General Hershey.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MALONEY. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, if the adjective "agricultural" which modifies or qualifies the word "occupation" is intended to apply also to the words "endeavor essential to the war effort," of course, the provision would be limited to any agricultural occupation or endeavor.

Mr. TYDINGS. That is correct. I had not looked at the word; but now that the Senator has recalled it to my attention, my answer to the Senator from Maine would be, "So far as this goes, no."

However, under the present law, General Hershey could exempt the men working in that factory, but this bill would not so exempt them.

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, am I permitted to offer another amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has taken his time on the amendment.

Mr. MALONEY. I am trying to meet the mind of the Senator from Maryland with a further suggestion. Is there a parliamentary way by which I can get the floor for that purpose?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate has disposed of one amendment proposed to the amendment.

Mr. MALONEY. Is there a parliamentary way by which I may make another proposal in this connection?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator may speak on the bill.

Mr. MALONEY. I will take my time on the bill.

Mr. BARKLEY. A parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. BARKLEY. So long as the Senator's amendment is pending, he cannot offer another amendment.

Mr. MALONEY. I can speak on the bill.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator may speak on the bill, but he cannot offer another amendment.

Mr. MALONEY. I am trying very hard to meet the views of the Senator from Maryland, if I may have his attention for a moment. Would it meet with the approval of the Senator to change the amendment so that it would read, "to be regularly engaged for at least 1 year prior to the passage of this act"?

Mr. TYDINGS. No; and I will tell the Senator why. I have in mind the case of an old gentleman afflicted with arthritis, who has a wife and daughter. He also has a boy about 19 years old who has been going to school but has just been called home. The old gentleman wrote



me a letter stating that he rose from his bed, crippled as he was, and managed to milk 17 cows, as he had to do because his help had gone to York, Pa., on about 4 hours' notice and left all the cows to be attended to; that his wife wrestled with the heavy milk cans and finally got them down the lane 2 miles. He did not know what in the world to do, but with the help of his little daughter and his wife he is carrying on, but he cannot get any help. That was all stated in the letter he wrote me. His boy has been called back to help him in the emergency. In my judgment, if that case went to a draft board, the draft board would have to decide whether they wanted to put out of existence a 260-acre farm with 17 dairy cows, supplying milk to Baltimore City every day, by denying the help of this boy to the stricken family, and let him go into the Army, wiping out the whole farm and losing that much food. For this reason I should be opposed to any limitation on the time in the bill.

Mr. MALONEY. Does the Senator think a draft board would refuse to defer that boy?

Mr. TYDINGS. If we said he had to be regularly employed—

Mr. MALONEY. I mean entirely apart from the proposed amendment, under existing law, does not the Senator think that boy would get deferment?

Mr. TYDINGS. No. I know of cases very similar to that, of farmers who have written me that boys have been taken. I can show the Senator, as others on this floor can show the Senator, I am sure, that many times a farmer, whether he is a dairy farmer or a grain farmer or what not, has had to sell his farm equipment and move to town and rent a house, because he could not get help on his farm.

Mr. MALONEY. Does the Senator from Maryland deny that under existing law the draft board would have a right to defer that boy?

Mr. TYDINGS. It may have the right, but the draft boards have not been inclined until recently to grant deferments in such cases as this.

Mr. MALONEY. I ask unanimous consent that I may change the language of my amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator may modify his amendment.

Mr. MALONEY. I offer the following amendment, on page 1 of the amendment, line 4, after the word "engaged", to insert the words "for at least 1 year prior to the passage of this act."

Mr. TYDINGS. I hope the amendment to the amendment will not prevail.

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I most earnestly urge the Senate to approve the amendment offered by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS].

The amendment is very simple. It explains itself. It meets a most urgent need. It provides that a draft registrant who is actually engaged in work on a farm essential to the war effort, shall be deferred to continue at that work until his place can be filled.

It also provides that if a farmer or farm worker leaves his farm job for other

work, except with the consent of his local draft board, he shall immediately be reclassified for military service.

I say, Mr. President, that unless some provision is made for keeping necessary farm labor at work producing food and fiber, the war program will bog down. It is all very well for high-ranking officials to talk glibly about an army of 9, or 10, or 13 million men, and to make arrangements to draft them. But some of these planners seem to ignore completely the fact that the men must be fed, clothed, equipped, trained, transported, and then kept supplied with food, clothing, equipment, and munitions.

It seems also to have been ignored or forgotten that the farmers of the United States are being called upon to supply food and clothing materials not only for our own civilian population, but for the armed forces as well, and to some extent, the civilian populations of Britain, Russia, China, and other allied peoples.

The Government calls upon the farmer to increase food production 20, 30, 40 percent. But at the same time war industries—with higher wages, shorter hours, and the further incentive that war plant workers are "essential to the war effort"—are drawing hundreds of thousands of hired hands and farmers into industry. In addition, the draft boards—and under the law and directives they apparently have no real option in the matter—are sending other hundreds of thousands, well into the millions, into the Army.

Just today I noticed that the WPB has limited the manufacture of farm machinery for 1943 to 20 percent of the production of 1940.

Mr. President, if agriculture is to be deprived of its essential manpower, and the farmer is unable to obtain needed farm machinery and equipment, we shall not have the increased production needed. Dairy herds are being dispersed all over the country because of the inability to obtain hired help. Dairy cows are being slaughtered by the tens of thousands just when we need increased production. The same is true in other farm lines.

This amendment to the pending bill, to provide occupational deferment for farm labor, will not solve the problem. But unless some similar action be taken, by next year the problem will be much more nearly impossible of solution.

Our armies, and the armies of our Allies, must be fed and clothed. So must the civilian populations of the United States and the allied countries. This program is part of the "all-out" war effort.

To produce necessary foods and fibers, we must have men on the farms. This proposed amendment will help the situation and I urge the Senate to approve it.

Mr. MALONEY. I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MALONEY] to the amendment of the Senator from Maryland.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question now is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS].

Mr. TYDINGS. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, it is quite evident that most of the Senators are ready to vote on the amendment. The controversy whether agricultural workers and others are included in the amendment shows that the bill did not receive the consideration in the committee which it should have had. My personal opinion is that the words starting on page 1, at the end of line 4, "or endeavor essential to the war effort," would defer many others besides agricultural workers.

I shall not object to the amendment. I am sure it should have received consideration in the committee, and even though it has the approval of the Selective Service System, that body is not controlling in the war effort in which the country is engaged. The amendment should also be passed upon by officials of the Agricultural Department, as well as of the War and Navy Departments. Certainly it does not give to Selective Service any more authority than it has at present. I feel that with all these amendments attached to the original bill its final passage will be delayed.

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. MALONEY. I should like to take advantage of the Senator's time to point out that under the language of this amendment, men who now go to the farms are not going to go to war. This language is a directive. It says they shall be exempt after it is found that they are on the farms. There is no discretion left the local boards. I am amazed that the amendment is to be hurried through so quickly as I see it will be.

Mr. GURNEY. I wish to say further that, while I come from an agricultural State, I am sure that this is class deferment, and I am sure also that the farmers are just as patriotic as any other group in America, and that they are not looking for preference. They will stand up and do their bit. They do not want to be treated any differently than the workers in a glass factory, or a machine shop, or any other place. I simply wanted, if I could, to stop the steam roller for a few minutes at this time.

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, I wish to address an inquiry to the Senator from Maryland. First of all, I wish to thank him for the leadership he has afforded in meeting this very tragic problem on the American farm. Under the quota system, each State is required to furnish a given number of men on each call as the calls are issued. Some of our States are nearly 100 percent agricultural in their make-up. Does the Senator from Maryland feel that ultimately, under the



program he is advancing here, there must be some alteration of the present law?

Mr. TYDINGS. I think the Senator has asked a most intelligent question. No one who is a little farsighted, and who knows conditions on the farms of this country, and knows of the curtailment of farm production, will fail to realize that there is either going to be some discretionary and general consideration of the farmer's labor problem through a medium such as this amendment, or we are going to have a manpower bill that will regiment every man, woman and child in America. If the people want to be told every job they can hold from top to bottom, that is one thing. I prefer to try to exhaust the democratic processes, insofar as they can be equitably employed, before adopting the manpower provision.

Mr. NYE. I thank the Senator. I think the Record ought to call attention to a condition which prevails. We have been wont to blame local and State boards for the drafting of essential farm workers when as a matter of fact the boards have been under obligation to furnish a given number of men at a specified time in the States whose population is so wholly agricultural that the only men who could be called are farmers. I hope we are opening the way now for that larger consideration which will make the load less burdensome to the local boards and the State boards.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NYE. I yield.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. I wish to point out another consideration which is involved. Where there are defense plants in a State men have gone to such plants to work and have been deferred. Adoption of the pending amendment would place a brake upon the remaining farm help.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I shall not delay the vote on the amendment. Yesterday in making a statement regarding the bill under consideration I publicly stated that I would not vote for any amendments to it, but I wish now to state that I shall vote for the pending amendment, because, as I understand, the selective service have sent word that they want it. I would be inclined to vote for it, anyway. I think the farmers need the help which it will give. I am ready to vote.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I should like to vote for an amendment deferring farm labor that was properly safeguarded. From my experience since the war began I have had called to my attention very many cases of persons seeking to avoid the draft by going into munition factories. There is no provision in this bill to prevent the same thing being done so far as agricultural occupations are concerned. Therefore because I do not want to encourage avoidance of the draft by prospective draftees leaving the cities, going out for 3 months or 6 months onto a farm in order to become deferred, I can not vote for the amendment, much as I should like to do so if it directly and absolutely limited the deferment to bona fide agricultural workers.

Without the door being closed to draft-dodgers who may be able to satisfy a local draft board that they are regularly engaged, when they have only been on the farm a few months, I cannot support the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS]. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BARKLEY (when Mr. CHANDLER's name was called). Repeating the announcement heretofore made concerning the absence and pair of my colleague [Mr. CHANDLER]. I announce that if present he would vote "yea."

Mr. McKELLAR (when Mr. STEWART's name was called). My colleague is unavoidably absent. He has a general pair with the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. HOLMAN]. If my colleague were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. THOMAS of Utah (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES]. If he were present, he would vote as I intend to vote. I am therefore free to vote, and vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. LEE. My colleague [Mr. THOMAS] is necessarily absent. If present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD], the Senators from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN] and Mr. BUNKER], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SCHWARTZ], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. TRUMAN] are necessarily absent. I am advised that if present and voting, these Senators would vote "yea."

The Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] is detained on important public business. I am advised that if present and voting, he would vote "yea."

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE] is absent on official business in connection with the duties of the Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program. I am advised that if present and voting, the Senator from West Virginia would vote "yea."

The Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HUGHES] are absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. BROWN], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HERRING], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], and the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY] are necessarily absent.

Mr. McNARY. The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BABROUR], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. BROOKS], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HOLMAN], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY], and the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] would vote "yea" if present.

The result was announced—yeas 62, nays 6, as follows:

## YEAS—62

Aiken	Ellender	Pepper
Andrews	George	Radcliffe
Austin	Gillette	Reed
Bailey	Guffey	Reynolds
Ball	Hatch	Rosler
Barkley	Hayden	Shipstead
Bilbo	Hill	Smathers
Bone	Johnson, Calif.	Smith
Brewster	Lee	Spencer
Bulow	Lucas	Thomas, Idaho
Burton	McFarland	Thomas, Utah
Butler	McKellar	Tunnell
Capper	McNary	Tydings
Caraway	Maybank	Vandenberg
Chavez	Mead	Van Nuys
Clark, Idaho	Murdock	Wagner
Clark, Mo.	Norris	Wallgren
Connally	Nye	Wheeler
Danaher	O'Daniel	White
Downey	O'Mahoney	Willis
Doxey	Overton	

## NAYS—6

Gerry	Gurney	Taft
Green	Maloney	Walsh

## NOT VOTING—28

Bankhead	Herring	Murray
Barbour	Holman	Russell
Bridges	Hughes	Schwartz
Brooks	Johnson, Colo.	Stewart
Brown	Kilgore	Thomas, Okla.
Bunker	La Follette	Tobey
Byrd	Langer	Truman
Chandler	Lodge	Wiley
Davis	McCarran	
Glass	Millikin	

So Mr. TYDINGS' amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. President, I offer the amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have stated. The amendment relates to section 2.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Ohio will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 2, it is proposed to strike out lines 3 to 10 inclusive, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

SEC. 2. Any person who, during the year 1942, entered upon attendance for the academic year 1942-43—

(1) at any high school (or similar institution); or

(2) at any college or university which grants a degree in arts or science, to pursue a course of instruction satisfactory completion of which is prescribed by such college or university as a prerequisite to either of such degrees; or

(3) at any university described in paragraph (2), to pursue a course of instruction to the pursuit of which a degree in arts or science is prescribed by such university as a prerequisite;

and who, while pursuing such course of instruction at such high school (or similar institution), college, or university is selected for training and service under this act prior to the end of such academic year, or prior to July 1, 1943, whichever occurs first, shall, upon his request, be deferred from induction into the land and naval forces for such training and service until the end of such academic year, but in no event later than July 1, 1943.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. President, the effect of this amendment is clear and simple. It strikes out section 2 of the Senate bill and substitutes for it section 2 of the House bill; so it conforms precisely to the House bill in this particular.

There are three reasons for the amendment. First of all, the amendment provides exactly the procedure which we followed in the original draft act. That is to say, the draft act taking effect during



a school or college year provided that anyone who had already begun his school or college year and was drafted might complete that particular year. The amendment applies only to the current year. When we passed the original draft act on September 16, 1940, we faced the same issue, and we met it in the same way. When the bill came before the House of Representatives it faced the same issue and met it in the same way. I believe the amendment is altogether just and righteous. It means that if a young man has started his school or college year he may complete that year. He is not exempted, but his service is deferred so that his educational course for that year may be of value to him and to his country. Then he goes into the service. We did it in the first instance; the House has done it in the House bill; and I believe we should do it now.

**The PRESIDING OFFICER.** The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BURTON].

**Mr. REYNOLDS.** Mr. President, I believe that some consideration should be given to the young men who are in high schools and colleges, but if we undertake to accommodate everybody we shall wake up to find that we have nobody to draft.

A moment ago I voted to defer for the time being young men who are engaged in farming and who would be subject to the draft. I did so because I know that we all must eat. It was stated by some Senators who apparently know that unless we have somebody to plant the crops now and to gather them next spring this Nation will be hungry.

I should like very much to vote for the amendment of the Senator from Ohio, because I dislike to take young men out of college, but I believe that it is more essential to provide food for the stomach than food for the brain. Consequently, I shall be forced to vote against the Senator's amendment.

Let me say further that if we vote to defer all the young men in the country who are in college, we thereby favor them, and in many instances their parents, because their parents are fortunate enough to have the wherewithal with which to send the young men to college.

This is a classification of young men whom it is sought to defer. If they are deferred it will be because their parents have the money with which to send them to educational institutions. I do not think that would be fair, because there are in America today hundreds of thousands of young men of fine character who would be in college if their parents had the money with which to pay the tuition fees and their upkeep; but they cannot go to college. As a result, those young men are staying at home in their respective localities and working from day to day. The money which they receive from their work is utilized in the maintenance of their parents. Because there are hundreds of thousands of young men in America who are home lovers, who love their fathers and mothers so much that, instead of going to college, where they would like to be, and

where they should be, they are staying at home and working for their old fathers and mothers, are we to penalize those poor boys of fine parents, and say that they must be drafted because they are staying at home working for their fathers and mothers, whereas we are not going to take the others because their fathers and mothers are fortunate enough to be able to send them to college? I do not think it is fair. Therefore I shall vote against the amendment.

**Mr. GREEN.** Mr. President, I desire to say a few words to supplement what the Senator from North Carolina has so eloquently stated. I wish to do so by reading a letter which gives a specific illustration of what he has just brought to the attention of the Senate. I can do no better than read the words of this letter. I hope Senators will pardon me for reading the whole letter, because it contains some laudatory expressions about myself, which Senators can overlook. I read the letter as a whole, omitting the place and the name:

OCTOBER 16, 1942.

Senator THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN,  
United States Senator.

DEAR SIR: This letter is to request a favor. The Democrats of Rhode Island have elected you to represent them at the White House.

We have been very satisfied with our choice in the past. You have always acted in our interests, and we thank you very much for it and hope you will keep up the good work in the future.

I am talking for myself and thousands of other mothers whose sons will be drafted if this 18 and 20 years law passes.

I do not object to my boys going to war to fight for the right and freedom of our country, but what I cannot understand is why college boys won't be drafted till next July. I think something should be done about it. Now is the time to fight. Never mind education; that can wait; rich and poor should join in the fight for freedom.

I am the wife of a world war veteran and the mother of 7 children, the 2 oldest 18 and 19.

We were married after the World War. Then depression came. We could not give our children a good education, we could not even give them the necessities of life. They had to do without things they really needed for their health.

My husband was taken sick and had to go to Newport Naval Hospital. He came out of the hospital, had no job, no money, and five children to support. He had to pick and shovel for the city for a \$5 slip a week. You can well understand that was not enough to live on, still he was a World War veteran who had been fighting for his country.

That part he did not regret; he had been across, had done his duty, and we were very proud of it.

I must say that was under Hoover and the Republicans. Thank God, the country is Democrat today, and we have a Franklin Roosevelt and men like you, Mr. GREEN, to represent us Democrats of Rhode Island. My neighbor—

This is the point—

who was just past draft age at the last war did not have to go. He stayed home, got rich, and went in business for himself. He now has a son in college. He can well afford it with the money he made during the last war. So now, like the father, the son does not have to go to war; he goes to college.

My husband fought for the father; now my sons will fight for his sons.

Is that what you call patriotism? And where is justice in all this? I would like to

know, and thousands of mothers whose sons will be in the next draft would like to know also.

Well, Mr. GREEN, I have said all I wanted you to know. I hope you will work with us mothers. Try to get those college boys to go to war now with our children. Now is the time to fight.

When Uncle Sam needs our boys, who were denied the education and had to go to work, he simply takes them out of factories and shops and sends them to war regardless of how much we parents need them to help bring up the younger brothers and sisters so that they can get a decent life.

I don't know how a rich man can face a laborer whose sons are fighting for him and his family.

A MOTHER.

It seems to me that that letter states the case clearly and plainly.

I do not suppose there is a Senator on this floor who thinks more of the importance of education than do I; but I shall be obliged to vote against the proposal because in my opinion it is in favor of a small class, as against the great number of young men to whom the bill applies.

**Mr. BARKLEY.** Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

**Mr. GREEN.** I yield.

**Mr. BARKLEY.** It would be true, would it not, that any college student exempted under the amendment, whose service really was needed, and who would be called but for the fact that he was in college, would have to have his place filled by some boy not in college? If the boards have to raise a certain number of men, every time a boy in college was exempted, his place would have to be taken by a boy not in college, and who might not be taken if the boy in college were taken by the draft.

**Mr. GREEN.** In other words, if the son of this woman's neighbor went to college, her own son might have to go to war.

**Mr. ROSIER.** Mr. President, this matter is not one of sentimental appeal. It is a plain case of the best use of the young men of the country in the promotion of the best interests of our Nation.

I desire to read from a statement recently made by General Somervell:

The Army—

He said—

is dangerously short of technically trained men. Example: Though the Army needs 4,689 trained radio operators in every 300,000 men inducted, it is getting only 135. In an army of 4,000,000 there is a shortage of 139,160 auto mechanics, a total shortage of 838,040 specialists.

General Somervell further said:

Let us be realistic. Every able-bodied boy is destined at the appointed age for the armed services. It is the job of the schools and colleges to provide the opportunity for every youth to equip himself for a place in winning the war. You must do this regardless of cost, time, inconvenience, the temporary side-tracking of nonwar objectives, or even the temporary scrapping of peacetime courses.  
\* \* \* Every classroom is a citadel.

The most alarming situation confronting this country in the possibility of the widespread destruction of our educational institutions, upon which the Army and Navy have depended as a source of men fitted for leadership in this war. I



believe that in most cases the War Department and the Navy Department require a college degree as the basis for the granting of a commission. We have an alarming situation because of the shortage of technicians of all sorts, as well as the shortage of doctors, dentists, and nurses.

At this point let me read to the Senate a statement relative to the policy which is pursued in Great Britain in regard to this matter. Notwithstanding the fact that Great Britain has been confronted with a war situation more serious than have we, from 1939 to the present time the enrollment in the universities of Great Britain has decreased only 25 percent. Great Britain is not overlooking the importance of keeping her promising young men and young women in the colleges and universities, in training for leadership. I read the following statement of the standards which have been set up in Great Britain:

Men students in nontechnical subjects are allowed 1 year's deferment above the calling-up age—18½ years—provided that they undertake fairly rigorous military training.

The young men in our colleges and universities either get such training or it may be provided.

The statement continues:

Science and technical students are given deferment—

I am reading a statement of the practice in Great Britain in the last 3 years—

Science and technical students are given deferment for 2 or more years, and medical students for 5 years. A "war degree" is granted by most universities after 2 years' attendance, plus satisfactory subsequent national service.

Both men and women students at teachers training colleges receive the same deferments as for scientists.

I say to the Senate in all candor, leaving aside all the talk about discrimination, that the doors of our colleges and institutions of learning are open to all ambitious and aspiring young men and young women. The fact that there are some young men who are not in our colleges and universities is no reason why the ambitious and aspiring ones who are seeking to become scientists, doctors, or dentists, or to prepare themselves for positions of leadership, should be deprived of the opportunity to attain the goal of their ambitions.

I submit that as a war measure it is as important for us to keep capable young men and women in our colleges and universities in training for future leadership in all the departments which require so much technical knowledge, as any other measure could be. I submit the evidence that Great Britain, although she is confronted more seriously in this situation than we are, in her practice today recognizes this fact.

I submit to my colleagues that we should make reasonable provision for the continuance of the education of our capable young men in the technical sciences, and all those courses of study related to their preparation for leadership in the war, whether it shall be long or not.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, I wish to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that with the adoption of this amendment high-school students, not only this year but from now on, would be deferred (and next year and the year after that, high-school students who reached the age of 18 would not be deferred. Neither the Burton amendment, nor the House provision, recognizes that when soldiers return from the Army they are generally too old to go back into high school. The original bill provides that each year as boys in high school become 18 they shall be deferred until the end of the academic year. That is one difference.

The Burton amendment also does not defer college students for longer than just this year; it does not go on to the next year or the year after next.

The Selective Service System objects to the amendment for the reason that it grants deferment to certain college students 20 years of age and over, in addition to those 18 and 19 years of age, and consequently confers rights on students who have not had them since July 1941, and therefore did not have such rights even before Pearl Harbor.

Technical students have been satisfactorily deferred administratively by Selective Service where necessary, and appropriate extension of deferment policies can be made administratively by the Selective Service System to defer any students who should be deferred.

I also have a communication from the Army on the subject. They have been studying the college educational program for the last year. The Secretary of War issued an order September 8, 1941, assigning a group of officers to study this plan, to determine what college training was needed to keep alive civilian work, as well as Army work. The Army has given me a statement. Before I read it I may say that the Army representatives, high-ranking officers, went to Chicago on the 20th of October to meet with representatives of land-grant colleges in a conference lasting until October 31. So the plan to take care of college education is under way.

The memorandum from the Army reads:

1. The Army recognizes that it will have a continuing need for men trained at a college level.

2. The nature of this training (that is, the major subjects, the curricula, and the duration of the courses) must be determined to insure that technical requirements of the services for men with special training are adequately met.

3. The numbers to be trained in the colleges must be determined by the Army. Factors governing the decision will be the number of men that can be spared from the total strength of the Army for this type of training, the time required for training in various specialties, the anticipated normal attrition among men sent to college, and the time schedule on which college-trained men must be available. Any legislation that fixes the number of men that the Army must send to college would hamper rather than facilitate the program now being prepared. The variations in the length of courses and the requirements for men in the different categories and the always primary military considerations in commitments of military manpower would make any such legislation par-

ticularly undesirable, both in the development of our college training program and in the normal operation of the Army.

4. War Department plans for the training of men at a college level are rapidly taking definite form. We are in close consultation with representatives of the Association of Colleges and with Dr. Elliot of the educator's committee of the Manpower Commission. It is expected that some announcements on this subject will be made within the next 10 days or 2 weeks. Our tentative plans have the approval of the educators, who are giving us valuable assistance in their development.

5. In determining the number of men that the Army will send to college, we recognize that there will be a continuing need for some men with this type of training to meet civilian and industrial requirements. The Army plans, therefore, to increase the number of men to train for its own requirements by a predetermined percentage in order that it will be possible to assist in relieving critical shortages of men with college training by the release of a limited number from the Army.

6. In the selection of men to receive training at a college level, the War Department intends to give every man in the service equal opportunity to compete for this training in the same manner that they are given opportunity to compete for selection to attend officer candidate schools. We do not intend to confine our selections to men who have had special advantages prior to entering the service, although it is natural that those who have had some college education or have had more than the average high-school education will have a material advantage in this competition.

For these reasons, I hope that any amendment along the line of one hampering the Army in sending men to college will not be agreed to.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. HAYDEN. I take it that if the Senate adopts this amendment, which is identical with the provision of the House, it will be beyond the power of the conferees to modify it in any respect.

Mr. GURNEY. Not only with respect to college students, but as to high-school students as well.

Mr. HAYDEN. What I mean is that we are asked to confer a right on men who are over 20 years of age.

Mr. GURNEY. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HAYDEN. That is something I do not like. It is the Senator's judgment that it is a matter which had better be left in conference so that adjustment may be made?

Mr. GURNEY. Yes.

Mr. HAYDEN. At least the House will then have an opportunity to have its say as to how the matter should be disposed of.

Mr. GURNEY. That is entirely correct.

Mr. ROSIER. Mr. President, in view of the explanation just made by the Senator from South Dakota, I remind Senators that within the next 2 months an appeal will be made to the Army and War Department to ascertain what colleges in the various States may be continued. In other words, the colleges of the country are to be put under the absolute control of the War Department.

Mr. GURNEY. I will answer the Senator from West Virginia by saying that no



authority has been given to defer college students since July 1941 before Pearl Harbor. I know of no instance of the deferment of a college student in medicine, chemistry, or engineering, who was pursuing his course as he should have been. I do not know of one case.

Mr. DOWNEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. DOWNEY. I desire merely to state to the Senate that if I were to cast a vote upon the pending amendment it would be in favor of the amendment, but I have a son who would be subject to the draft, who is a freshman in college, and I do not feel that I have sufficient impartiality to vote fairly upon the amendment.

I desire, however, to call the attention of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN] to what I consider to be a fallacious statement in the letter he has read. As a matter of fact, if the amendment were to become law there would be a far larger proportion of the boys in college who would become members of the armed forces than of the boys outside. If the amendment were to become law all it would do would be to give the boys in college a deferment of perhaps an average of 60 days to finish their current year. The average time would not be over that. Most of them during the average of 60 days would be receiving military discipline, and at the end of their academic year would then be drafted into the Army. Perhaps the Army would fail to get them for 60 days.

I wish to say to the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island that large numbers of the boys who are not in college will be on the farms, and will not go into the war at all because they will be exempt. In California, at least a large proportion of the boys not now in high schools or colleges are working in essential war industries, and under our laws and practices will be exempted.

Mr. President, I repeat in fairness to the boys who are in college, that I suppose 90 percent of those who are not physically defective will be in the Army in 2 or 3 months after they are drafted, even though the amendment were to become law.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, it seems to me that the whole question of educational qualification should be dealt with on a broader plan even than that contained in this amendment. After all, all the amendment would do would be to defer boys who are now in school until June 1943. It makes no provision whatever for education of boys who may be needed later on in the armed forces or in civilian activity. I have an amendment on the desk which proposes to deal with that question. I do not think that the Army is the group which ought to determine how many boys, and which boys, should complete their educational qualification. We may need men for the Navy. We may need men for many other purposes. I do not think the plan proposed by the Senator from South Dakota is the satisfactory method of dealing with the manpower situation.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. GURNEY. The Senator may consider it a flippant question, but after the Congress has declared war, which department of Government, other than the War Department, should have control of the manpower of the country?

Mr. TAFT. I think we should have created a manpower director in this country to make a complete plan as to where the manpower should go—a director who should have power, in my opinion, to say to the Army, "These are the men you get. You have to have so many. You have a call, a priority, if you please, and you can have that many, but we determine how many men are needed for agricultural labor, and how many men are needed in every other occupation." After all, Mr. President, the preparation behind the line, when we have to supply all our Allies with supplies and materials, is just as important as the armed forces themselves.

I think there ought to be a department above the War Department. Certainly the War Department cannot boss the Navy Department, and I do not see why it should boss the different civilian activities in this country, or the War Production Board.

It seems to me there should be a manpower director with power to say something of this sort: "We should continue the education of 50,000 boys a year, if you please, for whom we think education should be completed, because we have got to keep rolling in this country every year. We ought to have a certain number of educated boys coming into the general service, both for civilian and for Army and Navy activity."

The Navy has taken the position—it may be right or may be wrong—that for officers the Navy wants men educated in college who have completed their college education. That is the Navy's rule today, and it is continuing these men for that purpose. Whether that is done simply to obtain deck officers in the Navy I do not venture to say, but I do say there are thousands of technical positions for which there should be a constant supply of men. The Germans are doing it. I understand that the Japanese universities today are continuing at full strength for that purpose. It is a reasonable proposition. If we take every 18- and 19-year-old boy in the country, in another 2 or 3 years there will not be any young men coming from an educated class.

As to the pending amendment, I have no very strong feeling, but I think we should go further and give someone the power to say that a certain number of men shall continue in college and complete their education.

The amendment I have offered tries to meet the proposal of the Senator from Rhode Island, for instance. It is proposed that the selection of these men be by competitive examination. After all, we are saying today, "We are going to continue the education of men in Annapolis and West Point." We shall not get nearly enough officers from Annapolis and West Point; other educated men must be obtained from colleges and elsewhere. Semimilitary or seminaul courses, or complete courses, can be pre-

scribed for colleges, but the men must be obtained in one way or the other.

It seems to me that the President himself, over and above the Army and Navy, or over any manpower director he might select, should make the final selection and determine the policy.

Mr. President, I shall propose such an amendment. I shall propose further that in order that there may be no discrimination, the President may pay the expenses of the boys who qualify by competitive examination for this service, so they may continue their education, regardless of their status in life.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I should like to speak on the bill. Two distinguished Senators, the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ROSIER] and the Senator from California [Mr. DOWNEY], have commented upon a letter I read. The letter itself is far more persuasive than anything I could have added to it.

I find it rather difficult to follow intelligently the points of view of these two Senators. The Senator from West Virginia speaks of the importance of having a succession of men educated in college, and says that we need doctors and lawyers and engineers and chemists, and I think he included dentists. I was much moved, and I agree with him that we need many educated men.

The Senator from California, however, points out that the average extension of time for these men is 60 days. How we are going to turn out lawyers, ministers, doctors, engineers, chemists, and dentists in 60 days is beyond my comprehension. I have seen the advertisements of many correspondence schools, but none of them, I think, has promised anything like that. If we are going into the question of exempting men in order that they may be educated, in order that they may take part in this war, it will not be done by this amendment. That is clearly shown by the remarks of the Senator from California [Mr. DOWNEY] that the average extension of time is only 60 days. It is absurd to continue to exempt one class after another from the draft. Instead of planning how to win the war, it seems to me we are determining what we are going to do after the war is all over. We have to choose. It seems to me we ought to choose to win the war.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I shall not delay the Senate with a speech, but I have a telegram which contains information which I think should be brought to the attention of the Senate before it votes on the amendment.

The telegram is addressed to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, the Senator from North Carolina, and reads as follows:

Regarding pending legislation to lower selective service age the Problems and Plans Committee of the American Council on Education is strongly of opinion that optional deferment to end of term for college students provided in House bill is inadvisable.

By way of parentheses, let me say that the provision in the House bill is the provision now offered in the amendment of the Senator from Ohio.

The telegram continues:

Optional feature especially objectionable. We oppose any legislative provision for stu-



dent deferment. We believe it will delay and obstruct effective collegiate war training programs for technical and professional personnel which are now being planned by War and Navy Departments in consultation with American Council on Education Committee. We earnestly hope that Senate form of proposed legislation will prevail.

James B. Conant, president, Harvard University; Ralph W. Tyler, chairman, Department of Education, University of Chicago; Frank N. Freeman, dean, School of Education, University of California; DeWitt S. Morgan, superintendent of schools, Indianapolis, Ind.; Charles E. Friley, president, Iowa State College; Alonzo G. Grace, commissioner of education, Connecticut; George Johnson, professor of education, Catholic University of America; Wm. F. Russell, dean of Teacher's College, Columbia University; George F. Zook, president, American Council on Education; Edmund E. Day, president, Cornell University, and chairman of American Council on Education.

Mr. President, when these men are inducted into the Army the War or Navy Department, or any agency which we might provide to deal with the manpower problem, together with our educational leaders, such as those who signed this telegram, ought to go forward, as the War and Navy Departments now contemplate, with a program to provide technical, professional, and other education for men called into the service on the basis of whether the men are worthy, not on the basis of their economic status, or whether they or their parents have the money with which to maintain them in college. I am opposed to this amendment because it is class legislation which would grant a special privilege to a class because of its economic status. I join with the distinguished educators in asking that this amendment be voted down in order that the plans of the American Council on Education and of the War Department may go forward to give us our trained and educated men; but let the training and education be based upon the worth of the men rather than on their economic status.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BURTON].

Mr. ROZIER. Mr. President, not a single man signing that petition—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia has spoken both on the amendment and on the bill.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. President, I should like to make a brief statement to clarify the situation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio has spoken on the amendment.

Mr. BURTON. I have not spoken on the bill. I should like to speak for about 1 minute on the bill.

The amendment has been interpreted as though it related to the entire Draft Act. It does not. It is not an amendment to the Draft Act. It relates only to section 2 of the pending bill, and

therefore applies only to 18- and 19-year-old men.

Mr. BARKLEY. It would not apply to any men who may hereafter become 18 or 19.

Mr. BURTON. It would apply only for the current season, precisely as our bill did when we started the Draft Act.

Mr. BARKLEY. The provision in the Senate bill makes the same allowance—if there is to be an allowance—to boys of 18 and 19 as they reach the draft age of 18 and 19. So long as the law is on the statute books it would apply to every class of 18- or 19-year-old boys as they come in in the future, whereas the Senator's amendment would be terminated on July 1 of the coming year, and all those who came in afterward would not have the right of deferment.

Mr. BURTON. That is correct.

Mr. BARKLEY. Even though they might be drafted within 15 days after graduation.

Mr. BURTON. The bill applies precisely as we applied the original Draft Act. Therefore I cite to the eminent Senator from Alabama the precedent of the Senate and the House of Representatives in adopting precisely the same policy for precisely the same kind of men when Congress passed the original Draft Act on September 16, 1940.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BURTON. I yield.

Mr. HILL. Let me say that there is a vast difference between the situation which existed when the original Draft Act was adopted and the situation which now exists. When the original Draft Act was adopted we were not at war. Induction into service then was only for training purposes, not for purposes of going to war, where men must fight, endure, and suffer.

To my mind, under such conditions it would be very unfair to grant a special privilege or a special deferment to any one class on account of its economic status.

SEVERAL SENATORS. Vote! Vote!

Mr. BUI LON. Mr. President, I concur in the desire to have a vote; but I need to add a statement as to one feature.

This measure will probably not go into effect until some time in December. We shall, therefore, have men in the midst of their high school and college courses. Many of those men are working their way through school. Having proceeded that far, what they have done would be completely lost. The interests of the Army would not be adversely affected by the adoption of this amendment, because the service of those men would be deferred for only 2 or 3 months, until the end of the current school year. Then they would go into the Army, with the benefit of the college course on which they had worked.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I shall take only a moment of the time of the Senate. The difficulty with many bills which come before us is that we become confused about the subject matter. So soon as the Senate realizes that we are at war, the sooner we shall do our duty. Does anyone believe that our boys in the Solomon Islands, in Alaska, or anywhere

else, who are now suffering, are worrying about whether some man will be able to get through high school or college and become a dentist, a doctor, or an engineer? We had better think about winning the war. The war will be won only by bloodshed, suffering, and death. The difficulty is that we do not realize that we are actually at war, a destructive war, a war which means only death until we win it.

I do not care how many colleges suffer; I do not care whether or not some boy graduates from a college, but I do care whether or not we are going to win the war. The war will be won by only two agencies of the Government. They are the Army and the Navy. I have sufficient confidence in them to feel that they know that they need technical men. They are absolutely necessary. It would be doubting the intelligence of our Army and Navy officers to think that it is necessary for us to say that we must exempt a certain class of persons from military service in order to protect the technical men needed by the Army and the Navy. No one knows better than the General Staff of the Army and the Navy Department itself that it is absolutely necessary to have engineers, doctors, dentists, and other technical men. We had better realize that we are at war and pass this bill. I am opposed to the pending amendment.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I have before me some pertinent testimony on this particular amendment. Dr. Elliott, President of Purdue University, and also chief of the Division of Professional and Technical Employment and Training of the War Manpower Commission, while testifying before the House committee, as appears on page 154 of the hearings of October 14 and 15, 1942, said this:

Mr. FADDIS. Doctor, what system would you recommend in choosing those who are going to be educated among the thousands of boys that are being drafted under the provisions of this and other legislation?

Dr. ELLIOTT. I am not sure, sir, I am prepared to give a definitive reply to that question. Personally I am ready to leave the matter to the selective service. I have had experience now with Selective Service boards all over this country because the students who come to me are gathering from all over the 48 States. While mistakes have been made I think one of the most competent groups of democratic bodies have been these 6,500 local boards. They have done a magnificent job. Personally I am quite willing to leave the selection of those individuals and the method whereby they may be allocated to the administration of the Selective Service System.

Mr. BALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield.

Mr. BALL. I wonder if the Senator recalls whether the provision proposed by the Senator from Ohio was in the bill which we passed last February lowering the age limit to 20 years? Did we give the boys of 20 the right to finish their school year?

Mr. AUSTIN. Does the Senator refer to the act of December 20, 1941, which is Public Law 360, "to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability for military service and for the registration



of the manpower of the United States, and for other purposes"? Is that the act to which the Senator refers?

Mr. BALL. That is the measure which lowered the draft age to 20 years.

Mr. AUSTIN. That was the measure which changed the ages to those between 20 and 45. Without reading that act line for line, I cannot say whether some part of it may be interpreted as referring back to the original provision; but from a hasty survey I can find no such express provision.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield.

Mr. GURNEY. I have information from the Selective Service to the effect that the rights of college students have not been changed since July 1941, and therefore the bill passed in December 1941 did not change the provisions affecting college students.

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield.

Mr. MAYBANK. I desire to say that, as Governor of South Carolina, the only complaint I had about the law that Congress passed, and the only serious complaints I have heard from South Carolina and from the members of the draft boards about the law is as to the possibility of exempting college students who should be in the Army. We are opposed to exempting them, because such an exemption would be class discrimination.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BURTON]. On this question the yeas and nays have been demanded and ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MURDOCK (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE]. I am not advised as to how he would vote if he were present. If I were permitted to vote, I should vote "nay."

Mr. LEE (when the name of Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma was called). My colleague, the senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS], is unavoidably absent. I understand that he has a pair with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I am informed that if the Senator from Massachusetts were present he would vote "yea," and if the senior Senator from Oklahoma were present he would vote "nay."

Mr. THOMAS of Utah (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], and will vote. I vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD] and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. MCCARRAN] are necessarily absent. I am advised that if present and voting, they would vote "yea."

The Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] is detained on important public business. I am advised that if present and voting, he would vote "nay."

The Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HUGHES] are absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE] is absent on official business in connection with the duties of the Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program.

The Senator from Washington [Mr. BONE], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] are absent on important public business.

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. BROWN], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BAILEY], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BUNKER], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HERRING], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. BILBO], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL], the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], the Senators from Wyoming [Mr. SCHWARTZ and Mr. O'MAHONEY], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. STEWART], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. TRUMAN] are necessarily absent.

Mr. McNARY. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] would vote "yea" if he were present. His pair has been announced.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] would vote "yea" if he were present. His pair has been announced.

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS], who would vote "yea" if he were present, has a general pair with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER].

The Senator from Oregon [Mr. HOLMAN] has a general pair with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. STEWART].

The result was announced—yeas 24, nays 37, as follows:

#### YEAS—24

Aiken	Clark, Idaho	Rosier
Andrews	Clark, Mo.	Shipstead
Ball	Danaher	Taft
Brewster	Johnson, Calif.	Thomas, Idaho
Bulow	McNary	Tunnell
Burton	Nye	Vandenberg
Butler	Radcliffe	Van Nuys
Capper	Reed	Willis

#### NAYS—37

Austin	Hatch	Reynolds
Barkley	Hayden	Smathers
Caraway	Hill	Smith
Chavez	Lee	Spencer
Connally	Lucas	Thomas, Utah
Doxey	McFarland	Tydings
Ellender	McKellar	Wagner
George	Maloney	Wallgren
Gerry	Maybank	Walsh
Gillette	Mead	Wheeler
Green	Norris	White
Guffey	Overton	
Gurney	Pepper	

#### NOT VOTING—35

Bailey	Downey	Murdock
Bankhead	Glass	Murray
Barbour	Herring	O'Daniel
Bilbo	Holman	O'Mahoney
Bone	Hughes	Russell
Bridges	Johnson, Colo.	Schwartz
Brooks	Kilgore	Stewart
Brown	La Follette	Thomas, Okla.
Bunker	Langer	Tobey
Byrd	Lodge	Truman
Chandler	McCarran	Wiley
Davis	Millikin	

Mr. BURTON's amendment was rejected.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I offer an amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. It is proposed to add the following new section at the end of the bill:

Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, any person inducted into the land or naval forces may volunteer for combat duty while he is under 20 years of age and after so volunteering may be assigned to combat duty at any place if he has had adequate military training.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, the Senator from Illinois in offering this amendment hopes that it may accomplish two primary purposes. I vote for the O'Daniel-Norris amendment. I do not know of any legislative proposal which has given me more concern than that amendment.

Certainly the men who are in control of the Army must have vital and good reasons for asking for such legislation as the bill proposes. On the other hand, there are perhaps many reasons why a number of boys under 20 years of age should have adequate military training for the length of time expressed in the bill before being ordered into combat service. There will be thousands of individuals who will come into the service under the law who will have technical training of some kind, and it certainly will not require a period of 12 months before they are in position to serve well their country in some particular branch for which they may be qualified.

I am thinking of the radio technician, of the telephone lineman, who may be transferred within 2 or 3 weeks, perhaps, if he desires to go into the Signal Corps. I am thinking of the individual who may have a special knowledge of engines, and a thousand other vocations, of which individuals 18 and 19 years old will have some special knowledge, or about which they may have some peculiar knowledge.

I undertake to say that it is not fair to such an individual, it is not fair to the Army, and it is not fair to the country, to keep such a boy in training for a period of 12 months, in the event he desires to volunteer for combat or overseas duty, providing the military authorities under whom he is serving decide that he has adequate and sufficient training for the purpose.

It has been said that under the bill the boys will be used in replacement outfits.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LUCAS. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. In order that I may understand the Senator, as I recall the O'Daniel amendment, it referred only to those who were inducted into service.

Mr. LUCAS. That is correct.

Mr. TYDINGS. As I understand, if a man under 20 volunteered for service, the O'Daniel amendment would not apply. Am I wrong about that?

Mr. LUCAS. Of course, at the present time the 18-year-old who applies would have to get consent of his parents before he could get in.

Mr. TYDINGS. Oh, yes.

Mr. LUCAS. But after we enact the proposal now before us, he will not have to get anyone's consent, he will become a soldier if he is inducted into the Army.



The only thing I am attempting to do is to give the 18- and 19-year-old boys an opportunity, after they are inducted under the measure now before us, an opportunity to volunteer if, in the opinion of the men in charge of the boys they have had adequate and sufficient training in the particular military line to which they may be assigned.

Mr. President, before I was interrupted by the able Senator from Maryland I was discussing the bill from the angle which has been discussed by those in charge of it, namely, that the measure is primarily for the purpose of replacing men. In other words, if that be true, the boys would have at least six months of training under any theory, unless they are specialists along the line I have suggested, before being called for any kind of combat duty.

Let us presume there were 10,000 men in a certain place training for replacement work. It would be a simple matter if the Army, through its company commanders, could then ask what men in that particular company would volunteer, after adequate training, for the purpose of joining, we shall say, a tank corps unit. Any individual who desired to step forward under those circumstances and volunteer for that type of service, after adequate training, could do so.

I know during the last war, as everyone who was in it knows, that it was a common thing in replacement outfits which were to go overseas for company commanders each and every morning to ask for volunteers to go overseas before actually sending the men.

Mr. President, there are many excellent men 18 and 19 years old who will make fine soldiers. Take Dudley, the all-American quarterback from Virginia, who at the age of 19 years is one of the finest physical specimens in this country. Yet if Dudley were drafted under the pending bill he would have to remain in this country 1 year before he could be used in military service abroad.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LUCAS. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. Dudley could volunteer at any moment, at the very moment of induction, could he not?

Mr. LUCAS. It is true Dudley could volunteer, perhaps, at 19 years of age, but he could not do so at 18 years of age without the consent of his parents. I will refer to 1 year ago and say that even at 18 years of age Dudley, as a quarterback, was recognized by many in the country as the greatest quarterback in all the land.

I merely cite him, Mr. President, as one example of brain power and physical power in a boy 18 years of age, and inquire what use there would be in training such a boy for a period of 1 year in this country, if he wanted the opportunity, after sufficient and adequate military training, to volunteer for some particular type of service for which he was best fitted. Dudley is one example of thousands upon thousands of individuals who, as everyone knows, at the age of 18 or 19 years are fairly abreast of many boys 21 and 22 years of age.

What I am attempting to do is to discriminate, if possible, between those who would like to go, those who are physically and mentally fit and want the chance, and those who do not want to go, and who perhaps should not go, for instance, a stripling of a boy 18 years old, who has not had very good health, perhaps, who is thin, pale, so to speak, and who has not been away from home very long. The longer such a boy is kept in training, the better it will be for him, for his parents at home, and for the country. But there is a line of demarcation that should be drawn, and the Army should have the opportunity to draw it, provided the boy himself gives his consent by volunteering for combat duty.

Mr. President, that is all there is to it. It would greatly simplify the administrative work for the Army and the Navy if the amendment should be agreed to. The officials tell us flatly that the amendment as it reads would make it almost impossible to administer the bill and to do the job the way it should be done. In my humble opinion, my amendment would help materially. I hope it will prevail.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, I object to this amendment. I object to it because I think it is turning a sharp corner upon the O'Daniel amendment. Listen to the amendment:

Notwithstanding any other provision of this act any person inducted into the land or naval forces may volunteer for combat duty while he is under 20 years of age and after so volunteering may be assigned to combat duty at any place if he has had adequate military training.

I pass over for the moment the question of adequate military training, which may be defined one way or another as one sees fit; but the very purpose of the O'Daniel amendment was to prevent boys under 20 years old from being sent into combat service and perform combat duty. The Senator from Illinois by his amendment sugar-coats the idea by saying that the youthful soldier may volunteer for combat duty while he is under 20 years of age, and after so volunteering may be assigned to combat duty at any place, if he shall have received adequate military training.

Mr. President, think of it! With the surroundings and under the circumstances in which the boy under 20 years old finds himself in the Army he would not be able to withstand the blandishments which may be offered to convince him that he should volunteer. The result would be that the very purpose of the O'Daniel amendment which we adopted today would be utterly and absolutely destroyed.

I submit to the Senate that this sort of amendment should not be presented; that the subject with which it deals having been passed upon by the Senate today, after a perfectly fair presentation, the matter should remain as it now is.

Mr. McKELLAR. A motion to reconsider the vote by which the O'Daniel amendment was agreed to was laid on the table, and the present proposal would represent a virtual repeal of the O'Daniel amendment.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I thank the Senator from Tennessee. A motion

to reconsider the vote by which the O'Daniel amendment was agreed to was made, and laid on the table. Action to change the amendment in any way therefore could not be invoked. This is an opportunity which is taken by a very able and distinguished lawyer for the purpose of invoking such a procedure.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. In truth, and in fact, and in substance, I think the pending amendment is subject to a point of order, because the matter has already been passed upon.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Do I understand that a point of order is made against the amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair did not understand that the Senator from Tennessee made a point of order.

Mr. McKELLAR. If the Senator from California will yield to me for that purpose, I shall make the point of order.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I make the point of order that the subject dealt with by the pending amendment has already been passed upon.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, if there is any question about the matter I should like to be heard on the point of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is ready to rule on the point of order. The point of order is overruled.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Did the Chair rule?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair overruled the point of order made by the Senator from Tennessee against the pending amendment.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. The Chair may overrule the point of order, but cannot overrule the language contained in the amendment adopted today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That question is not before the Chair for decision.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Again I say that if the soldier who is under 20 years of age is permitted by the action of the Senate to volunteer for combat service, he is given no real choice at all. We all know that to be so. We know from our knowledge of young men exactly what would happen and what would be the result. When it is said that the young soldier can volunteer for combat service if he has received adequate military training, something is said which no man can understand.

I speak briefly, Mr. President, because the hour is late and we are anxious for an adjournment. I submit to the Senate that the O'Daniel amendment should not be dealt with in this fashion, nor should it be dealt with so that it would have no effect at all.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I yield.

Mr. O'DANIEL. The subject of permitting the inductee to volunteer for combat service was presented to me before we took a vote on the amendment. I gave it thorough consideration. I talked with several other Senators, and it was my opinion that the amendment



itself which I offered was for the protection of our country and of our Army, to make sure that our boys who were inducted would receive 1 year's military training before they were sent into combat service. The main feature and purpose of the amendment was to give us a better Army, an Army that was better trained. During the course of the debate the subject was brought up and I made the statement that as I understood the question I had no objection to volunteers going into combat service. I meant the volunteers into the armed service, not those below 20 who were inducted under this act, and then volunteered for combat service later. We all know that some boys are very daring and romantic, and that after they are inducted many of them might like to get the thrill which they might contemplate comes with foreign service and combat duty. Some boys dislike school training, and they might have the desire after they have been inducted to volunteer for combat service, simply to escape training. I think for the benefit of our Nation and for the benefit of our Army such boys should abide by the decision made by older men here in the Senate, that they must have the 12 months' training before they go into foreign combat service to fight for their country.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, I submit the matter, and ask for a vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS]. [Putting the question.] The "ayes" have it.

Mr. McKELLAR. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Gerry	Pepper
Andrews	Gillette	Radcliffe
Austin	Green	Reed
Bailey	Guffey	Reynolds
Ball	Gurney	Rosier
Barkley	Hatch	Smathers
Bilbo	Hayden	Smith
Bone	Hill	Spencer
Brewster	Johnson, Calif.	Taft
Bulow	Lee	Thomas, Idaho
Burton	Lucas	Thomas, Utah
Butler	McFarland	Tunnell
Capper	McKellar	Tydings
Caraway	McNary	Vandenberg
Chavez	Maloney	Van Nuys
Clark, Idaho	Maybank	Wagner
Connally	Mead	Wallgren
Danaher	Murdock	Walsh
Downey	Norris	Wheeler
Doxey	Nye	White
Ellender	O'Daniel	Willis
George	Overton	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Sixty-five Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I do not know whether the Chair announced that the amendment of the Senator from Illinois was agreed to. If the Chair made such an announcement, in the interest of fairness I ask that the announcement be vacated, and that we have a division on the amendment of the Senator from Illinois.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. LUCAS. I have no objection. I agree to that.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair hears no objection. A division has been asked for. [Putting the question.]

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, under the unanimous-consent agreement, if either side is dissatisfied with the division, does it have the right to ask for the yeas and nays?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Mr. McKELLAR. With that understanding, I have no objection.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Provided the request is made before the result is announced.

Mr. McKELLAR. It will be made if the Chair will recognize me, because I will make it if God allows me to live.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, in order to save time and avoid discussion, I now ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS].

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. McKELLAR (when Mr. STEWART's name was called). The junior Senator from Tennessee is unavoidably absent from the Senate. If he were present he would vote "nay."

Mr. LEE (when the name of Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma was called). My colleague is unavoidably absent.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HUGHES] are absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. BROWN], the Senators from Nevada [Mr. BUNKER and Mr. McCARRAN], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HERRING], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SCHWARTZ], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. TRUMAN] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] are detained on important public business.

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE] is absent on official business in connection with the duties of the Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah (after having voted in the negative). I have a general pair with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD], and allow my vote to stand.

Mr. McNARY. The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS] has a general pair with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER].

The result was announced—yeas 32, nays 33, as follows:

#### YEAS—32

Andrews	Bone	Ellender
Austin	Caraway	Gerry
Bailey	Chavez	Green
Barkley	Connally	Guffey

Gurney  
Hatch  
Hayden  
Hill  
Lee  
Lucas  
McFarland

Maybank  
Mead  
Overton  
Pepper  
Radcliffe  
Reynolds  
Smathers  
NAYS—33

Tunnell  
Vandenberg  
Van Nuys  
Wagner  
Wallgren  
White

Aiken	Doxey	Reed
Ball	George	Rosier
Bilbo	Gillette	Smith
Brewster	Johnson, Calif.	Spencer
Bulow	McKellar	Taft
Burton	McNary	Thomas, Idaho
Butler	Maloney	Thomas, Utah
Capper	Murdock	Tydings
Clark, Idaho	Norris	Walsh
Danaher	Nye	Wheeler
Downey	O'Daniel	Willis

#### NOT VOTING—31

Bankhead	Herring	O'Mahoney
Barbour	Holman	Russell
Bridges	Hughes	Schwartz
Brooks	Johnson, Colo.	Shipstead
Brown	Kilgore	Stewart
Bunker	La Follette	Thomas, Okla.
Byrd	Langer	Tobey
Chandler	Lodge	Truman
Clark, Mo.	McCarran	Wiley
Davis	Millikin	
Glass	Murray	

So Mr. LUCAS' amendment was rejected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. TAFT. I offer the amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have stated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. At the end of the bill it is proposed to insert the following—

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, do we have to go through the same rigmarole now, and have the amendment laid on the table, and the motion for reconsideration made? We have done that once. It was not effective.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair interprets the question raised by the Senator from California as a rhetorical one, not a parliamentary question.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, the question was not a rhetorical question. It was a parliamentary question, because the parliamentary procedure had been regularly pursued in relation to one matter. At that time the present occupant of the chair was not in the chair. A motion was made to reconsider, and, on motion duly made, the motion to reconsider was laid on the table. The motion to reconsider remained on the table for several hours. Thereafter, when no one was thinking of the particular matter, there came in this particular amendment which makes it possible for us to adopt the same procedure all over again.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair finds no basis in the rules on which to rule on the question presented by the Senator from California.

The amendment of the Senator from Ohio will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. At the end of the bill it is proposed to insert the following new section:

SEC. —. The President shall determine the number of men, not exceeding 25,000 in any age group, who in his opinion should complete their education in colleges or professional schools, in order that there may be available for positions in the armed forces and in essential activities a sufficient num-



ber of men with adequate educational qualifications. The President shall defer such men, so long as they maintain a satisfactory standing in school or college, until they have completed the education or training which he considers necessary to fit them for the employment or activity found to be essential. The selection of such men shall be (1) from among those men now enrolled in college or professional school on the basis of the scholastic records which they have made, and physical examinations; and (2) from among those who desire to enter such college or school, by competitive mental and physical examination. When such men are selected the President may extend essential financial aid in any individual case in which it is necessary to enable the men selected to complete their education. When such education is completed, and it is determined by examination that the applicant is qualified, then if the education is for service in the armed forces he shall be inducted into service, and if the education is for some essential civilian purpose he shall be classified in class II under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, until further action by the Director.

Mr. TAFT. The amendment simply provides that the President shall determine the number of men whom he thinks should finish their education every year. I have limited the number to 25,000 in each age group, which is 2 percent of the total number of men available in each age group. I think every country in the war has recognized the necessity of finishing the education of a certain number of men for certain specified classifications. Under the amendment the classifications would be determined by the President, and he then would proceed to select the men.

The amendment provides that if the men are already in college or in school they shall be chosen on the basis of their standing already obtained. As to the younger men who have not already entered college, the selection shall be made on the basis of competitive examination.

In effect, we should be doing almost exactly what we do when we send young men to West Point or to Annapolis to complete their education. It seems to me to be clear that the job should be a Selective Service job, with the President above the Army and the Navy, some of it for essential purposes. It seems to me that in any development of manpower, particularly when we are drafting boys 18 and 19 years of age, such a selection should be made.

Let me say that in order to meet the objections raised by the Senator from Rhode Island, it is provided that if the men do not have financial means sufficient to enable them to finish their education the President may supply means essential to meet the purpose, just as we supply means for boys to be educated at West Point or at Annapolis. I believe such a provision would meet the criticism relative to "pull" or special privilege of any sort, and I feel confident that any adequate manpower plan should contain a provision on the order of the one I have proposed.

After the boys have been taken out of college, and put into the Army, I do not think the Army should have left to it the decision as to whether they should go back to college for the purpose of finishing their education as soldiers. Of

course, the Army is not particularly interested in the education of men for the Navy, or for other armed services, or for civilian institutions outside the Army.

I hope the amendment will be agreed to in order to perfect the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, I desire to call up the amendment which I have previously sent to the desk, and which I ask to have stated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. At the end of the bill it is proposed to insert the following new sections:

SEC. 5. Section 7 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 7. Every employer shall pay to any of his employees who are engaged in commerce, or in the production of goods directly or indirectly for commerce, compensation at the same rate for all hours worked by such employee during any pay period."

SEC. 6. Until the termination of the wars in which the United States is now engaged, (a) no provision of Federal or State law which limits or restricts hours of employment shall be applicable with respect to employees of any contractor who are engaged in the performance of work directly or indirectly necessary for the fulfillment of any contract between such contractor and the United States, and (b) no provision in any contract heretofore or hereafter made with the United States restricting or limiting the hours of employment of employees employed under or in connection with such contract, and no penalty or forfeiture for a violation of any such provision, shall be enforceable by any officer or agency of the United States.

SEC. 7. The act entitled "An act to provide conditions for the purchase of supplies and the making of contracts by the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 30, 1936, is amended by adding at the end of the first section thereof the following new paragraph:

"(f) When wage rates for regular hours of employment have been determined for the purposes of this act, the same hourly wage rates shall apply with respect to all hours worked during any day or workweek or other work period in employment with respect to which wages are determined under this section."

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, it is my opinion that the subject dealt with in the amendment is of vital importance, and one which must ultimately be settled by the Congress.

Due to the lateness of the hour, and the fact that this is the last day of the week, I do not intend to delay the Senate very long.

The amendment simply deals with abolishing the penalty payment for time worked over a specified number of hours each week. Every Member of the Senate, in my opinion, is fully conversant with the subject, and no doubt has some opinion on it. I fully covered the ground in my remarks yesterday morning in the Senate. Therefore, I now ask only for a vote. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment, which I offer and ask to have stated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. At the end of the bill it is proposed to add the following new section:

SEC. 7. Section 3 (a) of such act, as amended, is amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof a colon and the following: "Provided further, That no man shall be inducted for training and service under this act after he has attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of his birth."

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, it is now late, and I shall not detain the Senate very long. I desire to state that I have discussed the amendment with a number of Senators during the day, including the Senator in charge of the pending bill. I understand there is no objection to my amendment.

The purpose of the amendment is to provide that no man who has reached his forty-fifth birthday shall be inducted for training. As the law is now written, although a person is 46 years old or more, he may be inducted, so long as he was not 45 years of age when he registered. It is provided that every male citizen between the ages of 20 and 45 at the time fixed for his registration shall be liable for training and service in the armed forces of our country. My amendment makes it certain that a person cannot be inducted after he becomes 45 years of age. I believe that the amendment should be agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to the consideration of House bill 7528.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 7528) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, providing for the extension of liability.

Mr. GURNEY. I now move that all after the enacting clause be stricken out and that the Senate bill as amended be substituted for the language of the House bill.

The motion was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question now is on the engrossment of the amendment and the third reading of the bill.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question now is, Shall the bill pass?

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. AIKEN (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the junior Senator from North



Dakota [Mr. LANGER], who was called away a short time ago. If present, he would vote "nay." I transfer that pair to the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY], and will vote; I vote "yea."

Mr. BILBO (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE]. If he were present he would vote "yea." If permitted to vote I should vote "nay."

Mr. BARKLEY (when Mr. CHANDLER's name was called). I announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER] for reasons which I have heretofore mentioned, and to state that if present he would vote "yea."

Mr. McKELLAR (when Mr. STEWART's name was called). The junior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. STEWART] is unavoidably absent. If he were present he would vote "yea."

Mr. LEE (when the name of Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma was called). My colleague, the senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS] is unavoidably absent. If he were present he would vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, without reference to the announcement of pairs heretofore made, I wish to announce that if present and voting the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BARBOUR], my colleague, the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. HOLMAN], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. BROOKS], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS], and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] would vote "yea." If present and voting the junior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER] would vote "nay." The junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY] is absent on public business.

Mr. HILL. The Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] are detained from the Senate on public business. I am advised that if present and voting they would vote "yea."

The Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD], the Senators from Nevada [Mr. BUNKER and Mr. McCARRAN], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. TRUMAN], the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER], and the Senators from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY and Mr. SCHWARTZ] are necessarily absent. I am advised that if present and voting these Senators would vote "yea."

The Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE] is necessarily absent. I am advised that if present and voting he would vote "nay."

The Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HUGHES] are absent because of illness. I am advised that if present and voting they would vote "yea."

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE] is absent on official business in connection with the duties of the Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program. I am advised that if

present and voting the Senator from West Virginia would vote "yea."

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. BROWN], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HERRING], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], and the Senators from Montana [Mr. MURRAY and Mr. WHEELER] are necessarily absent.

The result was announced—yeas 58, nays 5, as follows:

#### YEAS—58

Aiken	Gerry	Reed
Andrews	Green	Reynolds
Austin	Guffey	Rosier
Bailey	Gurney	Smathers
Ball	Hatch	Smith
Barkley	Hayden	Spencer
Bone	Hill	Taft
Brewster	Lee	Thomas, Idaho
Burton	Lucas	Thomas, Utah
Butler	McFarland	Tunnell
Capper	McKellar	Tydings
Caraway	McNary	Vandenberg
Chavez	Maloney	Van Nuys
Clark, Mo.	Maybank	Wagner
Connally	Mead	Wallgren
Danaher	Murdock	Walsh
Downey	Norris	White
Doxey	O'Daniel	Willis
Ellender	Overton	
George	Radcliffe	

#### NAYS—5

Bulow	Johnson, Calif.	Shipstead
Clark, Idaho	Nye	

#### NOT VOTING—33

Bankhead	Glass	Murray
Barbour	Herring	O'Mahoney
Bilbo	Holman	Pepper
Bridges	Hughes	Russell
Brooks	Johnson, Colo.	Schwartz
Brown	Kilgore	Stewart
Bunker	La Follette	Thomas, Okla.
Byrd	Langer	Tobey
Chandler	Lodge	Truman
Davis	McCarran	Wheeler
Gillette	Millikin	Wiley

So the bill H. R. 7528 was passed.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, Senate bill 2748 is indefinitely postponed.

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments, request a conference with the House thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Vice President appointed Mr. REYNOLDS, Mr. THOMAS of Utah, Mr. HILL, Mr. AUSTIN, and Mr. GURNEY conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the House bill just passed be printed, showing Senate amendments as they have been agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### H. R. 7528

An act to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That so much of the first sentence of section 3 (a) of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, as precedes the first proviso is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 3. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this act, every male citizen of the United States, and every other male person residing in the United States, who is between the ages of 18 and 45 at the time fixed for his registration, shall be liable for training and service in the land or naval forces of the United States."

SEC. 2. Section 5 (f) of such act, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(f) Any person who, while pursuing a course of instruction at a high school or

similar institution of learning, is ordered to report for induction under this act during the last half of the academic year at such school or institution, shall, upon his request, have his induction under this act postponed until the end of such academic year."

SEC. 3. Section 15 (a) of such act, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(a) The term 'between the ages of 18 and 45' shall refer to men who have attained the eighteenth anniversary of the day of their birth and who have not attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of their birth; and other terms designating different age groups shall be construed in a similar manner."

SEC. 4. Section 5 of such act, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(1) Notwithstanding any other provisions of law, no person between the ages of 18 and 21 shall be discharged from service in the land or naval forces of the United States while this act is in effect because such person entered such service without the consent of his parent or guardian

"(j) No individual shall be relieved from liability for training and service under this act, or held not to be acceptable to the land or naval forces for such training and service, solely on the ground of his having been convicted of any crime which may not be punished by death or imprisonment for a term exceeding 1 year, if the local board having jurisdiction determines that such individual is, notwithstanding such conviction, morally fit for military service."

SEC. 5. Every registrant found by a local Selective Service board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2) of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, to be regularly engaged in an agricultural occupation or endeavor essential to the war effort, shall be deferred from training and service in the land and naval forces so long as he remains so engaged and until such time as a satisfactory replacement can be obtained: *Provided*, That should any such person leave such occupation or endeavor, except for induction into the land or naval forces under such act, his local Selective Service board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2) of such act, shall reclassify such registrant in a class immediately available for military service, unless prior to leaving such occupation or endeavor he requests his local board to determine, and his local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2) of said act determines that it is in the best interest of the war effort for him to leave such occupation or endeavor for other work.

SEC. 6. Section 3 (a) of such act, as amended, is amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof a colon and the following: *Provided further*, That no man shall be inducted for training and service under this act after he has attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of his birth."

SEC. 7. No person under 20 years of age inducted under this act shall be placed in actual combat duty beyond the territorial boundaries of continental United States until after he has had at least 1 year's military training following his induction.

#### PRIORITIES FOR FARM MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, following the vote on the bill, a letter, an editorial, and a bill dealing with the question of priorities on farm materials and equipment.

There being no objection, the letter, editorial, and bill were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

77TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

# H. R. 7528

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 24 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942  
Ordered to be printed with the amendment of the Senate

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## AN ACT

To amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

1     *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2     *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
3     That so much of the first sentence of section 3 (a) of the  
4     Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended,  
5     as preceedes the first proviso is hereby amended to read as  
6     follows:

7     “SEC. 3. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this Act,  
8     every male citizen of the United States, and every other male  
9     person residing in the United States, who is between the  
10    ages of eighteen and forty-five at the time fixed for his regis-



1 tration, shall be liable for training and service in the land  
2 or naval forces of the United States.”

3 SEC. 2. Any person who, during the year 1942, entered  
4 upon attendance for the academic year 1942-1943—

5 ~~(1)~~ at any high school (or similar institution); or

6 ~~(2)~~ at any college or university which grants a de-  
7 gree in arts or science, to pursue a course of instruction  
8 satisfactory completion of which is prescribed by such  
9 college or university as a prerequisite to either of such  
10 degrees; or

11 ~~(3)~~ at any university described in paragraph ~~(2)~~,  
12 to pursue a course of instruction to the pursuit of which  
13 a degree in arts or science is prescribed by such uni-  
14 versity as a prerequisite;

15 and who, while pursuing such course of instruction at such  
16 high school (or similar institution), college, or university is  
17 selected for training and service under this Act prior to the  
18 end of such academic year, or prior to July 1, 1943, which  
19 ever occurs first, shall, upon his request, be deferred from  
20 induction into the land and naval forces for such training  
21 and service until the end of such academic year, but in no  
22 event later than July 1, 1943.

23 SEC. 3. Section 15 ~~(a)~~ of such Act, as amended, is  
24 hereby amended to read as follows:

25 “~~(a)~~ The term ‘between the ages of eighteen and forty-

1 five' shall refer to men who have attained the eighteenth  
2 anniversary of the day of their birth and who have not  
3 attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of their birth;  
4 and other terms designating different age groups shall be  
5 construed in a similar manner."

6 SEC. 4. Section 5 of such Act, as amended, is amended  
7 by inserting at the end thereof the following new subsection:

8 "(i) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no per-  
9 son between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one shall be dis-  
10 charged from service in the land or naval forces of the  
11 United States while this Act is in effect because such person  
12 entered such service without the consent of his parent or  
13 guardian."

14 SEC. 5. That Section 201 (a), Paragraph One (1),  
15 of section 5 (c) of the Selective Training and Service Act  
16 of 1940, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof  
17 a proviso to read as follows: "*Provided, however,* That no  
18 person who has been deferred from training and service as  
19 provided herein shall be inducted prior to the induction of  
20 all persons within the same State who have been placed in  
21 categories made subject to induction prior to the category  
22 in which such person has been placed."

23 SEC. 6. That section 5 of the Selective Training and  
24 Service Act of 1940, as amended, is amended by adding at  
25 the end thereof a new subsection as follows:



1       “(j) No individual shall be relieved from liability for  
2 training and service under this Act, or held not to be ac-  
3 ceptable to the land or naval forces for such training and  
4 service, solely on the ground of his having been convicted of  
5 any crime which is not a felony at common law, if the local  
6 board having jurisdiction determines that such individual is,  
7 notwithstanding such conviction, morally fit for military  
8 service.”

9       *That so much of the first sentence of section 3 (a) of the*  
10 *Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, as*  
11 *precedes the first proviso is hereby amended to read as*  
12 *follows:*

13       “SEC. 3. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this Act,  
14 every male citizen of the United States, and every other male  
15 person residing in the United States, who is between the  
16 ages of eighteen and forty-five at the time fixed for his regis-  
17 tration, shall be liable for training and service in the land or  
18 naval forces of the United States.”

19       SEC. 2. Section 5 (f) of such Act, as mended, is hereby  
20 amended to read as follows:

21       “(f) Any person who, while pursuing a course of in-  
22 struction at a high school or similar institution of learning,  
23 is ordered to report for induction under this Act during the  
24 last half of the academic year at such school or institution,

1 shall, upon his request, have his induction under this Act  
2 postponed until the end of such academic year.”

3 SEC. 3. Section 15 (a) of such Act, as amended, is  
4 hereby amended to read as follows:

5 “(a) The term ‘between the ages of eighteen and forty-  
6 five’ shall refer to men who have attained the eighteenth  
7 anniversary of the day of their birth and who have not  
8 attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of their birth;  
9 and other terms designating different age groups shall be  
10 construed in a similar manner.”

11 SEC. 4. Section 5 of such Act, as amended, is amended  
12 by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

13 “(i) Notwithstanding any other provisions of law, no  
14 person between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one shall be  
15 discharged from service in the land or naval forces of the  
16 United States while this Act is in effect because such person  
17 entered such service without the consent of his parent or  
18 guardian.

19 “(j) No individual shall be relieved from liability for  
20 training and service under this Act, or held not to be accept-  
21 able to the land or naval forces for such training and  
22 service, solely on the ground of his having been convicted  
23 of any crime which may not be punished by death or im-  
24 prisonment for a term exceeding one year, if the local board



1 *having jurisdiction determines that such individual is, not-*  
2 *withstanding such conviction, morally fit for military service."*

3       *SEC. 5. Every registrant found by a local Selective*  
4 *Service board, subject to appeal in accordance with section*  
5 *10 (a) (2) of the Selective Training and Service Act of*  
6 *1940, as amended, to be regularly engaged in an agricultural*  
7 *occupation or endeavor essential to the war effort, shall be*  
8 *deferred from training and service in the land and naval*  
9 *forces so long as he remains so engaged and until such time as*  
10 *a satisfactory replacement can be obtained: Provided, That*  
11 *should any such person leave such occupation or endeavor,*  
12 *except for induction into the land or naval forces under*  
13 *such Act, his local Selective Service board, subject to appeal*  
14 *in accordance with section 10 (a) (2) of such Act, shall*  
15 *reclassify such registrant in a class immediately available*  
16 *for military service, unless prior to leaving such occupation*  
17 *or endeavor he requests his local board to determine, and*  
18 *his local board, subject to appeal in accordance with*  
19 *section 10 (a) (2) of said Act determines that it is in the*  
20 *best interest of the war effort for him to leave such occupa-*  
21 *tion or endeavor for other work.*

22       *SEC. 6. Section 3 (a) of such Act, as amended, is*  
23 *amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and*  
24 *inserting in lieu thereof a colon and the following: "Provided*  
25 *further, That no man shall be inducted for training and*

1 service under this Act after he has attained the forty-fifth  
2 anniversary of the day of his birth”.

3        *SEC. 7. No person under twenty years of age inducted*  
4   *under this Act shall be placed in actual combat duty beyond*  
5   *the territorial boundaries of continental United States until*  
6   *after he has had at least one year's military training following*  
7   *his induction.*

Passed the House of Representatives October 17, 1942.

Attest: SOUTH TRIMBLE,  
Clerk.

Passed the Senate with an amendment October 24  
(legislative day, October 15), 1942.

Attest: EDWIN A. HALSEY,  
*Secretary.*



77<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS  
2<sup>D</sup> Session

H. R. 7528

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## AN ACT

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To amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 24 (legislative day, OCTOBER 15), 1942

Ordered to be printed with the amendment of the  
Senate







Roman jackal following behind, succeeded in subduing little Greece.

Memory, too, of the gallant stand of the Greeks, as well as the Yugoslavs, made in April of last year, when they refused to join the Axis as satellites, will never be dimmed.

Hitler, with France prostrate, had counted on bringing Greece and Yugoslavia under the swastika, just as he had brought Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria. But the brave Greeks and Yugoslavs did not waver. Living up to their noble traditions, they chose to fight for hearth and freedom.

The heroic resistance of the Greeks to the incredibly brutal Nazi hordes has moved every American heart. It delayed Nazi attack on Russia by at least 2 months—2 valuable months of good-weather fighting—until June of that year was more than two-thirds gone.

This fatal delay may have saved Moscow last year. Not often in history has so small a force exerted so momentous an influence on the course of great events.

Therefore, it is understandable that the Nazis should blame their many and varied sufferings in Russia last winter on the stubborn Greek resistance of last year's spring and early summer.

Moreover, the Germans in their bold attack on Crete lost the cream of their parachutists and shock troops. This amounted to a military reverse of the first order for the Germans, in spite of the conquest of the great Island of the Mediterranean.

As the Greek Minister of Merchant Marine, Mr. Theophanides, pointed out last year:

The colossal German losses in Crete made it impossible for the Nazis to follow up militarily the German "tourist" penetration of Syria and other parts of the Near East.

Therefore, now the Nazis and Fascists have been venting their revenge on the Greek people.

The once happy country has been plunged into darkness. Greek shepherds no longer leave the verdant hills to join the town and village in colorful community dances. Song and laughter have been extinguished.

The oppression which followed the Nazi conquest and looting of Greece is a record of callousness and brutality perhaps without equal—even in Hitler's Europe.

Greece is being murdered by starvation, massacre, and disease. The Germans soon enough requisitioned everything in sight. Then the Fascist locusts finished up the job of looting.

Two weeks after the swastika was raised over the Acropolis, despoiling the beautiful Parthenon, Athenian children began to scrape garbage cans for food.

Since then Famine—the fourth Horseman of the Apocalypse—astride his gaunt steed in Greece, has been ravaging the civilian population.

It is a harrowing picture of suffering. The most accurate statistics obtainable in this country show that in the Athens area alone the death rate has increased from a normal daily average of 47 to a daily average of more than 800. The principal victims are the children.

Death carts make a tour of the streets each day picking up the bodies of persons who have died of sheer starvation or weakness and old age. Parents of children deliberately starve themselves in order that their children may have their meager rations.

To this pitch of poverty and degradation, the destroyers of modern Europe have reduced the proud and gifted race that founded European civilization and has been a light to the world for 2,500 years.

Mr. Michalopoulos, the able Greek Minister of Information, reports that more than 350,000 persons have perished by starvation, malnutrition, disease, execution, and massacre in Greece. And the distinguished Greek Ambassador, Mr. Diamantopoulos, fears that unless a more effective way is found to feed the suffering population, half of Greece's 8,000,000 may be dead before the war ends.

Mr. President, it is hard to believe that in this day and age civilized nations could pursue a policy that is blighting a conquered but brave people with famine in its most ghastly form.

In view of these appalling conditions in Greece under Axis occupation, Great Britain and the United States have lifted the blockade to allow food to enter Greece.

Under the auspices of the International Red Cross, some 15,000 tons of grain and medical supplies are being shipped to Greece from Canada and elsewhere. These shipments may alleviate somehow the appalling condition in Greece, but not materially.

Wholesale massacre has been added to starvation. Thousands of Greek hostages have been executed. Even the Bulgarians, whose Government has made itself the servile tool of Hitler, taking advantage of the subjugation of Greece, have massacred the populations of whole towns and villages in eastern Macedonia and Thrace.

In spite of all, the indomitable Greek people carry on undaunted their resistance to their brutal oppressors.

Greek patriot warfare continues throughout the mountains of Greece. Recent authoritative reports estimate these patriot forces at 30,000.

These fighting Greeks sally forth from their mountain fastnesses to destroy German and Italian communications, and to spread terror among the Axis troops of occupation. Many British, New Zealand, and Australian soldiers who were unable to escape from Greece, are said to be fighting now alongside the Greek patriots.

Even though the Germans announced they would shoot anyone found listening to foreign broadcasts, the Greeks hide the receiving sets under their bed covers and listen to the British and American broadcasts.

The Greek people sabotage the Nazi and Fascist war effort in a thousand ways. Sand poured into fuel containers shatters tank and motor lorry bearings. Priceless rubber tires are slashed. Incendiary fires raze warehouses and wharves. Ships blow up at their docks without warning. Locomotive boilers

explode from dynamite sticks hidden in the coal. Highway bridges collapse under truck trains.

The Nazis strike back with terrorism, but the underground rebellion in Greece continues to gain momentum.

Outside of Greece the Greek land, air, and sea forces are already engaged in military operations in Lybia.

The Greek Navy, lately increased by 10 units turned over by the British, now patrols the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. On several occasions the British communiques have praised the gallantry and achievements of these Greek forces, which realize that their struggles and sacrifices bring closer the day of the restoration of freedom and independence to Greece.

Another very valuable contribution of Greece to the common cause is the use by the Allies of the Greek merchant marine, which represents today 1,000,000 tons of shipping, manned by 7,000 men. This shipping constitutes an important part of Allied power and resources.

Mr. President, these are the spiritual, moral, and material contributions of Greece to the cause of liberty.

Our obligation to the Greeks for their inestimable services and unforgettable courage is very great. This obligation we are proud to accept and are resolved to discharge.

Greece will be restored and completely rehabilitated. Yes; Greece will rise again, for, as Assistant Secretary of State Adolf A. Berle, Jr., said some time ago:

There is more life, hope, and progress in a handful of dust on the Acropolis than in all the makeshift religions, philosophies, and new orders that have come from the diseased brains in Berlin.

Let this voice from the halls of this assembly of freemen reach the hearts of the chained and oppressed valiant Greeks: We deplore the temporary enslavement of the soil that gave birth to civilization. You have remained true to your noble traditions and your own souls. You have been noble in your hour of victory and you remain noble in your misfortune. Have faith in our victory. Happier days will come to gallant Greece. Happier days will come to all the Nazi-infested countries, when the overwhelming might of the United Nations crushes the dark forces of slavery.

#### REDUCTION OF DRAFT AGE LIMIT

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, a much better bill on the proposal to draft 18- and 19-year-old boys was sent to conference than the one originally reported to the Senate.

Now, in accordance with the O'Daniel amendment, the boys must be given the advantage of training before they are sent into combat service. I was glad to support the amendment. I deeply regret the rejection of the amendment proposed by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. BLIBO], which would have put these 18- and 19-year-olds into educational institutions where they could continue their education while receiving intensive military training.

However, the bill is vastly improved in another respect, in that it now provides—thanks to the amendment of the Sena-



tor from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS]—that the selective-service authority shall be required to excuse from the draft all farm hands determined to be essential to agricultural production. In some degree a tragic situation on the farm is thus met. If the amendment shall be agreed to in conference and become a part of the law, a check will be placed on the farm abandonment now taking place for want of farm help.

But with all those advantages, I could not support the bill, and voted against it.

I do not know why I allow myself to become so concerned about the draft of 18- and 19-year-old boys. After all, the situation is precisely what I have said upon many occasions would be our lot if we ever allowed ourselves to become a part of another World War. But there is no satisfaction in seeing such prophecy fulfilled, and I could not for the life of me bring myself to cast a vote that would bring fulfillment to such a promise or prophecy. Therefore I voted against the draft of the youngsters.

Perhaps a time will come and a condition arise which will find me ready to require the military services of boys 18 and 19 years of age, but a much more convincing demonstration will have to be made of the need for boys within these ages than has yet been made; there will have to be something more than the mere declaration by the President and his Secretary of War that the drafting of these boys is necessary and imperative. I do not feel that the record demonstrates any such need as is declared to exist. Perhaps facts and conditions exist about which we are not permitted to know, but we are certainly entitled to know all there is to know before we are asked to vote so drastic a step as is the one which takes these youngsters from school and home and throws them into battle far away from our home shores.

The Secretary of War tells us there must be no delay in our action now; that the Army must have these boys at once; that it is imperative we do nothing that will delay final passage; that we must not write amendments into the bill which will prevent immediate enactment; that we must expedite passage of the bill. Do not delay. No controversial amendment must be entertained. Immediate action is imperative.

Mr. President, that attitude reminds me somehow of another day just about this time of year 24 or 25 years ago, when men and women were crying, "Get the boys out of the trenches before Christmas."

How different that cry from the one the Secretary of War indirectly sponsors today. Now the urge seems to be, "Get these boys into the trenches before Christmas."

Until last Friday morning I was quite uncertain in my own mind as to how I should vote on the proposal to draft 18- and 19-year-olds. I wanted to support the authorities who were requesting the action, yet the request seemed to me to be unreasonable, especially since our country would then be asking of these youngsters something not being asked of like-aged boys in other lands of our Allies.

But while I pondered these things on my drive from home to my office on that morning I found myself slowed by traffic at the intersection adjacent to one of our Washington high schools. I was struck by what was before my eyes in a way that caused me to pull up to the curb, shut off my motor, and watch this surge of boys and girls on their way to school.

Here they were, a book or books under their arms, care-free, jubilant, happy youngsters who had hardly tasted life. Here they were, boys far removed from thought of war, indeed most of them quite unaware of war and its nearness to them. Here they were, at least one quarter of this stream of boys on their way to school that morning, 18 years old, or about to become 18 any day. Here were the boys who were the stakes in the problem we were dealing with in the Senate that very day.

Let Senators watch that procession to or from high school and learn what it is they ask us to do. What may be seen there is only a part of the picture presented in countless places in our country. One cannot see in these youngsters what is needed in the military ranks these days. No one can impress upon me, after viewing this moving, living picture, the opinion that these are the kind of boys necessary to victory. It does not make sense to watch these 18-year-olds and at once declare that they are the kind needed at the front to do the killing, the bleeding, and the dying. Surely, until there is greater threat to our country than now exists, we do not need these youngsters other than where they are, making themselves strong and more mature and mentally ready for what is ahead.

Mr. President, I have a son in the 18- and 19-year category. He is giving his second year to college work and Naval Reserve training. I expect him to be ready any day to give an account of himself in the naval ranks. I am proud of what he is making himself ready to do. But he has an advantage not known to these boys I watched going to high school the other morning. I hark back to the days when that boy of mine was approaching and turning the 18-year marker, and shudder when I think he might then have been forced into the military ranks. Then something within me cries out: "Do not do to the 18-year-old sons of other parents that which you would not willingly do to your own."

Mr. President, we all expect to see this emergency bring to America a tremendous change in our ways and our economy, social and otherwise; but I am not ready, not yet anyway, to acknowledge that, whatever may be our ways and our economy, we can afford to plan to be without schools of higher learning or without need for an educated generation. The bill drafting the 18- and 19-year-olds will close many schools. That must be a result of this legislation. Are we to assume that there will be no need for trained minds when the war is ended, be it a short or a long war?

Why must we do what countries allied with us have not yet found it necessary to do? I am most reliably informed that up to June 17 of this year, when many

Americans left Japan for home, after all the years Japan has been at war, not one boy had yet been taken from school and put into military service. Possibly they give intensive military training to boys while they are in school. If that be the argument, then why could we Americans not do the same thing, make military training a required course in every school, and, if need be, crowd schooling for 12 months in the year to hurry up completion? It seems to me that we would thus better serve our own American interests and the cause of the world than by taking these 18- and 19-year-old boys out of schools to which most of them will never return, however short or however long may be the war.

#### ELIMINATION OF POLL TAX IN ELECTION OF FEDERAL OFFICERS

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I should like to have the attention of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS]. The Senator from Nebraska gave notice and obtained consent, as I understand, to file a so-called report from the Committee on the Judiciary between now and Thursday. Is that correct?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. CONNALLY. As a member of that committee I feel compelled to enter at this time a point of order. I am not objecting to the Senator's request; it would not do me any good to object now; but I am giving notice now and making the point now, not for consideration at the moment, but when and if it is proper for the Senate to consider it, that the Committee on the Judiciary this morning undertook, without the presence of a legal quorum, to report the so-called anti-poll-tax bill. I desire to enter in the RECORD now that part of rule XXV of the Senate appearing in the Rules and Manual, United States Senate, page 32, under the subhead entitled "Quorum of Committees," as follows:

That the several standing committees of the Senate having a membership of more than three Senators are hereby respectively authorized to fix, each for itself, the number of its members who shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of such business as may be considered by said committee; but in no case shall a committee, acting under authority of this resolution, fix as a quorum thereof any number less than one-third of its entire membership, nor shall any report be made to the Senate—

And this is what I particularly wish to emphasize—

nor shall any report be made to the Senate that is not authorized by the concurrence of more than one-half of a majority of such entire membership.

Mr. President, in this connection I desire to observe that the Committee on the Judiciary is composed of 18 members, and that there were only 9 members present when the so-called report on the bill was made. So I desire to preserve whatever rights the minority has with respect to this report.

Allow me to say, Mr. President, that the question involved, from my viewpoint, is not a question of poll tax or no poll tax; it is not a question of vel non, but it is a question of whether or not the Senate of the United States is going to observe the plain provisions and the plain



# House of Representatives

MONDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1942

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Thou most merciful Father, knowing that Thine own time is best, strengthen us in patient hope. In spite of the earthly darkness which rises from the valleys, we rejoice that we can see the light which gleams through the gates of faith. In a world in which our spirits are hurled into the midst of strife and turmoil, we bear a sacred burden and pray that we may accept our obstacles as opportunities and not as a desperate load that slowly settles on the resources of the human will.

Almighty God, ever enable us to reverence our own conscience, to honor our words, to indulge in no slanderous talk, to live lives of chastity, and to love all things which make up the full stature of a good man. By faith, we beseech Thee, that a new world may solemnly emerge into view, with brotherly love smiting the chords of selfishness and sacrifice becoming a devotion and a joy. In the name of Christ our Lord. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings Thursday, October 22, 1942, was read and approved.

## MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 7675. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to incorporate the American Legion," approved September 16, 1919, so as to extend membership eligibility therein to certain American citizens, honorably discharged from the active military or naval forces of the United States, or of some country allied with the United States during World War No. 2.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a concurrent resolution of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. Con. Res. 35. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of Public Law No. 753, entitled "Revenue Act of 1942."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendment of the House to a bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 2693. An act to provide for the instruction of meteorological students in weather forecasting.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with an amendment in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 7528. An act to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendment to the foregoing bill, requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. REYNOLDS, Mr. THOMAS of Utah, Mr. HILL, Mr. AUSTIN, and Mr. GURNEY to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

## AMENDMENT TO SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 7528) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, with Senate amendments, disagree to the Senate amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object, to inquire if the gentleman from Texas is in a position to assure the House that we will be given an opportunity to vote on the Senate amendment on page 7—I believe it is section 7—with reference to giving these teen-age boys a year's training before they are sent into combat.

Mr. THOMASON. No; I cannot give the gentleman that assurance, because I do not have authority to speak to that extent.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Then, Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to instruct the conferees, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. Under the circumstances in which we are meeting today, the Chair asks the gentleman from Texas to withdraw his request.

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to withdraw the request.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may extend my remarks in the RECORD at this point, and insert my motion to instruct the House conferees.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, it is a serious thing to draft boys 18 years old. It is a more serious thing to draft them and send them into battle without proper training. So far as I have been able to learn, our Allies, or at least our English-speaking Allies, have refrained from doing so.

This bill limits the draft age to 45 years but provides for drafting boys of

18. If we are going to take boys of that age, we ought to see that they are provided with at least 1 year's training before they are sent to combat duty in foreign fields.

It would be much better to take some of the men in the present draft age, some of whom seem to regard this war as a joy ride.

I have no quarrel with organized labor. But I am opposed to organized indolence, sit-down or slow-down strikes in our defense industries, where it sometimes takes four or five men to do the work that one man should do. Such people should not be exempted from the draft to have their places on the firing line filled by 18- or 19-year-old boys without adequate training.

There are members of certain racial minorities crowding onto the Federal pay roll who are within the draft age, who are physically fit. They should also be taken before these boys of tender years are required to do their fighting for them untrained and unprepared.

There are other racial minorities who are escaping on the ground of ignorance or disease, who might be taken into labor battalions to relieve other men for combat duty, as was done in the First World War.

Today the draft is absolutely stripping the farms of the South and West. Now, to go and take the white farm boys 18 and 19 years of age and send them to foreign battlefields without at least 1 year's training, and leave the other groups to continue their joy ride of "social gains" at rates of pay far in excess of the amounts these boys earn on the farm or draw as soldiers' pay is simply a discrimination that cannot be justified.

I hope the House will adopt my motion unless the House conferees will agree to give us a vote on this amendment in case they fail to concur in it.

There is no particular hurry about this matter, as everyone knows this measure will not be voted on finally until after the election.

Do not forget that many of our boys were sent into battle in the last war who did not even know how to handle a gun. We must not make that mistake with these 18- and 19-year-old boys.

For the information of the House, I am inserting my motion at this point.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi moves to instruct the managers of the conference on the part of the House to accept, agree to, and concur in the Senate amendment contained in section 7 on page 7 of the bill as it passed the Senate, which amendment reads as follows:

SEC. 7. No person under 20 years of age inducted under this act shall be placed in actual combat duty beyond the territorial boundaries of continental United States



until after he has had at least 1 year's military training following his induction.

# SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE NATIONAL DEFENSE

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House:

OCTOBER 23, 1942.

The Honorable the SPEAKER,

*House of Representatives.*

SIR: Pursuant to the special order agreed to on yesterday, the Clerk received from the Secretary of the Senate, on that day, a message in writing indicating that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill H. R. 7672 entitled "An act making supplemental appropriations for the national defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943, and for other purposes."

Very truly yours,

SOUTH TRIMBLE,

*Clerk of the House of Representatives.*

## ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. KIRWAN, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had on October 22, 1942, examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 7672. An act making supplemental appropriations for the national defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. The Chair announces that pursuant to the authority granted to him on October 22, 1942, he did on that date sign the enrolled bill of the House, H. R. 7672, an act making supplemental appropriations for the national defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943, and for other purposes.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. BARRY] be permitted to extend his remarks and include a certain letter and some excerpts.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

[The matter referred to will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, also, I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to extend my own remarks on two subjects, including certain excerpts.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. COCHRAN] be permitted to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. RAMSPECK. Also, Mr. Speaker, I have two requests here on behalf of the

gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BLAND], one of which exceeds the two-page limit, and I ask unanimous consent that he be permitted to extend his remarks in the RECORD notwithstanding the excess cost.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

[The matters referred to appear in the Appendix.]

## PRINTING OF 5,000 COPIES OF REVENUE ACT OF 1942

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk Senate Concurrent Resolution 35, and consider it at this time.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read (S. Con. Res. 35) as follows:

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring).* That there be printed 37,000 additional copies of Public Law No. 753, current session, entitled "Revenue Act of 1942," of which 5,000 copies shall be for the use of the Senate document room, 25,000 copies shall be for the use of the House document room, 5,000 copies for the use of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House, and 2,000 copies for the use of the Committee on Finance of the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object. How are the copies to be allocated, how to be distributed with respect to Members?

Mr. RAMSPECK. I am acting now for the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JARMAN], and I understand that they are to be distributed in the usual manner. They would go to the document room.

Mr. ENGLEBRIGHT. That is, first come will be first served? There are no specific allocations?

Mr. RAMSPECK. That is my understanding.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, may I ask the gentleman one question. Has any previous arrangement been made whereby such a document as this is pro-rated among the Members? This is an important document, and I am sure every Member of the House will want to share in the copies. Would it not be possible to make such an arrangement?

Mr. RAMSPECK. My understanding is that this is the usual resolution that has always been passed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the Senate concurrent resolution.

The resolution was agreed to and a motion to reconsider laid on the table.

## PARTICIPATION OF BRAZIL AND MEXICO IN THE WAR

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communications from the Clerk:

[Translation]

CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES,

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,

*Lima, Peru, September 15, 1942.*

Most Excellent SPEAKER OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA:

I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency the declaration unanimously ap-

proved by the Chamber of Deputies of Peru in the session held on Monday, the 7th of this month, which reads as follows:

"The undersigned Deputy, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Chamber, proposes that the following declaration be agreed upon:

"The Chamber of Deputies of Peru, on the occasion of the national anniversary of Brazil:

"Considering: That the participation of Brazil and Mexico in the present war conflict, combined with a similar attitude previously adopted by other American countries, gives to the principle of continental solidarity, crystallized in the Third Reunion of Chancellors held in Rio de Janeiro, a new content of deep historical and spiritual significance, not only as concerns the countries of our hemisphere but also those which, like Spain and Portugal, are connected with the American nations of Spanish origin by the same bonds of race, religion, and language which bind the North American nations to the English, united today in the common defense of the ideals of liberty and right;

"Declares: That it is its keenest desire, as representative of the sentiments of the Peruvians, to see Spain and Portugal participate in the mission which in these present anxious moments has been imposed upon America, responding to the call of its firm democratic belief and impelled by the vigor of its race and the pure Christian spirit under whose sign it attained the western civilization, attacked now in its most basic principles.

"CARLOS SAYÁN ALVAREZ.

*"Lima, September 7, 1942."*

In fulfilling the resolution of the Chamber to bring this declaration to the knowledge of Your Excellency, I am pleased to express my deep respect.

May God keep Your Excellency.

GERARDO BALBUENA,

*President of the Chamber  
of Deputies of Peru.*

[Translation]

CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES,

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,

*Lima, Peru, September 18, 1942.*

Most Excellent SPEAKER OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA:

The Chamber of Deputies of Peru in yesterday's session unanimously approved the following motion for an order of the day:

"The Chamber of Deputies of Peru, considering:

"That in order to intensify rapprochement in the noble cause of continental harmony and solidarity, a more rapid cooperation is necessary;

"That in order to accomplish this monumental work, the parliaments of America must contribute their share of legislation in the various aspects which the present problems of the continent require;

"That many of the social, political, and economic problems of America solved in the parliaments can be classified in order to be forwarded to the Pan American Union, so that, within its judgment, they may be submitted for consideration in future inter-American reports;

"That in establishing this cooperative work it must be inspired by the principle of coordination of laws, which shall serve as a standard for American life; and

"That this new conception is invoked in order to accomplish the highest purposes and superation in the destinies of the continental union:

"Resolved, To invite the parliaments of America to effect an exchange of legislation in order to establish the strictest bonds of rapprochement between those powers which authentically represent the popular will of America, composed of nations which

Feb. 27







United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 77<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 88

WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1942

No. 188

## Senate

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Thursday, October 29, 1942, at 12 o'clock meridian.

## House of Representatives

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1942

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.  
The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, Thou who art holy and merciful, in whom the souls of nations must live, we pray for our country, for our President, and his counselors; we pray for our Speaker and the Congress and for all the valiant unknown workers. "Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife, their sober wishes never learned to stray." We thank Thee, dear Lord, for the unheralded laborers whose toil makes our dreams come true and shapes the hope of the world.

Heavenly Father, we pray for the defenders of our country who will never give the signal for cowardly retreat. Grant that their hearts may never chill nor ring with the spirit of ingratitude; Oh, keep them from the deep wounds of this tragic sorrow. With aching hands and bleeding feet they are fighting and dying for the unlocked treasures of human freedom and that the brute forces of darkness may forever cease and die in all the earth. We pray for our fellow countrymen that they may pour their riches in treasure, in service, and in sacrifice as offerings upon the altar of a struggling humanity, thus linking ourselves with the truest and the bravest heroes of all time. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. McDaniel, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agrees to the amendments of the House to a bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 2794. An act to provide for adjusting royalties for the use of inventions for the

benefit of the United States, in aid of the prosecution of the war, and for other purposes.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD in three different instances and to include therein excerpts and articles prepared by myself.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD on the subject A Charter for Cotton and to include therein an introductory statement by Dr. A. B. Cox.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. GEHRMANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an article written by Dr. Harry Russell Fraser, one of the great writers of the day.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

### AMENDMENT OF THE SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, in view of the situation and the number of Members away, and particularly for the benefit of Members on this side, and all Members, in fact, I should like, in the absence of the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, to ask the ranking majority member, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. THOMASON], what his

intentions are in the matter of sending to conference the amendments to the Selective Service Act?

Mr. THOMASON. I will say to the gentleman from New York that, in view of what happened on the floor yesterday regarding the amendments to the Selective Service Act, together with the statement made by the Speaker a few days ago, and also the majority leader, that in the event there was any substantial or controversial amendment placed on this bill in the other body the Members could be assured the bill would not come up until after the election. I am, therefore, not today renewing my request to send the bill to conference. It is well known to all of us here this morning that the overwhelming majority of the membership of the House is now at home looking after their campaigns and expecting the vote in their districts next Tuesday. It seems to me, therefore, there is no time to be saved by sending the bill to conference, even if there were no objection to it, because since there are controversial amendments the matter will have to go over until after the election. I am advised that both the Speaker and the majority leader have said that the bill cannot come up until probably a week from next Monday, which would be November 9. It will then be called up for appropriate action. I regret the delay, but it cannot be avoided.

Mr. ANDREWS. I understand that any motion which might be in order could be made then, on November 9.

Mr. THOMASON. That is my understanding. I know only what the Speaker and the majority leader told the Members, and certainly they expect to keep their promise. If nothing can be accomplished this week, or perhaps until the latter part of next week, it is generally understood that the matter will go over until next Monday week.



Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMASON. I yield.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. I would have no objection to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. THOMASON] taking the bill up under unanimous consent and agreeing to all the Senate amendments; and I will say to the gentleman from Texas that I agree with him, this measure cannot be voted on until after the election. But if the gentleman from Texas insists on sending it to conference now I will enter no objection, but will serve notice that unless the two Senate amendments I have in mind, the one with reference to farm labor and the other with reference to the training of the 18- and 19-year-old boys for a year before sending them abroad, are retained I shall exercise my right to offer a motion to recommit with instructions to the conferees to agree to those two amendments.

Mr. THOMASON. Of course, the gentleman has his rights and will exercise them, I am sure; but the gentleman certainly does not expect me to speak either for the House or for the conferees on the bill in view of the promises made by the Speaker and the majority leader.

The SPEAKER. Under the circumstances, which are apparent to all of us, the Chair will recognize no one for further procedure on this bill until November 9.

#### WENDELL WILLKIE'S TRIP

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

#### "GULLIVER" WILLKIE RETURNS

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, from this morning's press, and from the radio last night, we learned that Mr. Wendell L. Willkie, whom the New York Times, I believe it was, called the modern Gulliver, has returned and given an account of himself.

I was delighted to note that he exonerated this administration of any responsibility for his trip abroad and let the American people know that he asked for permission to go and that he represented nobody but himself.

In my opinion, his statement will do irreparable injury to our English-speaking allies, because it is an encouragement to the revolting element in India to continue that strife that is causing so much trouble in that quarter of the globe.

His criticism of our assistance to our Allies in this war was both dangerous and unjustified. It was dangerous because it tended to discourage our Allies and to encourage our enemies to believe that we are not furnishing our Allies the materials they need. It would embarrass the administration to attempt to answer his statements without giving the enemy information we do not want him to have.

His criticism was unjustified for the reason that we are fulfilling our obligations in every way.

He went a long way to set himself up as a military expert and to call for public

clamor to try to tell our military and naval leaders how, when, and where they shall fight the battles of this war.

Mr. Willkie complains that the rest of the world does not understand us. Probably that is because they have listened to his campaign oratory or witnessed some of his escapades.

Mr. Willkie reminds me of the Irishman who went into the First World War, was wounded, came back home, and complained of the ignorance of the French. Someone said, "Why, Pat, we thought the French were an intelligent people. He said, 'Intelligent hell, I could hardly make them understand their own language.'"

[Here the gavel fell.]

#### LILLIAN LA BAUVE LINNEY

Mr. HARRIS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (S. 2317) for the relief of Lillian La Bauve Linney, with House amendments thereto, and agree to the conference requested by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HARRIS]?

There was no objection, and the Speaker appointed the following conferees on the part of the House: Messrs. McGEHEE, WEISS, and WINTER.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and include a newspaper article.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BECKWORTH]?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House today for 10 minutes at the conclusion of business on the Speaker's desk.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN]?

There was no objection.

#### ADJOURNMENT OVER

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Thursday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. RAMSPECK]?

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend the remarks I made this morning.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN]?

There was no objection.

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include a brief editorial from the Pacific Rural Press.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California [Mr. GEARHART]?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include a statement that I made before the Committee for Reciprocity Information on September 9.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California [Mr. GEARHART]?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

#### SPECIAL ORDER

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] is recognized for 10 minutes.

#### DISCUSSION OF MR. WENDELL WILLKIE'S SPEECH

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am not qualified to criticize the able speech of the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. Wendell Willkie, which was delivered over the radio last night. I am not qualified to criticize those who are running this war. I shall not attempt to criticize him either, but, as one Member of this great body, representing the 300,000 people who reside in the district I have the honor to represent, I want to express my views about some parts of Mr. Willkie's speech.

I listened to his speech with great interest. It was very interesting. Much of it was instructive. It gave me—and I am sure others have the same views—much information we need and that we desired. There were certain parts of the speech, however, that I am afraid will be hurtful rather than helpful in this war. I appreciate his feeling of obligation to "report to the Nation" in the belief that he could be helpful in the war effort but I know many other people who know a lot about what is going on in the world in connection with this war who do not feel so impelled or obligated.

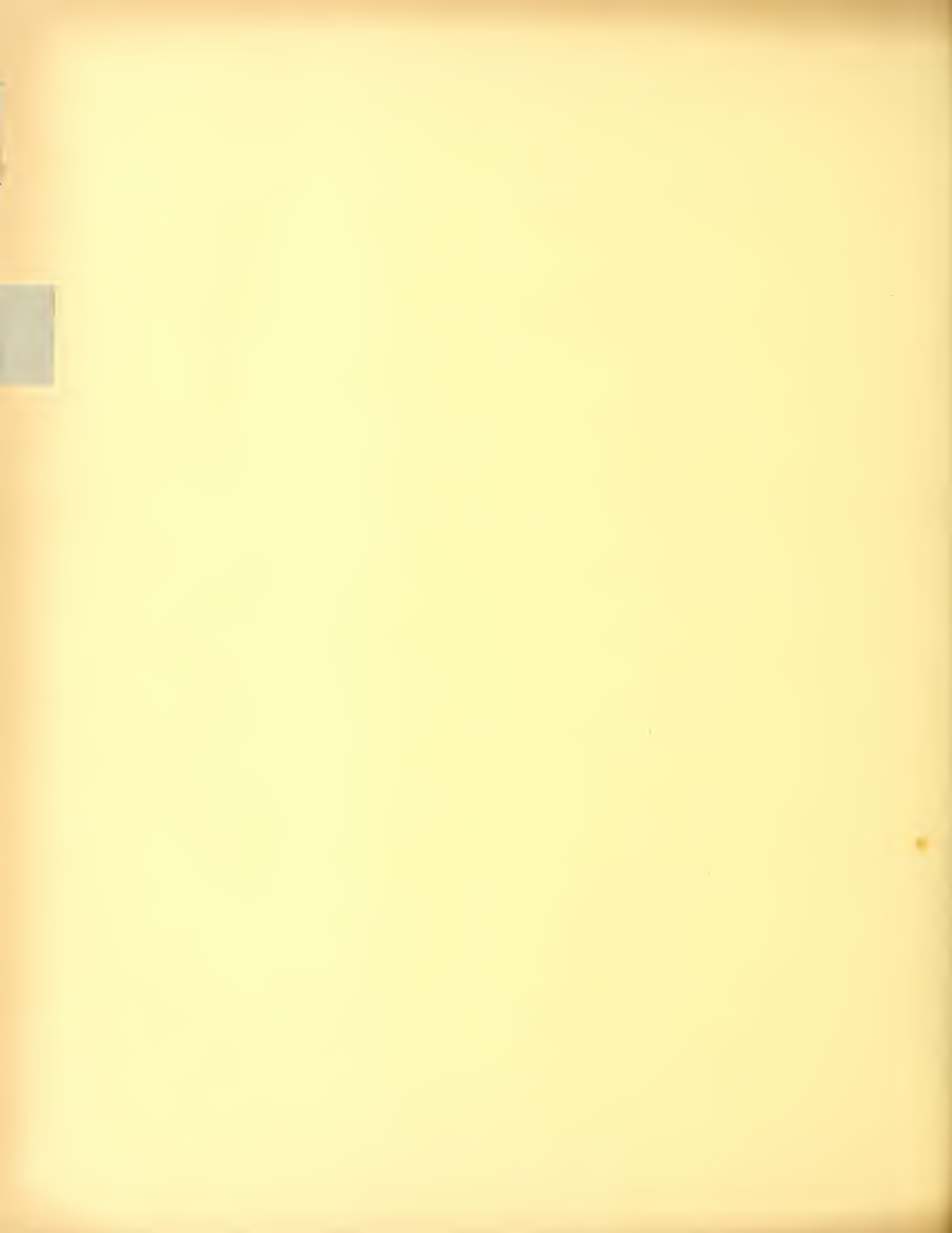
I look upon this war as a very serious matter. We have about 5,000,000 men under arms. These young men are offering to give their very lives to save our country and in fighting these international desperadoes that we are going up against. It is not a minor matter, it is a very serious matter, and we should deal with it seriously.

There were some parts of Mr. Willkie's speech that I am afraid will be misconstrued by some people as advocating that every layman should become a military strategist, that every layman should feel privileged to speak his piece about how the war is run and to be just a little bit freer in criticizing our military leaders than they have been in the past. I hope that is not the feeling of people generally, because we do not need any more disunity in this country than we have. I hope his speech will not be construed as an encouragement to the quibblers, the snipers, and those who grumble generally.

One statement in the speech that especially attracted my attention was Mr.

Nov. 9





# House of Representatives

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1942

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.  
The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, the Father of infinite mercy, we pray in the name of Him whose nature glows with the brightness of the firmament and shines like the stars forever; in Him is the divine rage against iniquity and falsehood. O river of God flow forward with Thy cleansing power, guiding our youth with emblems of knowledge in their hands; our workers hurrying toward shop and factory, girding our civilians for their tasks that they may be warned of the rocks and shoals on which millions have perished.

O Lord God, be with our marshaled hosts which are making straight through the desert a highway for the marching of the emancipated peoples of earth; if need be, valor will accord them a common death, but history will give them a common fame and posterity a common monument. Pity, oh pity the victims who have fallen martyrs to despotism and greed. Help them to turn from their captors, who are destined to shame and dishonor in a free world. Grant that the Congress, with a single and a unified purpose may make human freedom blaze forth before the eyes of all men. We humbly beseech Thee to be at the side of our President day and night; be pleased to bless our Speaker and these servants of free government and Thine shall be the praise. In the holy name of our Redeemer. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, November 5, 1942, was read and approved.

## MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Vice President had on November 2, 1942, appointed Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. BREWSTER members of the joint select committee on the part of the Senate, as provided for in the act of August 5, 1939, entitled "An act to provide for the disposition of certain records of the United States Government," for the disposition of executive papers in the following Department:

### Post Office Department.

The message also announced that the Acting President pro tempore had on November 5, 1942, appointed Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. BREWSTER members of the joint select committee on the part of the Senate, as provided for in the act of August 5, 1939, entitled "An act to provide for the disposition of certain records of the United States Government," for the disposition of executive papers in the following Departments and agencies:

1. Department of Agriculture.
2. Department of the Interior.
3. Department of the Navy.
4. Department of the Treasury.
5. Department of War.
6. District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia.
7. Federal Security Agency.
8. National Housing Agency.
9. Securities and Exchange Commission.
10. The National Archives.
11. War Production Board.

## AMENDMENT TO SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 7258) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, with Senate amendments, disagree to the Senate amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

## CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I make a point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 120]

Anderson, N. Mex.	Fogarty	McKeough
Angell	Ford, Leland M.	McLean
Barnes	Gehrmann	Maciejewski
Beam	Granger	MacIora
Bennett	Grant, Ind.	Magnuson
Boggs	Green	Mansfield
Bradley, Mich.	Hall, Leonard W.	May
Buckler, Minn.	Halleck	Miller
Bulwinkle	Hancock	Mills, La.
Byron	Harness	Mundt
Cannon, Mo.	Hébert	Murdock
Cartwright	Heffernan	Nelson
Case, S. Dak.	Hendricks	Nichols
Chenoweth	Hinshaw	O'Connor
Claypool	Hobbs	O'Day
Cluett	Holbrook	O'Leary
Cochran	Hook	Oliver
Coffee, Nebr.	Houston	Osmer
Coffee, Wash.	Hunter	Patman
Collins	Izac	Pearson
Creal	Jackson	Peterson, Ga.
Crosser	Jacobsen	Plauché
Crowther	Jarrett	Ploeser
Cullen	Johns	Plumley
Cunningham	Johnson, Calif.	Reed, Ill.
Davis, Ohio	Johnson, W. Va.	Rizley
Dies	Kee	Robertson,
Dingell	Keefe	N. Dak.
Drewry	Kelly, Ill.	Rockwell
Duncan	Kerr	Rodgers, Pa.
Dworshak	Kilburn	Rolph
Edmiston	Kilday	Romjue
Elliott, Mass.	Kocalkowski	Sabath
Ellis	Kramer	Sacks
Engel	Lambertson	Schaefer, Ill.
Fellows	Lanham	Schulte
Flaherty	Larrabee	Scrugham
Flannagan	LeCompte	Shafer, Mich.
	Lewis	Shanley

Shannon	Stearns, N. H.	Tinkham
Sheridan	Stefan	Voorhis, Calif.
Smith, Pa.	Stevenson	Vreeland
Smith, W. Va.	Stratton	Wasielewski
Smith, Wis.	Sullivan	West
South	Summers, Tex.	Whelchel
Spence	Tenerowicz	Williams
Starnes, Ala.	Terry	Winter
Steagall	Thill	Zimmerman

The SPEAKER. Two hundred and eighty-four Members have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings, under the call, were dispensed with.

## AMENDMENT TO SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. THOMASON]? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to instruct conferees, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the motion of the gentleman from Mississippi.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi moves to instruct the managers of the conference on the part of the House to accept, agree to, and concur in the Senate amendment contained in section 7 on page 7 of the bill as it passed the Senate, which amendment reads as follows:

"Sec. 7. No person under 20 years of age inducted under this act shall be placed in actual combat duty beyond the territorial boundaries of continental United States until after he has had at least 1 year's military training following his induction."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Will the gentleman withhold that for a moment?

Mr. THOMASON. I withhold it for a moment.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I desire to say to the gentleman from Texas that the adoption of this motion will not in any way delay the passage of this bill, but on the other hand it will expedite it. I have no desire to take up the time of the House or to in any way obstruct the proceedings as they now stand, but I sincerely trust that every Member will vote for this motion to give these 18- and 19-year-old boys at least 1 year's training before sending them into foreign combat.

There are plenty of men within the present draft age, in this country and the countries allied with us, to meet the demands, at least until these young boys are adequately trained.

Mr. MCCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMASON. I yield.



Mr. McCORMACK. I have a letter from General Marshall, dated November 9, which I would like to read.

The letter is as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF,  
Washington, November 9, 1942.

Hon. JOHN W. McCORMACK,  
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. McCORMACK: This is in response to your request for a letter indicating the effect which restrictions on the use of soldiers will have on the war effort.

My views on this matter were stated in a letter to Mr. WADSWORTH and in testimony before the Military Affairs Committee. In addition I might state that after detailed study the War Department finds that these restrictions will make it necessary to secure authority to induct an additional 500,000 men above our previously calculated requirements. The War Department is faced with a realistic situation and must proceed with the organization of units and replacements in accord with the necessities of the war.

In addition to complicating the critical manpower problem, these restrictions will force the induction of large numbers of men with dependents and others engaged in vital war industries. They will also force us to assign men to combat units who are not physically equipped to meet the rigors of active warfare.

For months the War Department has worked on strategic plans, which are based upon a definite troop and replacement basis. The restrictions referred to will seriously affect these plans, to a degree which I do not believe is generally understood. I most earnestly hope that the Congress will not hamper us at this critical period. I am more interested in giving adequate training to our young men than almost any other individual in this country, because I am fully aware of the peril of employing partially trained troops, and I am in a position of the greatest responsibility in this matter.

Faithfully yours,

G. C. MARSHALL,  
Chief of Staff.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. THOMASON. I yield.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, to extend my remarks in the RECORD at this point and to quote from General Pershing on this proposition of sending men overseas without adequate training.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, one of the worst blunders we could make would be to send these 18- and 19-year-old boys into combat without giving them at least a year's training.

We remember too well the tragedies of the last war, when men, even grown men, were sent into foreign combat without adequate training. With all deference to General Marshall, whom I admire very much, I wish to quote from Gen. John J. Pershing, commander of our overseas forces in the last war, on this very subject. On page 278 of volume 2 of his memoirs, General Pershing says:

Among our troops recently arrived there was a serious lack of training in the use of the rifle. It seemed inexcusable to send over men who were deficient in this very elementary step in preparation, even though there may not have been time to train them otherwise. The idea apparently prevailed at home that three months' instruction was

sufficient, but it was never conceded by me that this was anything like adequate. Even though the shipment of troops was much more rapid than was ever expected, making it often necessary to send units whether their personnel was trained or untrained, some instruction in the use of the rifle should have been given.

It is bad enough to draft these teenage boys at all, but to do so without guaranteeing them at least 1 year's training before sending them into foreign combat is to me unthinkable.

It is said that Napoleon in one of his campaigns wrote back to Paris to send him men and not to send any more boys.

In the words of Jefferson Davis, let us not grind the seed corn of the Republic by stripping our farms of these young boys and then sending them to the battlefronts of the world without adequate training, as was done in the last war, according to the words of General Pershing which I have just quoted.

I hope my motion is adopted.

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, the following points are pertinent in a discussion as to the effect which the restrictions imposed by the O'Daniel amendment will have on the Army, the Nation, and the war effort:

THERE IS A GREAT DIFFERENCE IN THE TIME INVOLVED IN THE TRAINING OF AN INDIVIDUAL AND THE TRAINING OF A UNIT

A division is a team and must have experience working together as a team. The artillery must be taught not to fire on the infantry. The staff and command system must be trained to work smoothly. The kinks must be taken out of the supply and communication agencies.

If team training is complete, it is not necessary that any particular individual or group in the division have a year's training because experience in combat has indicated that sizable proportions of individuals can be assimilated by units without the efficiency of the unit as a whole deteriorating. Also a sizable proportion of Army units are nondivisional and technical in nature. The team training of these units can be completed in a much shorter time than that required for a division.

THE RESTRICTION WHICH GREAT BRITAIN HAS PUT ON 18-YEAR-OLDS IS NOT PERTINENT TO OUR PROBLEM

One complication of the situation is the restriction which England has placed on movement of 18-year-olds overseas. England's situation in this matter is entirely different from ours. A sizable number of 18-year-olds in England are entering the R. A. F. and these restrictions do not apply to flights over Europe which with the hazards involved nullify the restriction. Also, the British Isles themselves are a potential front line at any time and continuously subject to invasion. It is advantageous to keep the younger and more vigorous men employed at that critical spot.

ASIDE FROM THE TREMENDOUS ADMINISTRATIVE BURDENS INVOLVED, THESE RESTRICTIONS WILL DISRUPT OUR PLANNED EMPLOYMENT OF UNITS FOR CONTEMPLATED OPERATIONS

Consider the case of a division which was activated 6 months ago. It has been training as a unit and in the judgment of the War Department will be ready for combat in another 6 months. There in-

variably exist in units of this kind a number of vacancies which may run into the thousands. They may be due to normal attrition, to the furnishing of cadres, or due to transfers to fill up another division scheduled for imminent movement overseas. The latter procedure is what the War Department is trying to stop. At any rate, there are, say, a thousand vacancies which must be filled if the division is to continue its training.

Where are the men to come from to complete the strength of this division? The logical source is the group which has just completed 3 months' training at a replacement training center. Suppose a large proportion are 18-year-olds and we assigned them to this particular division. The new men are a small proportion; they join units filled, comparatively speaking, with veterans. Within a week they learn tricks that it would have taken months to learn were they on their own in a division of recruits. They join a going concern, and being younger are more adaptable. Suppose this division continues its training for another 6 months and is ready to go overseas. The division must be lined up, all records examined, and a compilation made to see who has served 365 days and who has not. The division has had a year but some of its members have had only 9 months' service, and under the present limitations imposed on us the 18-year-olds have to be transferred out and the division finds itself exactly as it was 6 months ago with the same number of vacancies. In effect it has marked time for 6 months.

An alternate proposal, of course, would have been to assign older men to this particular division. However, the Army already has too many older men and it is the young men who are wanted. It is the older men that the War Department is trying to get rid of. And instead of being able to utilize American manpower to its best advantages, the War Department is particularly restricted because of a group which has had perhaps 11 but not the 12 months' training required by law.

One of the principal reasons the War Department especially desired the 18- and 19-year-old men was to stop the steadily rising average age in our trained divisions. The imposition of the proposed restriction will aggravate rather than correct this condition, since the only source of men from which we can fill existing units, that must be employed before the expiration of a year's time, will be from the older men now being inducted, and whose induction would necessarily continue.

Under this restriction these men cannot be used in the ground echelons of the Army Air Forces combat groups which comprise 75 percent of the air forces overseas. If we are to continue to build up our air forces in overseas theaters, many older men must be stripped from the training establishment in the United States at a time when our pilot and combat crew training program is already under a most severe strain. This heavy turn-over might very well cause the collapse of the Air Forces training structure with disastrous results to our air effort.



A PARADOXICAL EFFECT OF THESE RESTRICTIONS WILL BE THAT SOME MEMBERS OF THE ARMY WILL BE GIVEN MORE TRAINING IN THE UNITED STATES THAN IS NECESSARY

When the 18-year-olds are assigned to divisions they will join trained cadres composed of men who have been in the service some time. The members of these cadres are picked for their qualifications and in most instances have had a year or possibly a year and a half's service when the new division is activated. The cadres are made up of men available for combat and they form the nucleus of the new division. By the time the 18-year-olds in the new division have completed a year's training, a portion of the division will have completed two or two and a half year's training, and although the division may well have been capable of moving overseas prior to the completion of the year, both the 18-year-olds and the experienced soldiers must remain in the United States. With respect to the experienced soldiers, this means that the men who need the training the least will get the most. When spread all over the Army this requirement now imposed by pending legislation will involve thousands of men and will slow up the rate at which we can use our effectives for offensive operations.

THESE RESTRICTIONS WILL INEVITABLY RESULT IN AN INEFFICIENT USE OF OUR PERSONNEL

Consider a 19-year-old technician—a radioman, for example. He gets his basic training which has given him the fundamentals of soldiering. The signal unit to which he is assigned has been in existence and is scheduled to be moved to a location where the possibilities of physical combat with the enemy are remote. After 6 months' service he is ready to go overseas and he would be in what we would consider a safe locality. His unit needs him, and he has the qualifications, but because he has not served a year, he is left behind. The Army then has to find another unit which has a vacancy for a man of his qualifications and yet will not leave before his year is up. If no such unit exists, it has to do something with him, and an expert radio technician may end up wielding a pick and shovel. In other words, the War Department will not be able to assign these men where their talents can best be utilized. There are many nondivisional technical units in the Army which do not require a year's training before they can be sent overseas. In other words, their unit training can be shortened tremendously because of their size and the nature of their duties, which often involves service in rear areas. The utilization of these small units overseas would be tremendously restricted if any of the 18-year-olds were assigned to them. Consequently, it may become impracticable to use the technicians that are inducted among the 18-year-olds.

A similar situation exists with regard to other nondivisional units, such as general service engineers whose work is essentially individual, or a truck company for which many men have adequate experience when inducted. In such units the year's team training necessary for a division is not required. Many of the units of this nature are necessary for air base maintenance units and there is no

necessity whatsoever for its members having a year's training.

Many men who have natural aptitudes for such relatively secure assignments as motor mechanics, clerical workers, electricians, and so forth, would nevertheless of necessity have to be assigned to combat units to carry a rifle or fire a machine gun. This not only prevents the most efficient use of the man and his natural aptitudes and abilities, but reduces his own opportunities to render maximum service. It will, in most cases, expose him eventually to far greater hazards than he would otherwise have encountered.

THE REQUIREMENT THAT 18- AND 19-YEAR-OLDS CANNOT LEAVE THE UNITED STATES IS NOT CONSISTENT WITH THE INTENT OF THE RESTRICTION

It very often becomes desirable to send units to overseas bases at which immediate combat is not anticipated and where they can complete their training. For instance, there are thousands of troops in Hawaii, various island bases in the Caribbean, in Iceland, and in Newfoundland. Although they are fulfilling a very definite mission, they need not have the year's training before they leave the United States and can complete their training overseas. Their movement to these bases is often necessary on short notice because of our critical limitation in shipping or to vacate urgently needed housing in the United States. These movements have a particular advantage because these troops are able to finish their training in the climate and terrain in which they will probably operate.

The fact that a man is stationed in the United States does not make his service safer. For instance, the Army annual death rate in the United States is running about 2.15 per thousand; in Iceland, it is 1.62 per thousand, a substantially lower figure. The death rate among Army troops in Bermuda is about half that of the United States, but yet under these restrictions the War Department could not send a soldier in combat units to Bermuda until he had had a year's training in the United States. The absurdity of the present restrictions as passed by the Senate is indicated by the fact that the War Department could not send a man to Puerto Rico where to date the principal hazard has been sunburn, but it can take an 18-year-old boy who has been in the service for 1 day, fly him to Alaska and put him in action against the Japs without any training at all. Also, under these restrictions troops in this category could not be moved into either Canada or Mexico in case of an emergency.

THE WAR DEPARTMENT SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO DECIDE WHEN TROOPS SHOULD BE SENT OVERSEAS

The Army is the only agency competent to judge whether or not the soldier's training has reached the point where he is competent to engage in combat. The War Department is faced with the responsibility of conducting operations and it would negate all efforts if men were sent into combat before they were suitably trained. In other words, the War Department would be the most reluctant of all to send a man in combat before the proper time.

THESE RESTRICTIONS WILL PREVENT US FROM BUILDING UP AN IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE POWERFUL STRIKING FORCE CAPABLE OF TAKING QUICK ADVANTAGE OF ANY STRATEGIC OPPORTUNITY WHICH MIGHT ARISE

Military history is replete with examples where unexpected opportunities have arisen for decisive action which was not taken because of failure to provide a powerful exploiting force or other means. The Germans' first use of gas in 1915 at Ypres, the British first tank attack at Cambrai in 1917, and the German failure to follow up Dunkerque are examples.

This country should be able to take quick advantage of any opportunity which may arise to bring the war to an unexpected close. There must be built up in this country a powerful force poised for swift and decisive action in any theater. If the War Department is hampered by legislative restrictions, it cannot build up such a force, and even were it available, the restrictions would delay its employment, possibly at a critical phase of the war.

THESE RESTRICTIONS WILL COMPLICATE TREMENDOUSLY OUR PRESENT NATION-WIDE MANPOWER PROBLEM

Regardless of new legislation, the War Department must go ahead and expand the Army into a force that can be used in accordance with present commitments or as the necessities of the situation dictate. The 18- to 19-year-olds will have to be inducted in addition to other quotas, which would probably mean that 500,000 additional men would have to be inducted in 1943. This will mean—

First. That large numbers of farmers, defense workers, and so forth, will have to be called with the attendant disorganization of industry.

Second. We will have to continue calling the older men with dependents, which is exactly what we do not wish to do.

Third. It will be impracticable to carry out our present plans for releasing many of the older men.

IF THESE RESTRICTIONS ARE IMPOSED ON THE WAR DEPARTMENT, IT MAY WELL ESTABLISH A PRINCIPLE WHICH WILL RESULT IN THE LOSS OF THE WAR

Perhaps the most devastating effect of this proposal is that it ties the Army's hands in time of war. Every resource, every bit of ingenuity, every bit of native ability which exists in the United States is going to be necessary in order to win this war.

With the shortage in shipping, the tremendous length of the line of communications, the colossal logistic requirements of warfare today, any factor large or small which in any way adds to present difficulties, is a menace to the security of this Nation.

One-third of our divisions—all of the new ones to be created in 1943—and many of their supporting combat and service units will be frozen under this restriction. Our enemies will not be so remiss as to fail to calculate the effect of this amendment on our combat capabilities. It will be a source of great comfort to them to know that one-third of our ground combat strength can be discounted for at least another year.

In a measure this limitation sets the Army back 2 years in the war effort. It



sets it back to the restrictions which were placed on the utilization of our soldiers by the original Selective Service Act. At that time the Nation was at peace and although the War and Navy Departments realized the precariousness of our position, they had to go ahead while their hands were shackled with legislative restrictions. It is easy to recall the involved administrative difficulties while planning the movement of a comparatively small number of men to Iceland, a movement which has been of critical importance to us ever since.

Also, 3 months before Pearl Harbor a measure to prevent the disintegration of the Army was passed by one vote.

There is more to this particular proviso than meets the eye. The big matter at stake is whether the War Department is to be permitted to operate this war on the basis of efficiency or drag along beset with restrictions imposed by particular groups. Public sentiment on the War Department's proposal appears to be about evenly divided. The parents of 18-year-old boys bitterly attack the proposal. The other half which consists principally of wives and relatives of the older men think the proposal is fine because it will mean that these older men will be released from the Army.

Both groups are motivated purely by the way the issue affects themselves. The fate of this Nation is at stake and the War Department cannot be expected to wage a successful war against such unrelenting and ruthless enemies as the Germans and Japanese if handicapped by unreasonable limitations and restrictions.

WITH WARFARE AS IT IS BEING FOUGHT TODAY IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO DEFINE "ACTUAL COMBAT DUTY"

The development and use of the airplane has made the entire world a combat zone. It is possible that troops stationed in the United States would become immediately involved in "combat duty" in the event of an air raid. During the present war everyone is potentially on combat duty wherever he is. This even extends to civilians who perform air-raid functions, demolition clearing functions, etc. It is thus impossible to define combat duty and any attempt to do so would involve the War Department in a hopeless entanglement of technicalities. Under this restriction an 18-year-old radio operator in the crew of an airplane could not fly off the United States shore in an antisubmarine patrol until he has had 1 year's training.

THE IMPOSITION OF THESE RESTRICTIONS WILL VERY PROBABLY RESULT IN GREATER CASUALTIES AMONG THE 18- 19-YEAR-OLD GROUP

The only practical way in which we could handle the 18- and 19-year-olds under this proposed restriction would be to concentrate them in units earmarked as not available for overseas service until 1944. Since the only such units that we could practically employ for this would be new combat divisions, this would mean that we must assign practically all of these men to combat divisions, irrespective of their aptitudes, education, occupational skill, and so forth, thus practically nullifying the very thorough classification system now in use. The effect of this procedure would be to give

us many divisions composed almost entirely of 18- and 19-year-old men, instead of leavening the experience and stability of older units with the qualities of youth. Although they will, in a measure, be elite divisions, it can be expected that these young divisions when committed to combat will suffer losses unduly heavy because of the natural daring of youth and the lack of the leavening of older men who furnish steadiness and experience. On the other hand, battle casualties and other losses in forces now overseas or to go overseas must be supplied for the next year from the older age groups—from married men and men with dependents. Instead of these older units being revitalized with tough, enthusiastic young soldiers their battle efficiency will be depreciated.

THE IMPOSITION OF THESE RESTRICTIONS WILL ACTUALLY WORK AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF THE GROUPS THEY ARE DESIGNED TO PROTECT AND WILL REDUCE THEIR OPPORTUNITIES IN THE ARMY

The officer 'candidate schools must produce officers for existing units, as well as for new units being activated. Since existing units must be shipped overseas according to a planned program, we could not send the 18- and 19-year-old men in any large numbers to the candidate schools and use up facilities that must provide officers for units moving overseas and for units already overseas. The proposed restriction would, therefore, greatly curtail promotion opportunities for these young men and would deny us their services as officers for a considerably longer period than is, in many cases, necessary.

A high percentage of our enlisted personnel is sent to technical schools where they obtain training not only of value to the Army but that will be of inestimable value to the men when they return to civil life. This technical training provides probably the greatest opportunity for advancement in noncommissioned grades. The new divisions, in which the 18- and 19-year-olds would have to be concentrated, use probably the smallest proportion of these technically trained men than any other type organization. The effect of the restriction in this instance also would deprive these men of the opportunity for valuable technical training and would greatly reduce their promotion opportunities.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, when this matter was before the House I voted for the provision that would have provided that 18- and 19-year-old boys would have at least 1 year's military training before they would be sent into foreign service. I am still of that opinion, and for that reason I shall vote for the Rankin motion to instruct the conferees to support the Senate amendment which provides for this training.

I also voted in the House to omit the 18-year-old boys from the draft at this time, but that provision was defeated in the House and is not before us today.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, another solemn moment in the life of a Congressman has arrived, a moment when we are called upon to vote on the question of whether the 18- and 19-year-old youth of America shall be drafted by the Army to fight

on foreign soil. A person is better qualified by reason of training and experience, regardless of what the job may be, or the age of the person, and this is particularly true of boys 18 and 19 years of age. After all, a youth is only a boy until he has reached his twentieth birthday. Certainly a year's military training in college or the Army would much better fit a boy for warfare at home or abroad, where he would be 3,000 to 1,200 miles away from home and family.

On October 30, 1940, Mr. Roosevelt made his famous promise in a speech at Boston, Mass., and I quote from that speech:

And while I am talking to you, fathers and mothers, I give you one more assurance. I have said this before, and I shall say it again, and again, and again. Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.

Well, today I may say that if the 18- and 19-year-olds must be sent to foreign countries, it is our responsibility to see that they are given proper and adequate training. We should give them every protection we possibly can, and the best thing we can do for their protection and ours as well is to see that they are trained and properly qualified for combat service. Let us have no more inductions today and overseas tomorrow. We should benefit by the lessons we learned in this regard in World War No. 1.

Let me quote General Marshall in his testimony:

If he is a replacement—meaning replacing a casualty for some reason or another—in a trained unit, we could start him toward an active theater with fair efficiency at the end of 3 or 4 months, plus the time necessary to get him to the theater. If it is a new unit being organized, then a minimum of 12 months is necessary; the Germans take 24 months.

Let me quote Senator GILLETTE, of Iowa:

In 1918 I received orders to have a group of junior officers to train 1,800 newly inducted draft men and to have them ready for embarkation in 3 weeks' time to send to France. We did that.

Let me quote Senator JOHNSON of California:

In New Zealand on July 22, 1942, 18-year-old boys were called, but they are not sent overseas until they are 21. They are kept in camps and trained until they are 21.

In Canada men between the ages of 19 and 45 are subject to service, but Canada is actually calling men only 19 to 40 and only single men. Nineteen-year-old men were not called until about the end of September, and Canada is not now taking 18-year-old boys.

After deliberation and plenty of meditation, I shall vote to give the 18- and 19-year-old youths of our land a year's training before they be sent abroad.

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Mississippi, Mr. RANKIN.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi and Mr. ANDREWS) there were ayes 40 and noes 178.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the yeas and nays.



The SPEAKER (after counting). Thirty-four Members have arisen; not a sufficient number.

The yeas and nays were refused.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints the following conferees: Mr. MAY, Mr. THOMASON, Mr. HARTER, Mr. ANDREWS, and Mr. SHORT.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD in connection with my remarks on the extension of the draft act, the letter received from General Marshall.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD, in connection with the motion of the gentleman from Mississippi, [Mr. RANKIN], to instruct the conferees, a short statement covering this motion.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an English translation of the address of President Roosevelt delivered in French to the French people; second to insert an English translation of the statement broadcast by General Eisenhower to the French people; and third, to insert an English translation of the joint American-British declaration regarding the present activities in north Africa.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a speech I made over the radio recently.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

#### LOVE STORIES AND THE WAR EFFORT

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, a week ago the people of the United States demanded that we give full support to the war effort. Last Saturday morning in the New York Herald Tribune there was a 2-column release by the Office of War Information to the effect that they were going to train 30,000,000 American people to write love stories. Is it not time that agencies of the Government stopped fooling away the people's money and got behind the war effort instead of impeding it?

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to insert therein a communication I desire to call to the attention of the membership.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. TREADWAY, Mr. FULMER, Mr. COLE, Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts, and Mr. BURDICK asked and were given permission to extend their own remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein a letter from the President of the United States to His Eminence, Cardinal Dougherty, together with addresses by the Right Reverend Monsignor J. Carroll McCormick, chancellor of the archdiocese of Philadelphia, and the Right Reverend Monsignor John J. Bonner, diocesan superintendent of schools in Philadelphia at a solemn pontifical mass in the city of Philadelphia for victory for our armed forces. The celebrant was the Most Reverend George L. Leech, bishop of Harrisburg.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks on three subjects and to include therein correspondence with the Washington Post, and other matters.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. WILLIAM T. PHEIFFER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a magazine article by Eduard C. Lindman.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a recent radio address.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in two instances, one concerning peanuts and one concerning Thanksgiving.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matters referred to appear in the Appendix.]

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include a letter from Hon. James A. Farley.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in connection with the Rankin motion to instruct conferees on the teenage draft amendment at the place in the RECORD where that discussion took place.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. KLEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MANSFIELD] may be permitted to extend his own remarks in the RECORD and include an address by Maj. Gen. Thomas M. Robins, Assistant Chief of Engineers, United States Army, before the Intracoastal Canal Association of Louisiana and Texas at Harlingen, Tex., on October 31, 1942.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KLEBERG]?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. KLEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I further ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include an address by the Honorable J. J. MANSFIELD, chairman of the House Committee on Rivers and Harbors, read to the delegates present at the thirty-seventh annual convention of the Intracoastal Canal Association of Louisiana and Texas, held at Harlingen, Tex., on October 31, 1942.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KLEBERG]?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include a copy of a letter I have written today to Leon Henderson.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. LUDLOW]?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. HOLLAND asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD.)



Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD in two instances: One, to include a poem appearing in the New York Times by Mr. Arslinger of the Library of Congress; and, two, a statement on motion pictures and the war, published in the New York Times of today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY]?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD on gas rationing in Michigan.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. RABAUT]?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. LEA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and also to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California [Mr. LEA]?

There was no objection.

[Mr. LEA addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may address the House for 20 minutes on Tuesday next after the disposition of business on the Speaker's table and at the conclusion of any special orders heretofore entered.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. DICKSTEIN]?

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include a very illuminating article regarding oil and kerosene rationing in Massachusetts.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS]?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. PADDOCK asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may insert my remarks in reference to the Rankin

amendment at the proper place in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RICH]?

There was no objection.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD on the subject of prohibition.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER]?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow after disposition of matters on the Speaker's table and at the conclusion of any special orders heretofore entered, I may be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER]?

There was no objection.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday next, after disposition of matters on the Speaker's desk and at the conclusion of any special orders heretofore entered, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GIFFORD] may address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MICHENER]?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, at the conclusion of all legislative business tomorrow and after any special orders heretofore entered, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN]?

There was no objection.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. STEVENSON (at the request of Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts), indefinitely, on account of sickness in family.

To Mr. DIES, indefinitely, on account of death in family.

To Mr. LECOMPTE (at the request of Mr. GWYNNE), for 1 week, on account of illness.

To Mr. DINGELL (at the request of Mr. RABAUT), indefinitely, on account of sickness.

To Mr. FLANNAGAN (at the request of Mr. BLAND), for 1 day, on account of official business.

To Mr. OLIVER (at the request of Mr. BLAND), indefinitely, on account of official business.

To Mr. ELIOT of Massachusetts, for 1 day, on account of illness in family.

#### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. KIRWAN, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 7491. An act to provide for the granting of rights-of-way for pipe lines for petroleum and petroleum products and for telephone and/or telegraph lines along and across certain parkway land in the District of Columbia; and

H. R. 7621. An act to amend the District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Act.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 47 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, November 10, 1942, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

1986. Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, a letter from the Chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, transmitting the report of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for the month of August 1942, was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. DOUGHTON:

H. R. 7762. A bill to facilitate, to the extent required for the effective prosecution of the war, the free movement of persons, property, and information into and out of the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KLEBERG:

H. R. 7763. A bill to preserve certain drawback rights upon the exportation of sugar products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. NICHOLS:

H. R. 7764. A bill to amend the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, as amended, to further regulate the operation and navigation of aircraft using the navigable air space overlying the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KLEBERG:

H. Res. 567. Resolution to amend section II of House Resolution 125, Seventy-seventh Congress, as amended by House Resolution 403, Seventy-seventh Congress; to the Committee on Rules.

H. Res. 568. Resolution providing an additional \$50,000 for the Select Committee to Investigate Air Accidents; to the Committee on Accounts.



3. A miscalculation of total war material requirements;

4. A complete unpreparedness for the shift from peace industry to war industry;

5. A let-alone policy regarding the financing of the war, a policy which later resulted in steeply rising prices and inflation;

6. The inability to incorporate the economy of the occupied regions into the German war economy.

The lack of understanding of the economic requirements for modern war was even more marked in the Allied countries—except in France, where the grim consequences of the invasion more quickly forced realistic thinking with respect to the essential requirements on the side of production. But Great Britain was much more preoccupied with finance—with money and credits—than with the production of war supplies. In an address delivered in 1917, I summed up the policies of Great Britain in the following language:

"After the first terrific shock of the conflict had spent its force, as soon as the nation got its second breath, a tremendous campaign for business as usual was inaugurated. The leaders of opinion in England—politicians and the press as well as businessmen—gave it virtually unanimous endorsement. Normal living was heralded as a cardinal virtue, as one of the supreme requirements of the hour. The opinions of the time were, moreover, translated into action and the year 1915 was a golden age for the English lower classes. The records show that the high wages paid in both military and civil life engendered a period of extravagant expenditures. More talking machines, expensive footwear, cosmetics, and passementerie were purchased than ever before, and the general scale of living of the lower classes was substantially raised. \* \* \* This great increase in the demand for luxuries and other nonessentials obviously served to increase the profits of ordinary industry and to render it still more difficult to attract the requisite labor and capital for military purposes. Rather than aiding or compelling the necessary readjustment of industry, the people of England were unconsciously seriously retarding it."

American mobilization policy in World War No. 1 summarized as follows:

"At the time of our entrance into the war our first reaction was quite generally in favor of substantial economizing. Immediately following the open letter of President Wilson early in April urging a Nation-wide campaign of economy, we entered upon a few weeks of decided retrenchment. How real this curtailment of our customary expenditure was may be guessed from the protest it soon evoked. Manufacturers of many classes of luxuries and even of conventional necessities and retailers of general merchandise shortly began to advertise how ruinous a campaign of rigid economy would be for the country (as well as for themselves). Prominent bankers and businessmen very generally gave endorsement to business as usual rather than strict economizing. The press editorials generally urged that we should not 'rock the boat'; that hysterical economizing is senseless; that we must allow business to proceed much as usual or we should kill the goose that lays the golden eggs so necessary to the successful prosecution of the war. The possibility of widespread closing of factories, throwing thousands of laborers out of employment and resulting in general depression, caused genuine concern in the world of business. The Government also back-pedaled for a time. Certain members of the Council of National Defense went on record against undue economy, and the Secretary of the Treasury, while urging the elimination of waste and of reckless extravagance, apparently stood for business very much as in normal times. The general position of the American people during the early

summer may, I believe, be stated substantially in this fashion: 'Eliminate extravagant waste, perhaps cut down a little on food where there seems to be a shortage, but otherwise spend virtually as usual. Above all, don't economize to a point which will cause industrial or business disturbance.'"

As World War No. 1 continued, progress was gradually made in every country toward a better understanding of the economic requirements for total warfare, and priority, rationing, and other measures of control were in due course developed. But nowhere were the full possibilities of effective mobilization realized—not even in Germany. The weaknesses that everywhere manifested themselves were much more largely attributable to fundamental defects in the overall economic organization program than to tardiness in developing effective machinery for the administration of the procurement and supply program. No matter how efficient the work of ordinary administration, the ships, munitions, and supplies required could not be made available when and where needed unless the necessary steps had been taken to reorganize national production.

Involved in this general reorganization problem is the coordination of all aspects of the national economy. We might produce enough food but still have inadequate food supplies because of a dearth of warehousing, food processing, or shipping facilities. We might have adequate production of munitions but if railway terminal facilities were lacking their delivery would be impossible. We might have the requisite manufacturing capacity, but break down for want of strategic materials or labor of the requisite skills. We discovered that bottlenecks might be of controlling importance. It may be said that a large part of the task of our War Industries Board was to mitigate as much as possible the disastrous effects of bottlenecks, the development of which might well have been prevented had we possessed a war organization plan which viewed national production as a coordinated whole.

#### GERMANY'S MOBILIZATION PLAN IN WORLD WAR NO. 2

Turning now to World War No. 2, we find that long before the European phase of the war began Germany had taken steps to prevent a repetition of the experience of World War No. 1. Shortly after the Nazis came to power there was created an economic general staff as a counterpart of the military general staff. This general staff had three major divisions—the department of munitions, the department of raw materials, and the department of contracts and price examination. The economic general staff conceived its task as the organization of the production of war materials on such a scale that victory could be achieved before the enemies were in a position to mobilize their resources. It was clearly seen that a very substantial part of the country's industrial production should be in war supplies, and priorities were established for the necessary materials as early as 1936.

Strategic raw materials were accumulated through importation and by the development of synthetic processes. Food production was also stimulated and food supplies accumulated. Moreover, preparations had been made for the issuance of rationing cards immediately upon the outbreak of war. In fact, the stamp cards were issued on August 27, 1939, 4 days before the attack on Poland.

Under this comprehensive mobilization system consumer demands were not allowed to compete with government requirements. Consumers got what was left after the war needs were met—though, to be sure, attention was given to the indispensable minimum of civilian requirements for health and efficiency.

German preparations for this war also included elaborate plans for the exploitation of

conquered countries. These plans related not only to the usual foraging and plundering of the troops and the seizure of movable properties; it also involved a wholesale purchase of supplies—both military and civilian—with a special type of paper currency, declared to be legal tender. It was, of course, necessary for people to accept this currency—or else. Detailed plans for the issuance of this German currency actually appeared in print several days before the invasion of Belgium occurred. By this means Germany was able to take over a much larger portion of the accumulated supplies in occupied areas than was the case in the last war.

Germany also undertook to organize productive activity in the conquered countries for the benefit of the conqueror. The inducement held out to the businessman was profits at a time when he had no other possibility of profit.

The results of this phase of the German program have, however, thus far been unsatisfactory. While French and Belgian industrialists have accepted German contracts there has been serious sabotage and the level of output remains low. The difficulties have been magnified by a shortage of transportation facilities and coal resulting from the fact that a substantial portion of French and Belgian rolling stock had been appropriated and transferred to Germany.

#### JAPAN'S PREPAREDNESS

Japan, building on the lessons of the last war, evidently carried on for years a systematic program of war preparedness involving the accumulation of extensive stock piles of essential war materials. In 1937 she launched a 5-year plan, designed principally to increase production of iron and steel, coal, aluminum, and electric power. In 1938 there was adopted a materials-mobilization program, which meant intensive preparation for the impending struggle. By 1940 Japan was on a practically complete war footing.

#### AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL MOBILIZATION PROBLEMS

We have done a distinctly better job of industrial mobilization during the present war than we did in the corresponding stages of the past war. Particularly impressive has been the enormous expansion in the output of strategic types of war materials. However, let no one be under the delusion that it has been carried out with maximum speed and efficiency. We have suffered chiefly from the lack of coordination of all aspects of the mobilization program. While striking results were achieved in certain lines of production, as soon as full-scale output was approached we discovered that there was a lack of balance in the production program. There was a log jam of priorities with a consequent restriction of the flow of strategic materials—a jam only recently broken by the adoption of the principle of direct allocation of materials.

On the administrative side instead of coordination there has been duplication and conflict. Instead of starting with an economic general staff or a single administrative head for the mobilization of resources we have set up a large number of special boards of limited scope and power; we have taken one partial step after another and have fumbled our way through a series of reorganizations usually resulting in new super agencies without eliminating the old. Even now we do not have a genuinely coordinated all-embracing mobilization program.

Instead of developing a war organization largely independent of the peacetime governmental administration the war program was incorporated so to speak as an integral part of the general program for solving unemployment and improving living standards of selected groups. The 40-hour standard week had to be protected—with time and a half rates of pay for overtime. The war emergency was utilized to obtain for farmers the gains



which 8 years of peacetime experimentation had not yielded. Instead of the principle of sacrifice for all the principle appears to have been gains for politically important groups.

Happily, the acute stage of the industrial wage and farm price controversy has now passed, and we may look forward to more stable conditions. In fact, with wise and determined leadership there is real hope that we can from here on restrain inflationary forces, expedite the production of crucial materials, and achieve a more balanced industrial program. The education that has been taking place with reference to the fundamental requirements for effective mobilization and the experience which is constantly being gained by administrative officials now make it possible for this democratic Nation to realize production goals which even 2 years ago seemed quite impossible of attainment.

#### THE MANPOWER PROBLEM

There is, however, one problem of basic significance which has not as yet been solved or fully appreciated. I refer to the problem of manpower which is now about to enter the crucial stage. It has been officially announced by the Secretary of War that the Army will number seven and a half million men by the end of 1943, and the corresponding figures for the naval forces, including Marines and Coast Guard, will approach 2,000,000.<sup>1</sup> The head of the Selective Service System has estimated the total at the end of 1943 may reach 13,000,000. Whatever the precise ultimate figure, it is obvious that armed forces numbering nine and a half millions raise a very difficult problem of manpower for agricultural and industrial production.

In order to make good the deficiency in manpower back of the lines, the following steps will be necessary: (1) to restrict the output of goods for private use by something like one-third; (2) to recruit large numbers of retired workers and also youths between the ages of 14 and 17; (3) to draw into industrial employment a large proportion of all married women under 45 years of age who do not have young children. Moreover, if we are to keep the industrial production program in balance with the requirements of the armed forces, it will be necessary to carry through this vast conversion and labor-expansion program with very great speed. It is this crucial manpower problem that has recently projected into the foreground of discussion the idea of conscription of both industry and labor for war production. Instead of depending upon patriotic impulse or the lure of higher wages and higher profits to shift men and materials from peace to war production, we must quickly transfer productive energies to war production if the requirements imposed by a nine and one-half million Army a year hence are to be met. Otherwise, we shall find next spring or summer a great lack of balance between the manpower under arms and the manpower engaged in the production of essential war materials. Having discovered the principle of balance within the industrial program itself, we ought not to have to learn anew, through costly experience, that balance is also absolutely essential as between the armed forces and the organization back of the lines.

#### SUMMARY

The fundamental requirements of the present situation may be summarized as follows: A certain percentage of our national manpower must be directed to the fighting units on the various fronts; a certain percentage must be directed to the production

of airplanes and antiaircraft guns; a certain percentage to tanks and antitank guns; a certain percentage to ordnance, to submarines, to naval vessels, to merchant shipping, to foodstuffs, etc.

Our ability to win this great struggle depends not upon the number of dollars we can raise for war purposes; it depends rather upon our ability to produce the requisite quantities of materials and supplies and to deliver them at the right time to the far-flung places where they are needed. In short, it depends upon the working strength of each part of a great coordinated national machine.

Our enemies are conserving every ounce of their energies. The vastly superior resources of the United Nations might perhaps bring us victory in the end, whether we squander our patrimony or not; but it should never be forgotten that in any case the wasteful method of industrial mobilization is also the tremendously costly method—costly in terms of property and costly in terms of human life. As we buckle down to the grim struggle before us, shall we heed perhaps the greatest lesson that the war has taught to those who have been through the fire—namely, that complete mobilization of the Nation's resources for the carrying out of a single objective is the only certain road to victory.

The observance of Navy Day in the present world situation naturally calls to mind Rudyard Kipling's Recessional, written 45 years ago. Gravely concerned over the capacity of weak and erring human beings to measure up to the responsibilities of empire, he feared a decline of naval power and a recession of the tide which had marked the nineteenth century. The well-known lines run:

"Far called our navies melt away—

On dune and headland sinks the fire—  
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday

Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!  
Judge of the Nations, spare us yet,  
Lest we forget, lest we forget!"

In the light of current history, Kipling's words might well be revised somewhat as follows:

Far called our navies sweep today—

On every ocean shines the light—  
Gone are the doubts of yesterday,

As we have girded for the fight!  
Judge of the Nations, be with us yet  
We'll not forget, we'll not forget!

The verse in which Kipling refers to the soul-testing period that follows the conclusion of peace would need less change:

The tumult and the shouting dies—

The captains and the kings depart—  
Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,

An humble and a contrite heart.  
Lord God of Hosts, be with us then,  
That we may serve the rights of men!

### Reduction of Draft-Age Limit

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. LISTER HILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, November 9, 1942

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from Jack Kyle, national commander of the Regular Veterans' Association, on the question of drafting 18- and 19-year-old boys.

There being no objection the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REGULAR VETERANS ASSOCIATION,  
Washington, D. C., November 6, 1942.  
Hon. LISTER HILL,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR HILL: I know that you are genuinely sincere on your stand concerning the bill lowering the draft age, and I hope that the Congress will reject the O'Daniel amendment.

The Army needs these boys—now—and as an old soldier I can tell you that military service will not hurt them. I have served in the same organizations with many boys as young as 17, and I have commanded many such youths.

It is generally recognized by military men that men of such ages are more alert, and therefore learn more quickly. They have the strength that older men have not.

It is also necessary and essential in certain phases of land warfare that soldiers be trained near the theater of action before going into combat.

The heroic stand on Bataan is a notable example of the soundness of this theory. Those men were trained in the Philippines for war in the Philippines. Officers and enlisted men trained here in the States and rushed to that theater of action could not possibly have done so well.

I have the highest confidence in our generals and in their ability. Not one of them wants to waste manpower. Far from it. They will not rush raw recruits into combat.

The United Nations can lose this war. There are many bitter struggles ahead. Probably an army of 25,000,000 will be necessary to retake most of the three continents now under the heel of the dictators' boot, and the induction and proper training of these boys is imperative.

Most sincerely yours,

JACK KYLE,  
National Commander.

### The Vital Role of the Social Worker

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM T. PHEIFFER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 9, 1942

Mr. WILLIAM T. PHEIFFER. Mr. Speaker, every thinking and right-minded person freely acknowledges that our private social agencies are important parts of the fabric of every American community. Their services in ministering to the material and spiritual needs of the underprivileged, the poverty stricken, and the misguided elements of our population are bright pages in our national life. In these days of trial and crisis the private social worker is, more than ever before, a knight in shining armor.

In an article published in the September 1942 issue of Channels, the magazine of the Social Work Publicity Council of New York City, titled "The Interpreter's Task," the author, Mr. Edward C. Lindeman, has given us a clear, cogent, and timely analysis of the real and dynamic role the private social agency and the

<sup>1</sup> The naval forces proper, according to Secretary Knox will number a million and a half; and there are at the present time nearly 800,000 in the Marine Corps and Coast Guard Services.



portant for this reason: It is true that the President in his supplemental letter stated that what he meant was that the wages of industrial workers were now included in the formula and that the farmer received the benefit of that in his parity price. Of course he does. If the wages of an industrial worker who is making wagons is increased, then the parity price is increased an infinitesimal amount. But the wages of munitions workers, the wages of those working in airplane factories and in munition plants, have no relation whatever to parity. They can go up to \$50 or \$100 a day and the farmer receives no benefit from them in the parity picture; but if the wages of an industrial worker who is engaged in the manufacture of wagons or farm implements is increased, it is immediately reflected or should immediately be reflected in the parity formula and there should be a slight increase in the parity price. If under the present law the wage rate on the farm should be doubled, although it cost the farmer twice as much from the standpoint of wages to produce the crop, he receives no return whatsoever in the price.

It was testified this morning before our committee by a responsible Government official that he had just returned from California, that he found that the wages of dairy workers in California had increased from \$90 a month to \$230 a month. Think of it, from \$90 a month to \$230 a month for a dairy worker. Yet we are told not to include that increased wage and require the dairyman to continue to sell his milk at identically the same price. Of course, those dairymen out there happen to be in an area where there is enormous defense production. I understand that when this gentleman, Mr. Kaiser, who has been so successful in production, gets another contract or adds another addition to his plant, he sends 50 or 100 representatives throughout the country with the admonition: "Get me 15,000 men. Get me 20,000 men." They go from farm to farm, from factory to factory, telling the workmen: "Come on here, we will give you \$15 a day, we will give you \$20 a day." Mind you, that is all done, unhappily, with Government approval and with Government money.

Certainly no man who wants to be fair can insist, regardless of what it might do to the parity formula, that that farmer, or that milk producer is not entitled to a commensurate increase in the price of his milk to take care of the increase in wages he must pay those who work in the dairy.

Mr. CREEL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PACE. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. CREEL. That man who has been paid those wages very frequently was called last year from crops already under production, walking away and leaving the farmer without anybody to finish the crops that had been started?

Mr. PACE. Unfortunately, that is the situation.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PACE. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I think the gentleman has made a great contribution to this debate today. Let us see if we cannot emphasize it a little more. In other words, the wage paid to a worker engaged in a manufacturing plant producing war material is not taken into the index figures used in the calculation of parity.

Mr. PACE. It is not. The only industrial wages that enter into the parity picture are the industrial wages in those few establishments which make things the farmers must buy.

Mr. CRAWFORD. That is covered by the very limited number of commodities carried in the index for the parity formula.

Mr. PACE. That is correct.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I think it is very important to emphasize that.

Mr. PACE. Consequently, those wages can rise as they have risen. I hope it was explained to the President. I have some misgivings, frankly, that the President does not thoroughly understand what his letter really meant.

May I make this final prediction to the Members of the House on this amendment which will be offered to include wages in the parity formula.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MILLS of Arkansas. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 additional minutes to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. PACE. The President of the United States, in my opinion, is going to include farm wages in the parity formula. The Senate bill authorizes it. This bill does not. He is going to include it for two reasons: First, because he is going to realize that it is the fair thing to do, and second, because he is going to have to include it in order to get the necessary production in this Nation.

Therefore, I say that tomorrow when the vote comes, the only question you are going to be called upon to determine is whether or not you as Representatives of the people are going to say to the farmers of this Nation, "We feel that you are entitled to include in the formula the wages that you have to pay," or are going to deny them and let the President of the United States accord it to them himself.

For my part, and for those whom I try to serve, I shall vote to accord to the producers of my district the right to include in the cost of their goods what they must pay out to their labor and what the members of their own family earn in producing the commodity.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I think the gentleman's statement is supported 100 percent by that great labor leader, Leo Wolman, in his statement in the Washington Post of September 20, 1942.

Mr. PACE. Of course, the President is going to include it. He is going to do it because it is fair and necessary. No man can make me believe it is not fair and not right. I have never asked and have never sought for the farmers of this Nation anything more than they are justly entitled to. They have the right to demand, and I demand for them, merely equality of treatment. I beg you today to do unto them the same as you have done unto others.

## The Teen-Age Draft and Its Effect on Higher Education

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. COMPTON I. WHITE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 9, 1942

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, the views of a leading publisher of this country on the program of higher education as it will be affected by the teen-age draft have been set forth in a letter which I have received from Mr. Wheeler Sammons, editor of *Who Was Who in America*, with which was enclosed in article on this subject. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit the letter and article referred to for the information of the Members of the Congress:

WHO WAS WHO IN AMERICA,  
Chicago, November 1, 1942.

HON. COMPTON I. WHITE,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have noticed with interest your remarks on the floor in connection with the amendment of the national Selective Service Act. In my opinion you hit the nail squarely on the head, as the enclosure indicates.

To me it looks as if the immediate need is some over-all control of the manpower situation on an occupational, rather than a dependency basis and, from that viewpoint, of course, securing an education that will increase wartime usefulness is a highly essential occupation. Apparently there are so many manpower authorities that no one is transcendent, which leaves the 6,000 draft boards to act as best they can, so long, of course, as they fill the military's requirements for inductees. If this is so—and numerous summaries of supposedly responsible testimony indicate it is a fact—the cure would be legislation that set-up and over-all method for deciding how the manpower is to be divided between the military, wartime industrial, and civilian needs, leaving the draft boards to act on behalf of the military, but subject to the overriding rules. If this cannot be done, of course, it is imperative to provide for the educational situation specifically; for, as is also indicated by the enclosure, the amendment to the national Selective Service Act, in whatever form it comes from conference, creates a special emergency.

Yours sincerely,  
WHEELER SAMMONS, Publisher.

By lowering the draft minimum to the eighteenth birthday the Congress automatically makes its unfinished business the prompt enactment of legislation establishing a definite program assuring the most effective utilization of our national pool of youth.

Such a program is already overdue. With the draft age lowered to 18, it becomes imperative. Otherwise the only source from which our doctors, our scientists, our chemists, our physicists, our engineers, our biologists, our teachers, and all the varied specialists necessary to our national existence can be prepared, will immediately be channeled off without centralized all-over planning balancing the industrial, the military and the other wartime requirements, and hereafter so channeled for the duration.

This imminent death sentence to wartime education is a problem of national preser-



vation, of vital civilian policy, and as such is clearly within the responsibility of the Congress. Forestalling it does not fall within the individual scope of selective service administrators and draft board officials, or the directives of commissions.

As a matter of fact, the number of authorities now empowered is a principal cause making immediately necessary a centralized over-all authority that can allocate according to the Nation's balanced wartime requirements. However, urgent as the need for such over-all manpower planning is, this educational emergency created by the new amendment to the Selective Service Act demands action from the Congress even more immediately, for it becomes an actuality on the signing of the amendment. Although the pressure under which the Congress was suddenly placed to amend the Selective Service Act undoubtedly explains the failure to provide for the situation in the amendment itself, it nevertheless leaves separate legislation to that end the unfinished business of the Congress.

This legislation, whether or not a part of general manpower planning, must require, irrespective of personal preference, that boys with the requisite aptitudes continue war-useful educations which have progressed so far that cessation would not be in the national interest; that boys showing satisfactory progress be obligated to continue courses of wartime importance; that schools and colleges providing capable instruction in courses designated as vital in the emergency be enabled to secure draft deferment for necessary teachers and to offer scholarships or expense grants to worthy students; and that those physically unfit for active service when called up, but mentally equipped to take courses of instruction that will prepare them for specialized wartime service, be assigned to the most conveniently located school or college providing such courses on a basis including the privately controlled institutions.

The program cannot only readily and advantageously absorb such provisions for direct military service as have been established or outlined, including the R. O. T. C., the Army Enlisted Reserve method, the Army aviation cadet screening plan, and the Navy V-1 procedure, but can extend them, modified as may be necessary, to all appropriate schools and colleges. These schools and colleges have only to be given their places in the program, for they stand ready with trained staffs anxious to serve, and have millions of dollars invested in the required housing and instruction facilities.

That the necessary qualities of leadership and the vitally needed wartime proficiencies can be supplied heavily by our schools and colleges is already a demonstrated fact. While but 12 percent of inductees are college men, 80 percent of all the candidates selected for officer training schools have been drawn from this small group. It is reported that of those leaving the officer training schools, the portion proving to be effective officers is 85 percent college-trained men.

The record of our schools and colleges in supplying courses suggested by the armed services demonstrates their ability to provide specialized instruction needed in the factories, the laboratories, and the civilian activities vital to the very existence of the armed forces. They have found that an instructor in art may be an excellent wartime instructor of mechanical drawing, for example; that the peacetime professor of psychology can make good as a war-useful teacher of mathematics. For their staffs have the "know-how" of teaching, a vital "know-how" in the present emergency and one that can be shifted from peacetime courses to war-useful ones. This important fact has been discovered by the armed forces, and we hear, for example, of a teacher of English

now instructing in bombing strategy for the Army.

Until such a program has been provided by the Congress, from the hour the new amendment to the Selective Service Act is on the statute books, the Nation stands in the startling position of having blacked out education, adjusted under a balanced plan to all phases of the war effort, for the duration at the end of the current school year at the latest, just when the demand—from war-busy industry, from government, from all the armed services—is unparalleled for education in wartime proficiencies all through the unprecedentedly wide range required under modern conditions of warfare. Probably no advanced educational institutions would be left unaffected save nine and armed-service programs—the nine are West Point, Annapolis, the Marine Corps School, and the five United States Merchant Marine Academies. A wartime necessity—doubtless far more pressing actually than most critical materials—would in other words be eliminated for the duration, and not even rationed.

All the boys in school, on reaching 18, would drop all educational preparation, regardless of whether or not a proficiency valuable in wartime were involved, unless able to obtain a place in the particular framework just mentioned. Next fall all the colleges, junior and advanced, and all the universities, would be without freshman classes of boys, regardless of the wartime necessity for the instruction they would be prepared to offer to these classes, unless the armed forces provide deferments under one variant or another of enlistment in a reserve or some related arrangement.

No other nation in the world has in this war as yet handicapped its war effort to such an extent because of failure to plan over-all use of its manpower. And China and England have succeeded in avoiding this handicap even with the enemy on their soils or off their shores. England, it is true, had bitter experience to go by, for in the last war she took on this very handicap and instituted no planning to forestall it. The price she paid was so high that no repetition occurred in 1939. She immediately provided for the balanced continuation of war-important educations—offering scholarships and specifying deferment—and as well instituted a general educational deferment for a year to those of "appropriate intelligence" taking courses involving war-useful proficiencies. Just recently this 1-year deferment period was increased 50 percent to 18 months.

Thus both common sense and experience indicate that the Congress, in enacting immediately legislation providing for a sound program to supplement its action in lowering the draft age, or as part of an over-all manpower authority, will not only assure a more effective war effort, but forestall calamitous after-effects.

### The Absurdity of Gasoline Rationing in Michigan

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

#### HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 9, 1942

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, Michigan is the hub of the arsenal of democracy. The thinking nations of the world look to it with a prayer on their lips, but the bureaucrats are still at their blundering, and will reach the pinnacle of their bung-

ling with their gasoline rationing in the ace war weapon producing State of the Union.

I want these words of mine remembered, for I am going to substantiate them with facts. First, 70 percent of the membership of the Automobile Club of Michigan, namely 185,000 motorists, is directly engaged in war work. Exhaustive surveys in Michigan convince an investigator that gasoline rationing, where distances are great and where suburban residence is general, will result in chaotic conditions and seriously cripple morale and the war effort.

Michigan workers are dependent on automobile transportation to and from war jobs. Defense plants are widely scattered and public transportation is now taxed beyond capacity. A bus-train accident last week—16 killed—points the index finger of blame to an overcrowded vehicle. Also, remember that Michigan does not have Florida's climate from November to April.

What is the reason for Nation-wide gasoline rationing? First, it was based on tank car and ship shortage, then we were told that the sole purpose was the conservation of rubber. Let us use common sense, and establish a strictly enforced 35 miles per hour speed limit, with teeth in the law. This will conserve tires, aid morale, and further encourage the splendid war production of the workers.

Some place, somewhere, someone must remember that the American people are entitled to something other than the jitters. Bureaucrats please take notice.

The Michigan State Highway Department has made a survey of automobiles and tires. Almost every Michigan war worker owns his own car; 1 out of every 5 workmen in Detroit lives more than 10 miles from his work; and 75 percent of a half million workers employed in 750 plants drive to work in automobiles.

The great plants are built around the city: The Ford Willow Run, Chrysler's Tank Arsenal, Hudson's Naval Ordnance, and scores of others. In these 89 percent of the workmen use automobiles and live great distances from their employment.

A 35-mile-per-hour speed law will eliminate pleasure driving. If this is doubted, try it for 10 hours and realize an average speed of only 22 miles per hour. Such driving is pleasureless.

If such a regulation were enforced, rubber would be conserved, war production would be augmented, and an understanding public would willingly cooperate.

Now let us take a look at the registration necessitated by the proposed program. In Wayne County, which is Greater Detroit, over a half million motorists must register for the A cards; in the rest of Michigan the number is tripled to a million and a half more. War workers will be unable to operate on such rations; hence, some more bureaucracy for B and C cards will be necessary; and every delay is a frustration of the war effort. I purposely refrain from mentioning the clerical help necessary for such a program.

Gasoline rationing will not work in Michigan if we desire to hold our war



was obtained. Candor compelled the conclusion that the preposterous prohibition law had made us a nation of law violators.

I vow I will violate such a national prohibition law again. If that be treason, make the most of it.

We cut out the cancer once. Let us not encourage a second growth.

But we must be on our guard. History seems to be repeating itself. In the name of the last war, the dries got a toehold in the door by inflicting dryness in and around military camps and naval establishments. That is how the eighteenth amendment started. We must prevent repetition. The door must be slammed firmly and forcefully in the face of the dries.

Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson makes a very vital contribution to the entire subject when under date of May 2, 1942, he wrote to the chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee as follows: "The War Department fully realizes that from the viewpoint of efficiency and moral standards, an army in which drunkenness is nonexistent is highly desirable. However, knowing the frailties of human nature and realizing that habits of temperance or intemperance are developed long before the individual becomes a soldier, the War Department is convinced that temperance cannot be attained by prohibition applied to the Nation at large, and experience has proven that the problem can only be solved by the application of practicable and tolerant measures applied in a logical manner. Fortunately our presently existing laws provide an ideal framework for such control. Briefly stated these laws forbid the sale of or dealing in intoxicating liquor on military reservations but permit the sale of soft drinks, including beer and light wines containing not more than 3.2 percent alcohol by weight on those reservations located in States whose laws permit such sales at such places. Such sales are not permitted, however, on reservations located within any State, Territory, or district whose laws do not permit such sales within its borders. This policy has caused a degree of temperance among Army personnel which is not approachable in civil communities now, nor was as high a degree of temperance attained either in or out of the Army during the days of national prohibition. Under this policy, military personnel are encouraged to remain on the reservation (their home) and enjoy refreshment under conditions conducive of temperance."

Recently, Secretary of War Stimson and Secretary of the Navy Knox pointed out that the rider grafted on the Teen-Age Draft Act and which was happily shunted off to the Senate Military Affairs Committee would impose upon the Army and Navy the duty of enforcing prohibition in metropolitan areas such as New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

This so-called Lee amendment would not prevent the sale of liquor. It would merely require the sale of bad liquor by gangsters without regulation, without let or hindrance, and without payment of taxes.

For the sake of common decency and to save the Nation from the humiliation of a second wild orgy of prohibition, let us nip this second prohibition blooming in the bud. May the good Lord deliver us from another noble experiment.

It is only 9 years since the newspapers carried headlines as follows: "Beer baron slain," "Booze convoy hijacked," "Coeds in rum orgy," "Senator shot by dry agent."

The New York World-Telegram, under the title "Remember?", recently reprinted typical news items, one from Aurora, Ill., dated March 25, 1929, reading "State dry agents today stormed the home of Joseph De King, 40, after bombarding it with gas bombs, killed Mrs. De King, 35, and clubbed her husband into unconsciousness. Their terror-stricken

son, Gerald, 9, seized a revolver and shot one of the raiders in the leg."

The other from New York City, dated December 28, 1921, reads:

"Three men and a woman died yesterday from the effects of wood alcohol which they drank during the Christmas holidays under the impression they were drinking gin and whisky. Two of the men were brothers, Frank and John Tiffany, of West Sixty-fourth Street. A tenant in the same apartment house was arrested on a charge of homicide. Police said he sold the brothers a pint of alleged gin. The other victims were Edward Gillice, 31, and Mrs. Frances Ryan, 27, widow of Ritchie Ryan, a prize fighter. Gillice, who died in Bellevue Hospital last night, said that he and Mrs. Ryan went out on a drinking party Sunday afternoon and bought drinks of gin and whisky in several restaurants and cafes.

"The drinks did not effect Gillice until yesterday afternoon when he became suddenly ill and began to lose his sight. He feared that he had drunk wood alcohol and went at once to the hospital. He became steadily worse in spite of everything the physicians could do and at 6 o'clock was blind. He went into convulsions soon afterward and died in a great pain about 10 o'clock."

Those who are back of the so-called Lee amendment and who are trying to use it as an entering wedge to force prohibition again on America, while at war, are exactly the same forces which accomplished that result during the First World War. They are the Anti-Saloon League, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Methodist Board of Temperance, and the Prohibition Party.

Robert F. Whitney, of the New York Times, writes that they compose what has been described as a ten-million-dollar lobby working against beverage alcohol. In this battle the dries have a unified command, namely, the National Temperance and Prohibition Council. As yet, there is no wet leadership.

I warn the wine, beer, and whisky industry; I warn labor, the liberals of the Nation, that they must soon get busy. They must present a solid phalanx of opposition. At the present time, the Gallup poll shows that any dry law is opposed by 62 percent of the Nation, but indicates also that the prohibition forces have gained 8 percent since 1934.

The dries will gain more ground unless the wets organize and fight. It is most unfortunate indeed that the dries are using our soldiers and sailors as guinea pigs. They are entitled to far better consideration. In truth and in fact, all the talk about increased vice and drinking in and around military establishments is just the bunk.

Secretary Stimson calls attention to the intense activities of the War Department for the building of morale and character of the soldiers. Great pains have been taken to provide carefully planned and comprehensive religious activities and moral guidance as well as wholesome recreation for the leisure periods of the men. It is reported that the attendance at the religious services in the Army is far higher than the church attendance in many of the surrounding neighborhoods from which the boys come.

Let us all be of the firm conviction that temperance among the soldiers can only be obtained from education and reasonable supervision and restriction rather than from intolerable prohibition. At a time when the sale of alcoholic beverages has been brought under legal supervised control, and when it is providing the Federal, State, and local governments with more than a billion and a half dollars in revenue a year, it is worth while to direct attention to those three States in the country which have tried to retain State-wide prohibition, to wit: Kansas, Mississippi, and Oklahoma.

Take Kansas, for example. In May of this year, S. S. Alexander, United States district attorney at Topeka, Kans., helped to secure

indictments for what he described as "the biggest and best organized of any bootleg operations ever known in the Midwest." About 160 defendants who were alleged to have employed several hundred runners to drive a fleet of 100 cars were involved in operations which covered 8 States—the 3 dry States of Kansas, Mississippi, and Oklahoma, as well as Iowa, Nebraska, Texas, Missouri, and Illinois.

Or, consider a headline from a recent issue of the Wichita, Kans., Beacon, which states, "Wichita's School Liquor Drinking Aired in Court."

W. H. Burke, Democratic nominee for Governor in Kansas, charged the other day at Little River, Kans., as reported through the Associated Press wires in the Great Bend (Kans.) Tribune for September 26, 1942, that "protected bootleggers and jointists" were flagrantly violating Kansas liquor laws.

This condition in Kansas—a dry State, mind you—is not at all foreign to the other two dry States. I have here a clipping from the Jackson (Miss.) News about bootlegging in that State which is of interest: "The Federal alcohol unit of Mississippi, headed by Ellis Chapman, makes the rather surprising announcement that only 13 illicit whisky distilleries have been found in the State during the past 2 weeks. However, that doesn't indicate that the moonshiners are quitting business; they are probably cleaning up their equipment and moving to locations harder for the officers to discover. The market for moonshine liquor in rural communities continues strong with the supply lagging behind the demand."

Nor is Oklahoma, the home of Senator Lee, any different from its two sister dry States. Sheriff Clyde Kaiser in Ada, Okla., recently asked newspapers not to publish the names of bootleggers arrested in liquor raids in dry Pontotoc County. "It gives them too much advertising," he complained. Police in Guthrie, Okla., recently claimed to have smashed a new racket, an offspring of this sugar-rationing era, in which five men were accused of stealing sugar from a warehouse and selling it to bootleggers. The men, who admitted taking 1,100 pounds of sugar, were said to have sold them to bootleggers for anywhere from \$5 to \$10 a 100 pounds.

Is it not passing strange that so much sentiment for national prohibition is again emanating from so-called dry States—States also which are again breeding and cultivating their usual quotas of professional prohibitionists? I say strange, because in the so-called dry States of Kansas, Mississippi, and Oklahoma there are so many Federal liquor licenses.

The Alcohol Tax Unit of the Bureau of Internal Revenue informs me that the Federal Government has issued the following licenses:

Retail malt liquor dealers in—	
Mississippi.....	1,695
Oklahoma.....	2,983
Kansas.....	3,443
Retail liquor dealers in—	
Mississippi.....	1,386
Oklahoma.....	432
Kansas.....	490
Wholesale liquor dealers in Mississippi.....	36

What are these dealers doing with all these Federal licenses? They are selling beer, wines, and liquors in vast volume in the "dry" States. The mere possession of such a license should be prima facie evidence of a violation of State laws. Are these possessors punished? Of course, not. That would deprive "royalist dries" of their liquor. I say to the "dries," especially of these States, before you try to clean up Army camps clean up your own back yard. "Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?"

The attempted revival of prohibition is like the dog that returns to his vomit.



## Amendment to the Selective Service Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

HON. GEORGE A. PADDOCK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 9, 1942

Mr. PADDOCK. Mr. Speaker, we have been considering the proposal to restrict the military service of 18- and 19-year-old drafted men by a provision requiring their retention in the United States for a training period of 12 months.

Such decisions are always difficult. They involve consideration of military policy and also the treatment due young men whose call to service is only justified under an extreme emergency. Having summoned soldiers of youthful age we owe them the greatest possible care in applying their services.

We must always remember, however, that individual training is a small part of combat preparation. Every soldier must also be trained as a member of a unit or fighting team, which is itself a portion of other larger groups later assembled in their final combat form.

If the large number of young men now under consideration cannot leave this country for 12 months, they must either be trained separately, or numerous older and experienced men must also be held out of combat service for a lengthy period. Furthermore, there would have to be a considerable number of separate training groups formed as the drafted men come into the service, since those arriving each month would have 12 months deferment from the time of their enrollment. Obviously, the training and assignment problems created by this situation are confusing and expensive, and seriously interfere with the military services of this entire group.

The proposed policy is in direct contrast with the present plan of training and combat service, because we are accepting by enlistment many thousands of these younger men. There can be no good reason why a boy of 18 who volunteers is entitled to less protection than a similar youngster who comes in through the draft. To create such a distinction by law is decidedly unfair to the young men who have to choose between volunteering for unlimited service, and awaiting the action of a draft law which gives them 12 months' training in home areas. It is exceedingly unfair to leave such a decision to these boys. Congress and the Army authorities together should answer this question.

We all greatly regret the necessity of drafting 18- and 19-year-old men, but since we must take them into service we should do so on a basis which makes their sacrifice of the most value to the country. I feel that the protection to the individual obtained by his serving with older and experienced men in a fully trained combat organization is more advantageous to him than a 12-month training period followed perhaps by im-

mediate combat service without preliminary experience as a member of the fighting team or group unit.

Finally, I am thoroughly of the opinion that the training of these young men and their assignment to combat duty when qualified for it can better be left to our military authorities without a binding restriction by an act of Congress. The Army officers of various grades who pass on the qualifications of soldiers are just as anxious as we are that men be fully trained. No matter what our solicitude may be for these young men, we must rely on the Army itself to give them leadership and training.

## Our Heritage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 5, 1942

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I insert the following patriotic poem by Mrs. Letitia Morse Nash, of Texarkana, Tex., which was written especially for an Armistice Day American Legion program:

## OUR HERITAGE

To give a heritage to us,  
Our fathers fought and died  
That we, their children's children, might  
Have freedom, glorified,  
To keep that glorious heritage,  
They planned, and worked, and prayed,  
To build a land where Freedom walks,  
And none need be afraid.

They gave to us a shining hope,  
A vision of our land,  
Where justice, truth, and liberty  
Forever more shall stand.  
They gave to us a sacred trust:  
To keep inviolate,  
Democracy—your birthright—mine—  
In nation and in state.

Look back across the years and see  
Our sky-born flag unfurled,  
And hear the shouts of Freedom flung  
Across a startled world.  
Look back again a few short years—  
Our sons, across the sea,  
Went down in death to make our land  
Safe for Democracy.

Down through the years that heritage  
Walks with us hand in hand.  
Shall we not pledge ourselves to keep  
Traditions of our land?  
Shall we not stand in solid ranks  
And pledge our loyalty  
To keep the sacred trust they gave—  
To hold Democracy?

Democracy! the heritage  
Of every free-born man!  
The shining hope, the gleaming star  
Of each American.  
America—"home of the brave,"  
And still "land of the free!"  
May every class and creed unite  
To save Democracy.

## A. A. A. Program Relating to Peanut

## Acreage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 9, 1942

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter I have received from my friend, Mr. Dick Lindley, a farmer in Wood County, Tex. The Lindley letter is typical of several letters I have received on this matter.

The letter follows:

MINEOLA, TEX., October 21, 1942.

Hon. LINDLEY BECKWORTH,

Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: There appears I am the victim of what looks to me like a very unjust rule in the A. A. A. program relating to peanut acreage this year. I feel many farmers like myself are being discriminated against. I do not believe it is the law or the rule and that it is not only unjust but not intended by the law of Congress peanuts are raised under. I wish to appeal to you about it and you see what you can do for me, which will help me and many others in the South.

Those farmers who have, prior to 1942, grown peanuts under the crop-control program and buy their seed through the same sort of Government credit proposition, will this year get \$132 per ton. Those of us like myself for this year, who have not heretofore raised any peanuts for market but are doing so this year and who bought our seed as we pleased and paid cash for them from other farmers, will this year get only \$82 per ton for our peanuts.

I believe this is an unjust and unauthorized discrimination. This year I will get \$50 less per ton for peanuts than some of my neighbors will get.

I shall appreciate your kindness if you will look into this and see what, if anything, you can do about us farmers who are subjected to this discrimination.

Yours very truly,

DICK LINDLEY.

Mr. Speaker, when the provision which brings about the situation described above in the Lindley letter came before the House, I offered an amendment having for its purpose the bringing about of equity concerning the family-size farmer who had not previously been growing peanuts to a great degree. I was perhaps the only Member of Congress who offered an amendment to modify the legislation in favor of the family-size farmer who had not been growing peanuts, and I was one of some three Members who made a speech against the provision bringing about the situation in question. It occurs to me that the spread between the two prices is mighty large. Foreseeing this, I endeavored to modify the legislation. I shall continue to strive to see that the family-size farmer not only in this connection but in all others is given justice. I wish to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD my remarks on the subject made February 28, 1941:



I feel that your association, and especially the people of the Rio Grande Valley, have reason to congratulate themselves upon this achievement, which assures beyond any question of doubt the ultimate completion of your great project to the Rio Grande Valley on the basis of these larger dimensions. I say quite frankly that if the extension had not been included in the Mansfield bill it might have been many years before its authorization could have been accomplished.

Of course, the thing you are interested in now is the actual construction of the extension just as soon as may be possible. We are all agreed, I am sure, that no expenditure of Federal funds for any purpose should be made at this time unless it will make a definite and distinct contribution to the winning of the war.

Decisions in respect to such questions, of course, rest entirely with those in executive authority; I mean those who are in charge of and responsible for the war effort. The only suggestion I can make to your association is that all available data and arguments with respect to the service which the extension to the valley may render in winning the war should be submitted to those in authority. You can do no more.

As you know, Congress has just made available the sum of \$6,485,000 to start work upon one phase of the project authorized by the Mansfield bill. It will be spent upon the enlargement of the existing 9-foot project. An effort was made to change the language for this appropriation, as it was recommended by the Budget, to make it apply to the entire project, but it failed. However, regardless of what the language might have been, the funds requested by the Budget would have been expended in accordance with the original request.

Let me again assure you of my great and continued interest in the work of your fine organization. I know of no waterway organization in America which has accomplished so much of great and lasting public benefit. There should be no relaxation in your program of activities. Had your association never been organized, I am quite sure there would be no Intracoastal Canal. So my advice is that you keep up the good work, keep your project before the country and before the Congress, and you may be assured that just as soon as it is advisable in the national welfare, your great waterway will be finally and fully completed.

### Let Us Know the Truth About the Teen-Age Draft Bill

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. USHER L. BURDICK**

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, November 9, 1942*

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, when this bill to draft 18- and 19-year-old boys came before this House you will recall that it came before us on a rule that permitted no amendments unless such amendments were offered by the committee. A great many Members desired to amend the bill requiring some definite period of training before these teen-age boys were sent overseas to enter a shooting war. There was no opportunity given to make such an amendment or any amendment.

The spokesmen for the Army maintained that any amendment would ham-

per the purposes of the draft. These same spokesmen said that it took a year to train a division, but upon being further questioned, they admitted that boys of this age could be shipped across the seas to fill up depleted divisions already in existence. Just how long they were to be trained before being sent across was not given.

Mr. Speaker, it is not a case where these boys are being called to repel an invasion—if it were, no questions would be asked. This is a case of inducting young boys into the service anywhere at any time and no particulars given. If the Army intends to give these boys the proper training before they go into battle, why does the Army object to have this amendment written in the bill?

We know that there are over 4,500,000 men under arms, but where they are this Congress does not know. No showing has been made that we are equipped to arm an additional two and one-half million men—no showing has been made that the men already sent abroad are properly and abundantly equipped and supplied. It seems to me that Congress should know something about these factors before it blindly votes another two and one-half million men into the service.

This bill is going to work further havoc in the Farm Belt where the farm-labor supply has already been depleted. Wheat farming is not now considered by the War Department an essential war production, while attending dairy cows and chickens is so considered. Not until there is an absolute shortage of bread will the Government confess that bread is a necessary element in the war effort. When that shortage comes—as it will come in 1943—it will be too late to restore our bread requirements.

Not only will the United States have to be fed and its armies supplied, but we must be ready to supply bread to Allied armies and the people of Allied and enemy nations. Nation after nation will have to be restored to its own people, and a bountiful supply of bread will do more to show our good faith than any other element or factor in rebuilding an oppressed people. We must not only show the world that we do not desire any additional territory, but that we mean to help—and the first help is food—all countries to come back as quickly as possible to their normal way of life.

To draft these farm boys at 18 and 19 will remove about the last help in sight for this great and necessary undertaking of feeding the world.

Today we have rejected the Senate amendments and the bill goes back to further conference. I voted to accept the Senate amendments for the reason that they protect these boys so that not one will enter a shooting war until he is adequately trained.

Mr. Speaker, I do not know what a new conference will bring forth, but unless there is some clause definitely defining some period of training, my vote will be "No," just as it was when the House originally passed this bill. I realize I was only one of the three Re-

publicans who voted against the bill, but, Mr. Speaker, I can afford to stand with a few or alone when I am convinced that I am right.

### Final Campaign Address

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, November 9, 1942*

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address which I delivered recently over the radio:

Men and women of this congressional district and you young people who are the voters of tomorrow, I speak to you tonight in my last message before the great election tomorrow. It is but my second radio address of the entire campaign.

A fortnight ago, having received warning signals from many starch friends at home, I hurried back from Washington where I have been confined with the heavy responsibilities of my office. Everybody knows that I have had to remain at my post of duty even though there were those at large in my district spreading falsehoods about my personal affairs and lies about my public record. Everybody knows that I have had to depend upon the high intelligence of the people I represent to discount those vicious stories and to defend my record for me while I have been away.

Certain individuals, few in number fortunately, through their personal malice and misguided energy, have devoted two solid years ever since my reelection to Congress in 1940, to the persistent purpose of destroying the confidence of the people in their Congressman.

Not being able to attack my record on the basis of the truth, they have resorted to misrepresentation. They have adopted the very policy which proved such a boon to Hitler in his grab for power, which goes on the premise that if you tell a lie and repeat it again and again, you will finally have someone believing it.

This vicious procedure, being used as it has been by master propagandists and by those who should be devoting themselves to winning the war instead of indulging in a smear campaign, has thrown some folks into a confusion not unlike the chaos existing in Germany when Hitler succeeded in ridiculing the Reichstag into oblivion. This deceptive practice by a few designing men high in places of power hereabouts has been welcomed by the New Deal master minds in Washington. They have gloated over the idea of dividing the Republican Party, and they have used these dupes to gain the point first on their program—that of instituting a one-party system in the House of Representatives. Yes; in their attempts to cut off my political head they have had to resort to untruths and ridicule and to anything they could lay their hands to.

So tonight, on the very eve of election, I come to you in the midst of a turbulent period and ask you to continue the faith and the confidence with which you have regarded me in the past.

In closing my campaign to continue as your congressional servant in Washington, I sum up my position as follows:

First, I pledge my unwavering support, as I have during my past two terms, to all



constructive legislation which will help win this war and win it quickly. My vote will be all-out to back this objective, and the insinuations of the opposition that their candidate is more patriotic is simply contemptible false political propaganda. Don't I know that if we don't win this there won't be any Congress down in Washington? Don't I want my brother, who is an infantry lieutenant out in Hawaii, to come back to my mother and father and me safe and sound? Don't I want you other mothers and fathers and wives, whose dear ones are in the service, to have them safely back to you as soon as possible? Don't I want to see this great land of freedom, the hope of the free world, survive gloriously and victoriously? You know I do; and you know that if I, or any one of you listening tonight could win this war by giving up our own life we'd be glad to do it, wouldn't we? We'd do it because that is the American way and because we have a sublime faith in what we are living for and fighting for. Oh, my friends, that kind of opposition propaganda is not only false, it is an insult to your intelligence.

Second. I pledge my prompt and untiring attention to the assistance of your relatives in the armed forces in whatever your problems may be. With a war so vast, I know just how lost you sometimes feel when you haven't heard from somebody dear to you or when you have heard bad news, or when you can't get action from some official bureau. You just call on me, because that is part of my job and as your Congressman I want to stand right with you in your anxiety or your trouble.

Third. I will vigorously support the cause of the men and women in our Army and Navy to the end that our armed forces, upon whom the fate of the Nation is now resting, are properly provided for and fairly dealt with—not only in the flush of their fighting days but in the lonesome days after the din of war is over and the heroes of today sometimes become the forgotten men of tomorrow.

Fourth. I will earnestly support the cause of labor in every honest measure to safeguard the rights of collective bargaining, of living standards, not only today but in those inevitable days of post-war confusion.

Fifth. I will continue the fight which I have never relaxed since I first went to Congress for the betterment of the farmers of this section.

Sixth. I will give my best efforts to assist industry and particularly small business, in legislation which promotes the betterment of these interests.

Seventh. I will unflinchingly represent the desires and wishes of you people of this congressional district on major legislation in Congress. Whenever you transmit to me a definite, clear-cut, and undeniable majority expression of public opinion, my vote will be as you want it. My vote will be controlled by you and not by that little power-hungry clique of big interest politicians who have a perverted obsession to control or destroy public officials.

Eighth. On Federal matters where the State of New York is involved, I will go along wholeheartedly with Thomas E. Dewey, who will be our next Governor. Will Mr. Ruland, the regular New Deal Democrat candidate for Congress, give you that pledge?

Ninth. In legislation on domestic economy and on post-war policy, I will cooperate with the program of the Republican Party and Wendell Willkie and other national Republican leaders. Will Mr. Ruland, the regular New Deal Democrat candidate for Congress, give you that pledge?

Tenth. My office in Washington will be, as it always has been, wide open to you at all times for any help or service I can render you directly in Federal matters. With some 88 (at last count) war agencies and literally hundreds of other Federal offices now functioning, it takes a Congressman 2 or 3 years

to establish friendly personal contacts in these various places whereby he can be enabled to render prompt and constructive service to his constituents who might have business in one of these offices. If I can be of service, please let me know.

These are some of the many things I wanted to talk to you about straight from the shoulder. My lack of campaign funds (of which the opposition seems lavishly supplied) and the limits of my time have prevented me from talking over with you, many details of Federal policy and national legislation, which would prove breath taking to you if you could but hear in stark detail how millions of your dollars have been callously wasted by the bungling of incompetent New Deal officials. Over across the ocean they consider carelessness and waste of public funds a crime and punish it accordingly. Yet here in this congressional district a few frustration-mad political lorelei are trying to lure the Republican ship to destruction, and turn the district over to a New Deal Democrat candidate. Where it is politically practical and expedient Mr. Ruland is for the present Federal administration 100 percent. Then when he rallies round the campfires of the Republican bushwhacker clique he does a chameleon act and turns a different color, pretending to be against the New Deal, and claiming to be practically a full-blooded Republican. Indeed these are critical times. And they will be that much more critical if ever the little set of Judas-Republicans succeeded in betraying this congressional district into the New Deal hands by the typical Axis tactics of dividing and conquering the Republican Party as they are now trying to do.

That is the issue before you tomorrow, dear friends. It is not just a question of Mr. Ruland against Mr. HALL. It is a question of all those queer, impractical, visionary, incompetent, and painfully expensive theories of New Deal government, against the common-sense, business-like, hard-headed, and thrifty principles of you Republicans in the Thirty-fourth Congressional District. Mr. Ruland is the candidate of the New Deal ticket of theory and spending. I am the Republican candidate on the ticket of Wendell Willkie, Thomas E. Dewey, Joe Martin, and the thousands of well-read, intelligent, and careful-thinking Republican men and women of this congressional district. We respectfully ask you to stand with us tomorrow, and also to bravely and unselfishly stand with each other through the trying days ahead until the sun of victory shines forth again, to light up a whole world—a whole world that has become the home of the free because our America is the land of the brave. I thank you.

### Amendment to Selective Service Act

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. JOSEPH E. CASEY**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 9, 1942

Mr. CASEY of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, in this discussion—whether or not we shall tie the hands of the Army by making it mandatory that boys 18, 19, and 20 be given 1 year's training before being sent to combat—we should begin at the beginning and ask ourselves, What are we of this Congress striving to do; what is our objective?

If we think about the feelings of fathers and mothers, and look upon these 18- and 19-year-old boys as babies, if

we follow our hearts and natural sentiments, we shall vote for the amendment. It depends upon what our big objective is. It seems to me that overshadowing all else is this objective: Victory for our beloved country against the forces of tyranny and oppression. If you will agree with me that this is our main objective, then we can proceed logically. To achieve this objective, we ought to give the best that is in not only our hearts but our heads as well.

We are a democratic nation, a peace-loving people. We are fighting totalitarian nations. Eighteen-, nineteen-, and twenty-year-old youths of these nations are taught from the time they start to walk, to strut, boast, and hate, and that man reaches his fullest development only in war. We believe man is created for something better than to slaughter his fellows. But we are fighting people who believe differently—their beliefs make for efficiency in war. If we cling to our peace-loving ways, our beliefs will make for softness in war. We must shuffle off the ways of peace in order to defeat our enemies. We cannot fight a comfortable war. The only way we can win is to throw everything we have got into it.

The protest against 18- and 19-year-old boys going into combat is a protest against war itself. I would to God that this war could be fought by the older men but it cannot. Speed and strength and suppleness and daring are the attributes of youth. Youth assimilates easily. Youth makes the sacrifices in every war. That is one of the reasons why war is so abhorrent to us. War is not normal. In normal times the sons bury their fathers. In these times, the fathers bury their sons.

Let us, the people of this country, now, while the pain and agony is upon us, hereby resolve that this war shall not be fought in vain, that this United States of America shall take the lead in cooperating with other nations for the abolition of war.

No price is too great to pay for permanent peace. It may be that this is the beginning of a new era. It may be that the lips of this generation are touched with fire. Let us be worthy of this generation. We must put aside sentiment and emotion and keep in mind our main objective—victory over the forces that love war. We must be men of steel. We must fight fire with fire. Every Member of this body is heavy hearted today. Reluctantly though it may be, regretfully though it may be, we must vote against this amendment.

### Pontifical Mass for Victory

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. MICHAEL J. BRADLEY**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 9, 1942

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, November 1, 1942,

Nov. 10





## AMENDMENTS TO SELECTIVE TRAINING AND SERVICE ACT OF 1940

NOVEMBER 10, 1942.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. MAY, from the committee of conference, submitted the following

### CONFERENCE REPORT

[To accompany H. R. 7528]

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 7528) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following: *That so much of the first sentence of section 3 (a) of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, as precedes the first proviso is hereby amended to read as follows:*

*"Sec. 3. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this Act, every male citizen of the United States, and every other male person residing in the United States, who is between the ages of eighteen and forty-five at the time fixed for his registration, shall be liable for training and service in the land or naval forces of the United States."*

*SEC. 2. Section 5 (f) of such Act, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:*

*"(f) Any person eighteen or nineteen years of age who, while pursuing a course of instruction at a high school or similar institution of learning, is ordered to report for induction under this Act during the last half of the academic year at such school or institution, shall, upon his request, have his induction under this Act postponed until the end of such academic year."*

*SEC. 3. Section 15 (a) of such Act, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:*

*"(a) The term 'between the ages of eighteen and forty-five' shall refer to men who have attained the eighteenth anniversary of the day of their birth and who have not attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of*



their birth; and other terms designating different ages construed in a similar manner."

SEC. 4. Section 5 of such Act, as amended, is amended at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(i) Notwithstanding any other provisions of law, no persons the ages of eighteen and twenty-one shall be discharged from service in the land or naval forces of the United States while this Act is in effect because such person entered such service without the consent of his parent or guardian.

"(j) No individual who has been convicted of any crime which may not be punished by death or by imprisonment for a term exceeding one year shall, by reason solely of such conviction, be relieved from liability for training and service under this Act.

"(k) Every registrant found by a selective service local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2), to be necessary to and regularly engaged in an agricultural occupation or endeavor essential to the war effort, shall be deferred from training and service in the land and naval forces so long as he remains so engaged and until such time as a satisfactory replacement can be obtained: Provided, That should any such person leave such occupation or endeavor, except for induction into the land or naval forces under this Act, his selective service local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2), shall reclassify such registrant in a class immediately available for military service, unless prior to leaving such occupation or endeavor he requests such local board to determine, and such local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2), determines, that it is in the best interest of the war effort for him to leave such occupation or endeavor for other work."

SEC. 5. Section 3 (a) of such Act, as amended, is amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof a colon and the following: "Provided further, That no man, without his consent, shall be inducted for training and service under this Act after he has attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of his birth".

And the Senate agree to the same.

A. J. MAY,  
R. E. THOMASON,  
DOW W. HARTER,  
W. G. ANDREWS,  
DEWEY SHORT,

*Managers on the part of the House.*

ROBT. R. REYNOLDS,  
ELBERT D. THOMAS,  
LISTER HILL,  
WARREN R. AUSTIN,  
CHAN GURNEY,

*Managers on the part of the Senate.*

## EMENT OF THE MANAGERS ON THE PART OF THE HOUSE

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 7528) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

The House bill and the Senate amendment (secs. 1 and 3) both provided for extending the liability for training and service under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 to registrants of 18 and 19 years of age. The conference agreement makes no change in this respect.

Section 2 of the House bill provided that, upon their request, certain registrants who were in attendance at high schools, colleges, or universities during the academic year 1942-43 might be deferred from training and service in the land and naval forces until the end of such academic year, but in no event later than July 1, 1943. The Senate amendment provided that registrants in attendance at high schools or similar institutions of learning might, upon their request, have their induction postponed until the end of the academic year if they were ordered to report for induction during the last half of the academic year. The conference agreement retains the Senate provision and makes it clear that it applies to persons who are 18 or 19 years of age when they are ordered to report for induction.

Section 4 of the House bill and of the Senate amendment provided that no person between the ages of 18 and 21 should be discharged from service in the land or naval forces because he entered such service without the consent of his parent or guardian. The conference agreement retains this provision.

Section 4 of the Senate amendment also contained a provision corresponding to section 6 of the House bill under which a conviction for certain crimes which were not felonies or punishable by death or imprisonment for more than 1 year was not to be used as a basis for relieving the person convicted from liability for training and service in the armed forces, or for rejecting him, if the local Selective Service board determined that such person was morally fit for military service. The conference agreement provides that no person convicted of a crime not punishable by death or by imprisonment for more than 1 year should be relieved from such liability for training and service by reason solely of such conviction.

Section 5 of the Senate amendment provided for the deferment from training and service in the land and naval forces of persons found by the Selective Service local boards to be regularly engaged in an agricultural occupation or endeavor essential to the war effort, and also provided for making any person who left such an occupation or endeavor immediately available for military service unless, prior



to leaving, the Selective Service local board determined that it was in the best interest of the war effort for him to leave for other work. There was no corresponding provision in the House bill. The conference agreement retains the Senate provision with clarifying changes, and makes such deferment applicable to men found by the local boards to be necessary to and regularly engaged in such agricultural occupations and endeavors.

Section 5 of the House bill contained a provision that no person who had been deferred from training and service should be inducted prior to induction of "all persons within the same State who have been placed in categories made subject to induction prior to the category in which such person has been placed." There was no corresponding provision in the Senate amendment. The conference agreement eliminates this provision of the House bill.

Section 7 of the Senate amendment provided that no person under 20 years of age who was inducted should be placed in actual combat duty beyond the territorial boundaries of the United States until after he had at least 1 year's military training following his induction. There was no corresponding provision in the House bill. The conference agreement eliminates the Senate provision.

A. J. MAY,  
R. E. THOMASON,  
DOW W. HARTER,  
W. G. ANDREWS,  
DEWEY SHORT,

*Managers on the part of the House.*

○



not getting any place. They were tough, said these Republicans; they would show the country how to run a war.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, may I ask the gentleman if he would not like to have a quorum present?

Mr. HOLLAND. No.

Mr. HOFFMAN. The gentleman is making a valuable speech and he ought to have a quorum.

Mr. HOLLAND. No; I do not think so.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Does not the gentleman think he ought to have a quorum?

Mr. HOLLAND. No.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Let us have a quorum present.

Mr. HOLLAND. I will finish in 10 minutes.

Mr. HILL of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

Mr. HOLLAND. They would not play politics. Oh, no, indeed, not them.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Colorado has made a point of order.

Mr. HOLLAND. They were pure patriots, so help them.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, a point of order.

Mr. HOLLAND. From the right and from the left, they thundered. Kelland, Gannett, Landon, all that precious crew of reactionaries, told how they would fight the war.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, unless the gentleman who has the floor will show some respect for the rules of the House, I shall make a point of order. The gentleman has shown serious disrespect. He insists on talking when the Speaker tells him to keep still. The House is not interested in hearing him if he has that attitude and unless the gentleman will abide by the rules of the House I shall make the point. I withdraw the point now.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. HILL] withdraw his point of no quorum?

Mr. HILL of Colorado. I withdraw the point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. HOLLAND] will proceed in order.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, Willkie and Clare Luce thundered from the left. They had another blueprint for victory.

It was a great show. There was no consistency in it, but it caught votes. A lot of Republicans were elected.

And we await, with trepidation, the votes of these "tough" Republicans in the hard days before us.

You can fool the American people once.

It is hard to fool them twice.

And a lot of the Republicans who were elected last week had better make good use of the 2 years they will spend here; they will not be coming back again.

Why? Because events are proving the falsehoods, the lies, the misleading propaganda that gave the Republican Party its measure of victory last week.

"Roosevelt is playing politics with the war," said they.

Today's news speaks for itself.

Had the President wished to play politics, what better politics could there have been than the launching of this great offensive to clear the Mediterranean Sea in the days preceding the election?

Does anyone doubt that had the news, now breaking, come over the radio and the news wires last week end, that a lot of Democrats who were defeated would have won, and a lot of Republicans who won would have been retired?

But the Commander in Chief of our armies is no Hitler or Mussolini to time his war measures for political purposes.

We struck when the military was right—not when the necessities of politics demanded.

We have a government which values the lives of American boys more than it does an election victory.

Our armies moved when the time was right in Africa; not when the political timing in America demanded.

I thank God today, as I have done in the past and as so many millions of Americans have done since the days when the depression so sorely beset us, that Franklin Delano Roosevelt is President of these United States.

We heard from the Roosevelt-haters—from McCormick and Patterson, and even from Henry Luce, who should have known better—that the British were fighting for their Empire and letting us and Russia down.

Montgomery and his fighting Eighth Army have given the lie to that.

And we heard that our tanks were no good.

Now we read how our General Sherman completely outclassed Rommel's best German armor in the desert war.

And we heard how the Battle of the Solomons was going against us.

Now we read how the marines are having a disposal problem concerning the dead Japanese that are littering Guadalcanal.

And MacArthur, whom we are accused of ditching in a sideshow area, is pulling a pincers movement on the Japanese in New Guinea with the aid of air-borne troops in such numbers as our Army never before employed.

The turning point in this war has come. Hitler is singing a new—and strange—and welcome song of defense.

Italy is war weary, and the jackal, Mussolini, has entrapped his poor people in yet another military debacle.

The Japanese were repulsed in the Solomons, and they have not come back for more as yet.

We are on our way.

And the critics of the President have their answer.

This House will harbor many such critics in the days to come. They will be here by virtue of the tempo of the war, not by virtue of any program they propose.

If the election were tomorrow, instead of last week, many of them would never have been elected.

But the news of this war renders all that unimportant, as unimportant as the petty critics of President Roosevelt, in Congress and out, will look when the history of these times is written.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. COSTELLO asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD.

## SPECIAL ORDER

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] is recognized for 15 minutes under previous special order of the House.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks and also I ask that my speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN]?

There was no objection.

[Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi addressed the House. His remarks appear in the Appendix of today's RECORD.]

## AMENDMENT OF THE SELECTIVE TRAINING AND SERVICE ACT

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it be in order to consider this afternoon the conference report on the bill H. R. 7528.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I presume that before we take up the conference report there will be a quorum call to give the House notice of the fact that the conference report is being taken up?

Mr. McCORMACK. Exactly.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

## RECESS

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this afternoon, at the conclusion of any special orders heretofore entered and the disposition of any matters on which the Chair may desire to recognize Members, the House stand in recess until 2:30.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. HARE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein an article that appeared in the Index-Journal of Greenwood, S. C., on October 3.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

(Mr. CELLER asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. CAPOZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein a radio address delivered in New York City.



The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

#### RECESS

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the House will now stand in recess until 2:30.

Thereupon, at 12:50 o'clock p. m., the House stood in recess until 2:30 o'clock p. m.

#### AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker at 2 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.

#### TEEN-AGE DRAFT BILL—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I submit a conference report and statement upon the bill (H. R. 7258) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, for printing.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

#### CONFERENCE REPORT

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 7528) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

"That so much of the first sentence of section 3 (a) of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, as precedes the first proviso is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 3. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this Act, every male citizen of the United States, and every other male person residing in the United States, who is between the ages of eighteen and forty-five at the time fixed for his registration, shall be liable for training and service in the land or naval forces of the United States."

"Sec. 2. Section 5 (f) of such Act, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(f) Any person eighteen or nineteen years of age who, while pursuing a course of instruction at a high school or similar institution of learning, is ordered to report for induction under this Act during the last half of the academic year at such school or institution, shall, upon his request, have his induction under this Act postponed until the end of such academic year."

"Sec. 3. Section 15 (a) of such Act, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(a) The term 'between the ages of eighteen and forty-five' shall refer to men who have attained the eighteenth anniversary of the day of their birth and who have not attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of their birth; and other terms designating different age groups shall be construed in a similar manner."

"Sec. 4. Section 5 of such Act, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(i) Notwithstanding any other provisions of law, no person between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one shall be discharged

from service in the land or naval forces of the United States while this Act is in effect because such person entered such service without the consent of his parent or guardian.

"(j) No individual who has been convicted of any crime which may not be punished by death or by imprisonment for a term exceeding one year shall, by reason solely of such conviction, be relieved from liability for training and service under this Act.

"(k) Every registrant found by a selective service local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2), to be necessary to and regularly engaged in an agricultural occupation or endeavor essential to the war effort, shall be deferred from training and service in the land and naval forces so long as he remains so engaged and until such time as a satisfactory replacement can be obtained: *Provided*, That should any such person leave such occupation or endeavor, except for induction into the land or naval forces under this Act, his selective service local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2), shall reclassify such registrant in a class immediately available for military service, unless prior to leaving such occupation or endeavor he requests such local board to determine, and such local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2), determines, that it is in the best interest of the war effort for him to leave such occupation or endeavor for other work."

"SEC. 5. Section 3 (a) of such Act, as amended, is amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof a colon and the following: '*Provided further*, That no man, without his consent, shall be inducted for training and service under this Act after he has attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of his birth.'"

And the Senate agree to the same.

A. J. MAY,  
R. E. THOMASON,  
DOW W. HARTER,  
W. G. ANDREWS,  
DEWEY SHORT,

*Managers on the part of the House.*

ROBERT R. REYNOLDS,  
ELBERT D. THOMAS,  
LISTER HILL,  
WARREN R. AUSTIN,  
CHAN GURNEY,

*Managers on the part of the Senate.*

#### STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 7528) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

The House bill and the Senate amendment (secs. 1 and 3) both provided for extending the liability for training and service under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 to registrants of 18 and 19 years of age. The conference agreement makes no change in this respect.

Section 2 of the House bill provided that, upon their request, certain registrants who were in attendance at high schools, colleges, or universities during the academic year 1942-43 might be deferred from training and service in the land and naval forces until the end of such academic year, but in no event later than July 1, 1943. The Senate amendment provided that registrants in attendance at high schools or similar institutions of learning might, upon their request, have their induction postponed until the end of the academic year if they were ordered to report for induction during the last half of the academic year. The conference agreement retains the Senate provision and makes it clear that it applies to persons who are 18

or 19 years of age when they are ordered to report for induction.

Section 4 of the House bill and of the Senate amendment provided that no person between the ages of 18 and 21 should be discharged from service in the land or naval forces because he entered such service without the consent of his parent or guardian. The conference agreement retains this provision.

Section 4 of the Senate amendment also contained a provision corresponding to section 6 of the House bill under which a conviction for certain crimes which were not felonies or punishable by death or imprisonment for more than 1 year was not to be used as a basis for relieving the person convicted from liability for training and service in the armed forces, or for rejecting him, if the local Selective Service board determined that such person was morally fit for military service. The conference agreement provides that no person convicted of a crime not punishable by death or by imprisonment for more than 1 year should be relieved from such liability for training and service by reason solely of such conviction.

Section 5 of the Senate amendment provided for the deferment from training and service in the land and naval forces of persons found by the Selective Service local boards to be regularly engaged in an agricultural occupation or endeavor essential to the war effort, and also provided for making any person who left such an occupation or endeavor immediately available for military service unless, prior to leaving, the Selective Service local board determined that it was in the best interest of the war effort for him to leave for other work. There was no corresponding provision in the House bill. The conference agreement retains the Senate provision with clarifying changes, and makes such deferment applicable to men found by the local boards to be necessary to and regularly engaged in such agricultural occupations and endeavors.

Section 5 of the House bill contained a provision that no person who had been deferred from training and service should be inducted prior to induction of "all persons within the same State who have been placed in categories made subject to induction prior to the category in which such person has been placed." There was no corresponding provision in the Senate amendment. The conference agreement eliminates this provision of the House bill.

Section 7 of the Senate amendment provided that no person under 20 years of age who was inducted should be placed in actual combat duty beyond the territorial boundaries of the United States until after he had at least 1 year's military training following his induction. There was no corresponding provision in the House bill. The conference agreement eliminates the Senate provision.

A. J. MAY,  
R. E. THOMASON,  
DOW W. HARTER,  
W. G. ANDREWS,  
DEWEY SHORT,

*Managers on the part of the House.*

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill H. R. 7258, and ask unanimous consent that the statement be read in lieu of the report.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan makes the point of order that there is no quorum present. Evidently there is not.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

The motion was agreed to.



The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 121]

Allen, Ill.	Haines	Ploeser
Anderson, N. Mex.	Halleck	Plumley
Angell	Hancock	Powers
Barnes	Harness	Randolph
Beam	Hart	Rizley
Bennett	Harter	Robertson, N. Dak.
Boykin	Hébert	Rockwell
Bradley, Mich.	Hendricks	Rodgers, Pa.
Bradley, Pa.	Hess	Rolph
Buckler, Minn.	Hinshaw	Romjue
Buckley, N. Y.	Hobbs	Sabath
Bulwinkle	Hook	Sacks
Byrne	Houston	Sauthoff
Byron	Izac	Schaefer, Ill.
Cannon, Fla.	Jackson	Schulte
Cannon, Mo.	Jacobsen	Scrugham
Carlson	Jarrett	Shafer, Mich.
Cartwright	Jenks, N. H.	Shanley
Case, S. Dak.	Johns	Shannon
Casey, Mass.	Johnson, Calif.	Sikes
Chenoweth	Johnson, W. Va.	Smith, Pa.
Claypool	Kee	Smith, Wash.
Cochran	Kelly, Ill.	Smith, W. Va.
Coffee, Nebr.	Kerr	Smith, Wis.
Coffee, Wash.	Kilburn	South
Cole	Kilday	Starnes, Ala.
Collins	Kocialkowski	Steagall
Copeland	Kramer	Stefan
Creal	Lambertson	Stevenson
Crosser	Lanham	Stratton
Crowther	Larabee	Sullivan
Cullen	LeCompte	Summers, Tex.
Cunningham	Lewis	Sutphin
Dies	McKeough	Sweeney
Dingell	Maclejewski	Tenerowicz
Ditter	Magnuson	Terry
Duncan	Mansfield	Thill
Dworshak	Mills, La.	Thomas, N. J.
Edmiston	Mundt	Tinkham
Eliot, Mass.	Murdock	Tolan
Ellis	Nelson	Van Zandt
Engel	Nichols	Voorhis, Calif.
Faddis	O'Brien, Mich.	Vreeland
Fellows	O'Connor	Wadsworth
Fitzgerald	O'Day	Wasielewski
Flaherty	O'Hara	Wene
Fogarty	O'Leary	West
Ford, Leland M.	Oliver	Whelchel
Ford, Miss.	Osmer	Williams
Gehrmann	Patman	Winter
Gibson	Pearson	Young
Gillie	Peterson, Ga.	Zimmerman
Granger	Pheiffer	
Grant, Ind.	William T.	
Green	Plauché	

The SPEAKER. On this call 263 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I move to dispense with further proceedings under the call.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky that the statement be read in lieu of the report?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN].

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I cannot support this conference report. I shall offer a motion to recommit it with instructions to the managers on the part of the House to amend the Senate amendment, section 7, to provide that no 18- or 19-year-old boy drafted under this act shall be sent into overseas combat service until he has been given adequate training. There is no reason on earth why every Member of the House cannot vote for that motion. If I thought that by doing this it would injure our war effort, I would not offer it, but it will not injure or impede our

war effort in any way. Someone says these Army officers will see to it that they are adequately trained. Yes; they told us that in the First World War, and I read to you yesterday from General Pershing's memoirs, in which he told how they sent him men for combat duty who had practically no training at all.

One commander of a great division said the other day that he was called to attend the funeral of 20 men who died of disease in his division, and although they were volunteers he found that 15 out of those 20 men were under 20 years of age. We know the stories of the Civil War, of the countless thousands of young boys who died of disease and exposure. Napoleon, as I called to the attention of Members yesterday, once wrote back to Paris not to send him any more boys, but to send him men. When they attempted to get Jefferson Davis to further lower the draft for the youth of the Confederacy, he said, "I decline to grind the seed corn of the Confederacy." When you take these young boys, where are you going to send them? You are sending them into tropical countries where every disease on earth prevails, and you are sending them into combat in a war that is fought in a manner and under conditions never known before. Why should anyone object to seeing that they are given adequate training?

Oh, somebody says, that should be left to the Army officers. Yes; but we want them to understand that Congress is not an aggregation of rubber stamps, and that we are going to see that the ones who are charged with this responsibility are going to be held accountable. For my part, I think these boys should be given at least a year's training.

I do not think it would hurt very much if we broke up these professional football games and took some of those men instead of these teen-age boys. They could at least do guard duty, and in that way could relieve others for combat duty. Further, we might take some of the long-nosed, and even some of the short-nosed job holders in the Federal Government, and send them. Then we have tens of thousands of world-war veterans who would be very glad to take their places at the desks in these departments.

Go out just across the street out there and you will find 10 or 12 men digging around a hole, and you cannot tell whether they are digging it deeper or filling it up. I have never seen any more than 2 of them working at a time.

Take some of those men who are dodging the draft under the pretense that they are doing war work, and let them do some real war work. Do not grind the seed corn of this Republic by sending these teen-age boys into foreign combat untrained to do the other fellows' fighting.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Yes.

Mr. COOLEY. Of course, we will be told that these men will be adequately trained before they are permitted to go into combat duties.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Yes; they told us that in the World War.

Mr. COOLEY. If I understand the purpose of the gentleman's motion, it is

to charge some Government officer with the responsibility of first finding that each one of these boys has been adequately trained before he is permitted to go into combat.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. And give him to understand that Congress is going to watch and see that that responsibility is carried out.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Yes.

Mr. RICH. I would like to make a statement—

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Oh, I have not the time for that.

Mr. RICH. Let me ask you this: General Gillette was requested in the last World War to get men ready for overseas duty within 3 weeks after they were enlisted, and in his testimony he said he thought he could do it, because he was compelled to.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Oh, yes; and General Pershing complained, as I read yesterday from his memoirs, that they were sending men over there that he had to send into combat, who had scarcely had a gun in their hands. It is bad enough to draft these boys 18 and 19 years old at all. They are not old enough to join a labor union, but they are old enough to send to war. They are not old enough to vote for you, or against, but they are old enough for you to send to war. For God's sake, let us protect them as best we can by requiring that they be given adequate training before they are sent to die on foreign battlefields.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. ANDREWS] 30 minutes of the time, subject to his disposition.

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me the Clerk read particularly well and clearly the statement of the managers on the part of the House. So rather than go into an explanation of that report, I am going to submit myself to such questions as any Member may wish to ask.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS. I yield.

Mr. DONDERO. Will the gentleman make clear to the House the report on the part of the managers as to the difference between boys in high school and boys in college?

Mr. ANDREWS. The provision of the Senate bill gave the opportunity of deferment to high-school students in their last semester. The provision of the House bill added to that a deferment for students in colleges, or, in other words, students beyond high school or similar institutions. The House agreed to the Senate provision with clarifying language.

Mr. DONDERO. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. ANDREWS. I yield.

Mr. DONDERO. Do I understand that boys in college are not to be deferred until July 1, 1943, or are they to be deferred if they request that that be done?



Mr. ANDREWS. No. Young men in college are not to be deferred. I might point out in connection with that question, I think a great many of us have lost sight of this fact: At the present time there are over 200 colleges, land-grant colleges, and universities in the United States with R. O. T. C. units. Every young man in the senior section of these R. O. T. C. units in the colleges is automatically deferred. He is in the senior section of those R. O. T. C. units when he passes into what is the equivalent of his junior year. With the acceleration such as is taking place in most of the colleges, men in the second year of college attain what we look upon as the junior rank, or senior classification in the R. O. T. C. in about a year and a half, or on January 1 this year. So a man entering his second year of college today, approaching January 1, will be automatically deferred because of his membership in the senior R. O. T. C. section. In addition to those in the R. O. T. C. who are exempted in the colleges, are all the young men who are taking premedical courses, and engineering courses of certain specifications, upon a set-up arranged by the War and Navy Departments. In addition to that, every young man in any college in the United States, 18 or 19 years old, who has seen fit to enlist in the Army or Navy Reserve, is automatically deferred until such time as he is called into the Army or the Navy until he completes his course. There are thousands in the country today who are deferred because of their enlistment in the Reserve Corps.

We lose sight of the fact today that any young man in good health, if he wishes to complete his college course, may enlist in the Army or Navy Reserve and have an excellent chance of completing his college career. That will leave in the colleges, subject to the draft, the young men who are not in the R. O. T. C., who are not in premedical or engineering courses, and who are not in the Army and Navy Reserves. It will not leave those who are qualified. It will leave a great many whom the Army would not take anyway, because they could not get into the R. O. T. C. So I do not think the fact we have accepted the Senate amendment is such a serious threat to our college courses at the present time.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS. I yield.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. There has been considerable criticism of the bill on account of the fact that many persons seem to think that young men 18 and 19 years old will be placed in the Army without proper training. General Summerall has stated how interested he is in having men properly trained before they enter combat service. As a matter of fact, does the Army place men in combat duty who have not had as much as a year's training? I mean, assuming that they have not had training before?

Mr. ANDREWS. There are very few in the present Army who have not had it.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. A whole year's training?

Mr. ANDREWS. Yes.

Mr. BARDEN. I am somewhat confused over the gentleman's statement

concerning the senior R. O. T. C., for only a few days ago I was furnished a bulletin which stated that a boy in a military school could only be classified or enter the school R. O. T. C. during the last 3 months of his second year.

Mr. ANDREWS. Is the gentleman speaking of a military school, an honor school, a smaller military school, or an accredited college with R. O. T. C. units?

Mr. BARDEN. These are accredited colleges supervised by Army officers, or accredited R. O. T. C. units, the same R. O. T. C. the gentleman is talking about.

Mr. ANDREWS. Any man in the senior group of the R. O. T. C. would be deferred. He must, of course, maintain a certain scholastic standard to attain that.

Mr. BARDEN. I am not talking about that; I am wondering where the gentleman got the authority to say that they will be exempted in the senior R. O. T. C. in January when the bulletin furnished me said they would be exempted only in the last 3 months of the second year?

Mr. ANDREWS. I am going on the statement furnished the conferees this morning by General White, of G-1 of the Army, and General Hershey, Chief of the Selective Service. On that I assume that if the draft board was about to take a man, we will say, in December who is in the junior section, but who is in an accredited R. O. T. C.-course university where he would sometime in January, between the 1st and 15th, enter the senior section, that the Regular Army instructor of that R. O. T. C. unit would state under his power to do so to the draft board, if the man was in good standing, that he should be allowed to continue in the school R. O. T. C., and that he would be deferred.

Mr. BARDEN. They are stepping it up to January instead of the last 3 months.

Mr. ANDREWS. Whenever they complete the semester. Not all colleges, of course, have accelerated, but I am speaking of the colleges that have accelerated where the so-called sophomore year ends about December or January.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama, a member of the committee.

Mr. SPARKMAN. As a matter of fact, the basic Selective Service Act exempts members of the senior R. O. T. C.

Mr. ANDREWS. That is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That means that those who have entered into that contract will be allowed to finish.

Mr. ANDREWS. That was when the period of instruction in most colleges was 4 years.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And it still holds in the case of those who enter such a contract regardless of what year of college work they may be in; he is exempted by the basic act.

Mr. ANDREWS. That is right.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CELLER. We are naturally all pleased with the gentleman's explana-

tion, but we are informed also that some 50 small colleges have already closed. Is there not a danger that we may suffer a sort of educational black-out unless the Army will consider this proposition and use our colleges to a greater degree?

Mr. ANDREWS. I may say that the Army in a statement of G-1, General White, has made it very clear that it is the Army's intention insofar as it can to select from those inducted, not necessarily those who are today in college but from others, young men who did not have the opportunity perhaps to go to college, but who may give outstanding evidence of ability, intelligence, and leadership, send them to college for further training.

Mr. CELLER. That is to treat the poor man's son as the rich man's son is treated, to give him a sort of subsidy or bursary?

Mr. ANDREWS. That is the way I understand it. That is one way the colleges will be aided.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS. I yield.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. A great deal has been said about juniors and seniors, freshmen and sophomores. Regardless of whether a man is a freshman or a sophomore; I understand that if he enlists in the Army or Navy Reserve he may remain until he is called.

Mr. ANDREWS. In the case of those who enlist in the Naval Reserve, they remain somewhat longer than those who enlist in the Army Reserve and probably remain until the completion of their courses more particularly for the reason that the Navy has not yet completed its two-ocean navy. Secretary Stimson has said that the Army wants to leave them as long in college as it possibly can, consistent with the needs of the service; but there is no guaranty that they can complete their courses.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. While there is no guaranty, they probably will remain for the balance of the school year, will they not? So the effect will be almost the same.

Mr. ANDREWS. The chances are that young men who have enlisted in the Reserve with the intention of going into the Army Air Cadet Corps will probably be able to finish this year, because so many are going in they probably cannot take them all anyway.

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. As I understand it, the conferees have agreed to the provision in the Senate bill providing that no man shall be inducted under the act after he has attained his forty-fifth birthday?

Mr. ANDREWS. That is correct.

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. I am interested in ascertaining if that provision is retroactive so that those who have heretofore been inducted after having attained their forty-fifth birthday may become eligible for discharge?

Mr. ANDREWS. The provision is not retroactive; however, I would think that the personnel selection of the Army will



naturally give consideration to that. This is not retroactive.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. What, if any, are the gentleman's objection to the motion to recommit as described by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN]?

Mr. ANDREWS. It does not mean anything. It is a sort of a sob-sister commitment, I may say.

Mr. COOLEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. COOLEY. In reference to enlistments in the Navy of college students, did I understand the gentleman correctly to say that the freshman or sophomore can enlist in the Navy and remain in college throughout his course?

Mr. ANDREWS. That is my understanding. I would be glad to be corrected if the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. VINSON] is on the floor.

Mr. COOLEY. But the same rule is not applicable to the Army?

Mr. ANDREWS. It is not applicable to the Army.

Mr. COOLEY. In the Army you have to be in your junior or senior year before you can get over into the senior R. O. T. C.?

Mr. ANDREWS. The same thing applies to the Naval Reserve unit. The Naval Reserve and the Army R. O. T. C. are the same. What I was talking about before had to do with young men who enlisted in the Naval Reserve or Army Reserve. That is quite different.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. COOLEY. I would like to clear up this one thing.

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 additional minute.

Mr. COOLEY. If the enlistment is in the Naval Reserve he will be permitted to finish his course?

Mr. ANDREWS. Yes.

Mr. COOLEY. If he is in the Army Reserve, he may or may not be permitted to do that?

Mr. ANDREWS. That is correct.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] 5 minutes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Speaker, while this conference report does not have in it everything I would like it to have—I do not believe I have ever known one that did meet that requirement—I am going to support this. I have been much concerned with reference to the educational program, and I know that a great many Members here have been. I have asked the War Department on several different occasions to give me some information regarding that feature.

I have a very brief prepared statement here, which I want to read because I believe it gives it more definitely than we have had it so far. This was prepared for me by the War Department:

The War Department plans to send qualified men to college as soldiers on an active-

duty status in such numbers as it deems necessary for the training of specialists or individuals trained at the college level for Army requirements.

I have questioned, stopping right there, the limitations for Army requirements because I felt that essential needs should be taken care of. So I am told this in addition to that:

In determining the number of men that the Army will send to college, we recognize that there will be a continuing need for some men with this type of training to meet civilian and industrial requirements. The Army plans, therefore, to increase the number of men to train for its own requirements by a predetermined percentage in order that it will be possible to assist in relieving critical shortages of men with college training by the release of a limited number from the Army.

Men will be selected for training under this program on the basis of previous education, results of scholastic aptitude and achievement tests, and under tests of leadership and aptitude for military service as demonstrated during a period of service in the Army. Selection will be made from the Army at large and it will be accomplished by means of a system similar to that now in effect for the selection of candidates for the officer candidate schools. Any soldier may compete without regard to his financial status. Preference will be given to soldiers in the younger age group because of their more recent school experience and of the longer potential value to the Army. The Army will maintain those selected while at college. They will be under military control and the Army will prescribe the courses to be pursued. The courses will vary in length from 9 to 27 months and in the case of medical students will probably extend for a longer period. The principal subjects will be medical and premedical, engineering, and science. It is expected that this program will be initiated about February 1, 1943.

Mr. CELLER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CELLER. That is a very encouraging statement. I presume most all of us have great confidence in the Army officials that they will do the proper thing with regard to our colleges. I am curious to know, however, whether the gentleman can enlighten us as to whether or not it is the purpose of the Army to help the small colleges. There are about 50 small colleges already closed. The American Council of Education is working in harmony with the Army authorities. I am informed, however, that they have been primarily interested in keeping the large universities going. They have not paid particular attention to the small colleges; that is, those colleges having a student enrollment of less than 1,000 students. Can the gentleman tell us something about that?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I am sorry I cannot give the gentleman a complete answer. I do know that the Army officials are working with various educational organizations. I certainly express my own personal wish, at least, when I say that the entire range of colleges and universities should be utilized in this program. I know, too, that the program is rather far along in working out details. It has to be submitted to the educational institutions or organizations for their concurrence before the absolute details can

be announced. We are told here that it will probably be ready to go into effect about February 1, 1943.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman 5 additional minutes.

Mr. COOLEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. COOLEY. Who is charged with the responsibility of selecting or classifying these boys and passing upon their scholastic accomplishments as a prerequisite to being assigned to some college to carry on the college course?

Mr. SPARKMAN. It is stated here that the method used will be something similar to that now in effect for the selection of candidates for the officers' training schools. I assume that that will be under the control of G-1 of the Army as far as the Army is concerned.

Mr. COOLEY. That will be by military authority rather than by local boards?

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is correct.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. BROOKS. I assume from what the gentleman has said that a man designated to attend one of these schools will be under military discipline and will be in uniform.

Mr. SPARKMAN. He will be in uniform and will be on the pay roll as a soldier, subject to military control and discipline, a soldier in every sense.

Mr. BROOKS. I am told that it is rather embarrassing now at times for members of the Army and Navy Reserves who are in school to explain their presence there when they are not in uniform. This will relieve that embarrassment.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is correct.

Mr. BARDEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. BARDEN. Does the gentleman mean that these boys must be drafted into the Army before they are assigned back to the schools?

Mr. SPARKMAN. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. BARDEN. Does the gentleman mean they will take them out of the school and put them in the Army and get them out of joint for a month and then send them back to the schools to pick up their classes?

Mr. SPARKMAN. My own view would agree with the gentleman's view about that. I think the deferment ought to take care of it. Nevertheless, the Army does not believe that and is working out a substitute. The gentleman has correctly stated that they will be drafted and then, if they succeed in meeting the competition, will be put back in school.

Mr. BARDEN. Does not the gentleman believe that after they go through the usual red tape they will lose about 6 months' time from both the Army and the schools?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I am not quarreling with the gentleman. I agree with reference to deferment of college students. I



worked for that in committee. I am sorry it is not in the bill. I do hope, however, that the selection for college work will be rapid and without a lot of red tape—I believe it will be.

Mr. BARDEN. It either should be done or it should not be done.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MASON. I want to know what the gentleman's reaction is to the implication of the gentleman from New York that it is the Army's business to aid the small colleges. Since when is it the business of the Army to aid small colleges?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I do not look upon it as being the job of the Army to aid small colleges. The Army in using the colleges for training Army personnel should utilize the whole range of colleges not for the purpose of aiding them but to take advantage of their facilities in this program.

Mr. MASON. The gentleman will agree that the Army ought to have specifically in mind aiding the young men in whom they are interested and whom they want to cultivate?

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is right; utilizing the whole range of educational institutions in doing so.

Mr. CLASON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. CLASON. By allowing this program to go through we are in effect losing 6 months out of the life of every boy by taking him out of college and putting him into the Army and then putting him back into the college again. Why should the Congress permit legislation of that type?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I do not agree with the gentleman that we are losing 6 months out of the life of every boy in college. I say again that I do not believe that they should have been taken out. Nevertheless we are getting the best that we can out of this provision.

Mr. CLASON. What right has the Army to use money to send to college boys who are not going to be used in the Army thereafter; who are going into civilian life?

Mr. SPARKMAN. This is part of a long-range program.

Mr. CLASON. The gentleman said that some of them will be going into civilian activities afterward.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In time of war we must have consideration not only for the Army out on the front. We must maintain the armies at home as well as out on the front. They are a part of it. This is essential.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. McCORMACK. Are not the young men who are not attending college given the opportunity to take this examination to go to college?

Mr. SPARKMAN. The gentleman is correct. This program treats everybody alike.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. RICH. Did I correctly understand the gentleman to say that he is in accord with the idea that these boys ought to finish their college course this year, before they are inducted into the service?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I supported that amendment. If I had had my way in writing this report it would have been in the bill, but it is not.

Mr. RICH. I concur in that. I am very much in sympathy with it. If that is what the gentleman believes and what I believe, why do we not vote to permit them to be retained in college until they finish this college year? A boy will be equipped to be a better soldier and a better man if he is permitted to do that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. If I had the opportunity to vote for that on this conference report I would, but we cannot vote for everything that we want. We must take the best we can get. I believe in this program we are getting that.

[Here the gavel fell.]

[Mr. MAY addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SHORT].

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, I have not only respect but a great deal of sympathy for the views expressed by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN]. I know that he is earnest and sincere in his belief; and if I followed my own emotions, I perhaps would follow him in voting against this conference report; but, after listening to the hearings before we passed the amendment, and after having sat with the conferees of the Senate and the House for 3 hours yesterday and again for 3 hours today, after very carefully considering all of the testimony and evidence submitted before our committee by the Secretary of War; the Chief of Staff, General Marshall; General White, General Hershey, and by certain educators who appeared before both the Senate and the House committees, I am constrained to follow hard reason and cold logic and to support this conference report, which was unanimously adopted by both the House and Senate conferees. Naturally, we had to give as well as take in reaching this unanimous agreement.

Mr. Speaker, it is a terrible and awful thing to draft youths of 18 and 19 years of age and send them forth to fight and maybe to die, but war itself is a terrible and a cruel thing, and we must be realistic and face facts, unpleasant as those facts are. God knows I did everything in my power to keep us out of this war, but, now that we are in it, I want to do everything in my power to win it. It is not an easy matter for any Member of this House to vote to conscript the 18- and 19-year-old boys. It is most painful. It hurts. We do not welcome this issue, but we have got to face it, and we must fearlessly and faithfully discharge our responsibility to the Nation. The indisputable

fact is that we are engaged in a terrible, devastating war that will require the combined, united efforts of all our people in order to win. Old men and young men, married men and single men alike must do their part. All of us must sacrifice. The foe is formidable. The enemy is ruthless and tough. We must fight fire with more fire, youth with more youth.

We are not going to defeat the Japs and the Nazis with 40- or 45-year-old potbellies. You can visit any Army camp in this country and you will find the hospitals loaded to capacity with men in the upper-age brackets who are incapacitated and cannot stand the gaff of modern mechanized warfare. They are a load rather than a lift. "The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak." This is not an old man's war. It is true that these youths will be sent to the Tropics and the jungles, to Iceland and Alaska, to the desert sands of Africa and India, and everywhere else to undergo hardships, but I want to say to my good friend from Mississippi that their recuperative powers, their resiliency, their daring, their endurance, their indomitable will, will enable them to come back much faster and stronger than men their elders.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHORT. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. The gentleman heard my motion to recommit to require that these boys be given adequate training.

Mr. SHORT. We all agree with the gentleman, absolutely.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. All right; now, I want to call the gentleman's attention to this fact: It takes longer to train some men than others. General Pershing, when we sent men over to him—and I have his words here but will not take time to read them—said among other things:

Among our troops recently arrived there was a serious lack of training in the use of the rifle. It seemed inexcusable to send me over men who were deficient in this very elementary step in preparation even though there may not have been time to train them otherwise.

What we want to do and what my amendment proposes is to give these men adequate training and to see that no one overlooks that proposition and does again what was done in the last World War, send these 18- and 19-year-old boys over there without training.

Mr. SHORT. I believe every Member of the House will wholeheartedly agree with the gentleman from Mississippi. We know that in the first World War our boys were sent across the seas in some instances after only 3 months' training, and they were slaughtered due to inadequate training and lack of proper training. We want to avoid that; in fact, I was the Member of the House committee when the original hearings were held who pressed this matter with Secretary Stimson. I asked him, "Is it not the purpose of the War Department, Mr. Secretary, to give these boys a full year's training before they are sent into combat duty?"



He replied, in effect: "While, of course, the 12-month period of training is really the thing that we would like to have, you cannot have a division of soldiers made up of 18- and 19-year-olds; you cannot have it made up of 26-year-olds, or 35-year-olds and have an efficient mobile force. In order to have striking power you have got to have men of different ages intermingled; older men with younger; men 35 years of age, with mature judgment, who bring cool, calm, deliberate consideration on certain tactical matters with the youth who possess the daring and boldness in order to give the zip and the pep to a successful army." One does not have to be a military expert to realize the truth of this statement.

Mr. MAY and Mr. HOFFMAN rose.

Mr. SHORT. I must yield first to the chairman of my committee, the gentleman from Kentucky; then I will yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. MAY. What is going to be done with the thousands of young men who would be inducted within the ages of 18 and 19 who are qualified to function as skilled men in radio and other trades that would be needed? We would be kept out of their skilled knowledge for 12 months.

Mr. SHORT. Of course; the polytechnical schools and other institutions of the country, which prepare young men in the scientific trades such as radio, telephone, engineering, chemistry, and so forth, turn out men qualified and adept in their trades who would not need 12 months' training, and we would be deprived of their valuable services, if we write in restrictions. Interminable delays might lose us the war.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHORT. I yield.

Mr. McCORMACK. If the motion is adopted, it would mean that divisions will have to be trained as a whole of these young men of about the same age.

Mr. SHORT. Not necessarily so.

Mr. McCORMACK. That would be the case from a practical angle.

Mr. SHORT. The effect would be that the regiments and divisions could be trained as one football team, but that when it came time to send these units out of the country they would have to be stripped of these young men of 18 and 19 who may have had perhaps 10 months' training, taking perhaps one-third out of a division and disrupting the whole organization. You could not have a working team under such conditions.

Mr. McCORMACK. So, from a practical angle, they could not be trained as a division.

Mr. SHORT. Absolutely not. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHORT. I must first yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOFFMAN. The gentleman has been home campaigning. He talked to some of the home folks, did he not?

Mr. SHORT. To plenty of them.

Mr. HOFFMAN. What will the gentleman have to say to them when they take these boys 18 and 19 years old from the farms?

Mr. SHORT. I am glad the gentleman raised that point because the House conferees accepted an amendment by the Senate that will defer men necessary in agricultural pursuits that are essential to the war effort.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Now, wait a minute; you left it to the triple A in the different districts, and I know what they are doing in my district.

Mr. SHORT. That is a matter of administration and not of legislation; there are some things that Congress cannot cure by legislation.

Mr. HOFFMAN. We should try to reach it by legislation.

Mr. SHORT. I fully appreciate the difficulties of the farmers, but they will receive more and better consideration than in the past if this measure is passed. They cannot compete with the high wages paid by private industry or with the high wages paid by Government in defense plants.

The farmer finds it almost impossible to hire any help today. He cannot get anyone to dig a potato or to pick an apple. Unless we do defer more of these bona fide farmers, these boys who were born and reared on farms and who know how to farm, this country is going to face an acute shortage of food. That is the reason we kept the Tydings amendment in the bill.

Mr. RICH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHORT. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. RICH. Why is it that we are taking 18-year-old youths when Canada and New Zealand do not take them under 19 years of age? Why do we have to take these kids into the Army?

Mr. SHORT. Because we are smarter than they are in other parts of the world. We did not order this war, but we are determined to win it.

Mr. CELLER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHORT. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CELLER. In answer to the remarks of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] should we not have implicit confidence in our Army authorities, particularly after their brilliant campaign in Africa?

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman 4 additional minutes.

Mr. SHORT. What is the gentleman's question?

Mr. CELLER. Should we not have implicit confidence in the Army in reference to these matters, particularly after their brilliant campaign in Africa?

Mr. SHORT. Our allied forces are going strong now. For heaven's sake, let us do nothing to hamper or to hamstring our military authorities. This is no time for that. We all believe in adequate preparedness. I think it is a crime and a shame to send men into combat when they are ill-equipped or when they are undertrained. If we adopt the gentleman's amendment not to send these 18- to 19-year-old boys into combat until they have received adequate training, may I ask who is going to determine what "adequate training" is unless we leave it to the Army itself? They are the best

people to pass upon that. When I go to the dentist I do not call in a blacksmith and I do not give him my personal advice. I let the doctor do the work. We have too many back-seat drivers today; too many parlor generals.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHORT. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. In the last war we left it to some of these military men, and they sent these soldiers to General Pershing. There is his protest that they sent men over there who were untrained and he had to send them into battle without training.

Mr. SHORT. I may say to the gentleman from Mississippi that I hope and pray that we may profit by past mistakes. Of course, the Army is not infallible. They are human and prone to error, but in the main they are doing an excellent job.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. We can do it by voting this amendment in.

Mr. SHORT. No; I do not agree. We have to depend upon these men not to send inadequately trained soldiers into combat.

Mr. HULL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHORT. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. HULL. Is it not a fact that the provision having to do with the deferment of farm labor does not give the local selective boards any more than they already have under the present law?

Mr. SHORT. General Hershey told us today that they would exempt or defer more men from the farm.

Mr. HULL. But the power in the conference report is no broader than we already have under the general law?

Mr. SHORT. I think it is. I disagree with the gentleman from Wisconsin. I think it is definitely so. General Hershey admitted before our committee in the hearings that the manpower problem on the farm was the No. 1 problem facing this country.

Mr. BARDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHORT. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. BARDEN. I think it would be appropriate to say right here, while there is so much discussion of the agricultural people, that the highest percentage of enlistments—and I refer to voluntary enlistments in the United States—came from the agricultural and rural areas.

Mr. SHORT. I agree with the gentleman. The farmer has given more than his proportionate share.

Mr. THOMAS F. FORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHORT. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. THOMAS F. FORD. When we say "adequate training," what assurances have we that a man will not be inadequately trained in a year, if he cannot take the training? These fellows want a year's training and say "adequate training in a year." He might be in there a year and still not get adequate training.

Mr. SHORT. Congress cannot determine what adequate training is. We



have been assured by the Secretary of War and by the Chief of Staff that they will not send these young boys into combat service until they are well equipped and adequately trained. That is the only promise or assurance that we can get from anyone. There is no one else we can trust.

Mr. Speaker, after hearing the testimony and evidence in committee and after sitting for 6 hours in conference, I hope this report will be agreed to by the House by an overwhelming majority. The report, incidentally, was unanimously adopted by the conference committee. We must win this war or lose everything.

[Here the gavel fell.]

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY].

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include some telegrams which I have received.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY]?

There was no objection.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, the House now has before it the conference report, which reconciles the differences in the House and Senate bills.

The principal issue involved in the pending motion is whether we shall require not less than 1 year's training for 18- and 19-year-old draftees.

This proposal is strongly opposed by our highest military and naval authorities, who regard it as a definite impediment to the most efficient use of our manpower. As General Marshall, the Chief of Staff of the Army, has pointed out, the required period of training to make a capable soldier varies with type of service he is to perform. I am sure we can count upon our military and naval leaders not to subject any man to combat duty until he has received the thorough training which is prescribed. I am willing to take General Marshall at his word when he said in a recent letter to the chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee:

Trust our judgment and our own insistence that we fight only with properly trained units, to see that each soldier has adequate training before he enters combat.

The period of training which a soldier is to be given is a matter which we can very properly leave to military men. It is not a matter on which Congress is qualified to lay down any definite ruling, to be applicable regardless of the actual requirements and without reference to different types of service.

In order to determine for myself just what the young men who are affected by the lowered draft age think of the limitation imposed by the Senate bill, I communicated with various educational institutions in my section. I have received replies from a number of representative students, all urging me to vote for the teen-age draft bill without any limiting amendments.

The following telegram is signed by the heads of several student organizations at Williams College:

WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS.,

November 7, 1942.

The Honorable ALLEN T. TREADWAY,

House Office Building:

May we assure you, Mr. TREADWAY, of our warmest support in your efforts to right the O'Daniel rider to the 18-19-year-old draft bill. Speaking for many young men who will be directly affected by the new act, we are convinced that American youth is willing to serve the Army unconditionally and does not want to be tied to Congress' apron strings. We wish to serve the armed forces of America in whatever place and in whatever branch our superior officers deem best. Your stand for an unconditional 18-19-year-old draft bill will be a direct contribution to victory for the United Nations.

GORHAM PHILLIPS,

President, Gargoyles.

FREDERICK S. NATHAN,

President, Williams Adelphic Union.

ROBERT B. KITTRIDGE,

President, Undergraduate Council.

GEORGE Y. NEHRBAS,

Editor in Chief, Williams Record.

CHARLES W. SCHLOSSER,

President, Williams Lecture Committee.

From the president of the student council at Amherst College I received the following telegram:

AMHERST, MASS., November 6, 1942.

HON. ALLEN T. TREADWAY,

Member of Congress:

The student council of Amherst College, representing 800 male undergraduates, urges the passage of the teen-age draft law without limiting amendments. We realize that we have a job to do, and we are anxious to get on with it. Any amendments hampering the free use of the country's manpower we believe will prolong the war and make our job more difficult.

THOMAS J. DONOGHUE,

President, Student Council,

Amherst College.

This telegram is from several students of the Deerfield Academy:

DEERFIELD, MASS., November 9, 1942.

Representative ALLEN T. TREADWAY,

House Office Building:

Strongly urge you vote against training amendment to 18-19-year-old draft bill. Believe settlement of this and related military matters should be left to discretion of responsible military leaders.

HLDRETH K. CHASE,

C. THURSTON CHASE, Jr.,

HELEN FERGUSON,

GORDON FERGUSON.

I also have a telegram from the adjutant of the American Legion in Massachusetts, reading as follows:

BOSTON, MASS., November 5, 1942.

ALLEN T. TREADWAY:

The American Legion, Department of Massachusetts, strongly opposed O'Daniel amendment to draft bill providing young inductees training for year.

COLEMAN C. CURRAN,

Department Adjutant.

Mr. Speaker, in supporting the conference report, I am but following the wishes of the young men who will be affected. I feel sure that the telegrams from which I have quoted are generally representative of the sentiment of the young men throughout my district.

The policy of whether we are to draft 18- and 19-year olds is not before us today, having already been decided in the affirmative by a decisive vote in both branches. The only question with which we are now concerned is whether we are to nullify largely that action by impos-

ing crippling amendments. I am glad to note that the conferees have agreed upon a report which eliminates the 12-month training limitation, and I am therefore supporting the adoption of the conference report. I do so with full confidence that not a single young man of 18 or 19 will be subjected to combat duty until he is thoroughly trained in the branch of the service in which he is to fight.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK].

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SHORT], in my opinion, made a very convincing argument as to why the proposed motion of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] should be defeated.

As I have said on previous occasions, one thing we must remember is that if we lose this war we lose our country. As the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SHORT] well said, we cannot follow our emotions, we must follow our calm, deliberate judgment as to what course under the circumstances is for the best interests of our country.

The motion proposed to be offered by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN], if adopted, would preclude flexibility on the part of our military leaders, a matter which is vitally important in the conduct of the war.

Within only the past few days we have witnessed an American expeditionary force moving into north Africa. We now know that for at least 3 months, under the cloak of necessary secrecy, these plans were being made, and under the cloak of necessary secrecy it was agreed that General Eisenhower should be designated as the commander in chief of the United Forces in western Europe and in northern Africa. If that matter had been debated in the open, as the question of unified command was debated during the World War, the probabilities are that no final action would have been taken.

The action of our troops in going into Africa and the fact that the preparation of the plans for this action covered at least 3 months show the necessity for leaving flexibility in the hands of our military and naval leaders.

I hope the motion proposed to be offered by the gentleman from Mississippi will be defeated and the conference report will be agreed to. It is absolutely essential that in war our military and naval leaders possess flexibility. The adoption of the amendment proposed to be offered by the gentleman from Mississippi would put into the law a rigidity which would be inconsistent with the best interests of our country.

REGULAR VETERANS ASSOCIATION,

Washington, D. C., November 4, 1942.

The Honorable JOHN McCORMACK,

Majority Leader,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. McCORMACK: The Regular Veterans Association is genuinely opposed to the O'Daniel amendment to the teen-age draft bill.

We believe that 18- and 19-year-olds should be inducted and trained without delay, and as an old soldier I can tell you that military training will not hurt them.



The War Department must have a free hand in the conduct of this war and must be permitted to assign men to meet the requirements of the service.

It is generally recognized by military men that it is necessary and essential in certain phases of land warfare that soldiers be trained near the theater of action before going into combat.

The long stand on Bataan is a notable example of the soundness of this theory. Those men were trained in the Philippines for war in the Philippines. Officers and enlisted men trained here, in the States, and rushed to that theater of action could not possibly have done so well.

I have the highest confidence in our generals and in their ability. Not one of them wants to waste manpower. Far from it. They will not rush raw recruits into combat.

I hope, therefore, that the Congress will reject the O'Daniel amendment.

Most sincerely yours,

JACK KYLE,  
National Commander.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi moves to recommit the conference report to the committee of conference with instructions to the managers on the part of the House to accept the Senate amendment contained in section 7 with an amendment requiring that none of these 18- and 19-year-old boys drafted under this act shall be sent to foreign combat service until they have been given adequate training.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi) there were—ayes 40, noes 189.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were refused.

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to. A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein an address delivered by my colleague the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] at the dedication of the new Army hospital at Temple, Tex.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas? There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein certain excerpts from newspaper reports.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Idaho? There was no objection.

[The matter referred to will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own re-

marks in the RECORD and include therein certain lists.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. SULLIVAN (at the request of Mr. RAMSPECK), for the week, on account of important business.

To Mr. STARNES of Alabama (at the request of Mr. SPARKMAN), indefinitely, on account of official business in his district.

To Mr. ELIOT of Massachusetts, for November 10 and 11, on account of serious illness in his immediate family.

To Mr. HOBBS (at the request of Mr. SPARKMAN), for 2 days, on account of official business in his district.

To Mr. PETERSON of Georgia (at the request of Mr. BROWN of Georgia), indefinitely, on account of illness in family.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I take this time, Mr. Speaker, to inquire of the majority leader if he can tell the House the program for the rest of this week and for next week also, if he has that available.

Mr. McCORMACK. There will be no business for the remainder of the week except such matters as can come up by unanimous consent, and there is nothing on the agenda for next week. It is the intention to adjourn today until tomorrow, because some Members want to make some remarks, tomorrow being Armistice Day. We will go over then until Thursday and adjourn from Thursday until Monday, and then if it is agreeable and unanimous consent can be obtained we will go from Monday to Thursday and then from Thursday until the following Monday of the next week.

Mr. CELLER. Is it the purpose of the leadership to call the Consent Calendar on Monday next?

Mr. McCORMACK. Yes. I am glad the gentleman called that to my attention. Outside of the call of the Consent Calendar on Monday next, there will be no other legislative business.

#### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. KIRWAN, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 5458. An act to amend the Organic Act of Alaska.

#### BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. KIRWAN, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee did on November 9, 1942, present

to the President, for his approval, bills of the House of the following titles:

H. R. 7491. An act to provide for the granting of rights-of-way for pipe lines for petroleum and petroleum products and for telephone and/or telegraph lines along and across certain parkway lands in the District of Columbia; and

H. R. 7621. An act to amend the District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Act.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 12 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, November 11, 1942, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DOWNS:

H. R. 7765. A bill to authorize the sale or transfer of property belonging to the Government for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. FULMER:

H. R. 7766. A bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 with respect to farm cotton acreage allotments; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. SOMERS of New York:

H. R. 7767. A bill to further the war effort by authorizing the substitution of other materials for strategic metals used in minor coinage, to authorize the forming of worn and uncurrent standard silver dollars into bars, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. BROOKS:

H. R. 7768. A bill to provide a uniform allowance for officers and warrant officers commissioned or appointed in the Army of the United States or any component thereof; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DOWNS:

H. R. 7769. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for Connecticut to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of Clara Mark; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SIKES:

H. R. 7770. A bill for the relief of Howard Morgan; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. PATRICK:

H. R. 7771. A bill authorizing the President to present a gold medal to Frank Loesser; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WHELCHER:

H. R. 7772. A bill for the relief of George Wesley Burns; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WHITTEN:

H. R. 7773. A bill for the relief of Robert H. Pulliam; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. THOMAS of Texas:

H. R. 7774. A bill for the relief of Raymond W. Baldwin and Mattie Baldwin; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 7775. A bill for the relief of Clement B. Baldwin; to the Committee on Claims.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

3413. By Mr. GRAHAM: Petition prepared by Mrs. S. R. McCleary, secretary of the



Woman's Society of Christian Service of New Castle, Lawrence County, Pa., and signed by 99 members of the society, requesting the passage of a statute making it a criminal offense for anyone to sell or have in their possession any beer or other intoxicating beverage on any military camp or reservation in the United States of America; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

3414. By Mr. MCGREGOR: Petition of Mrs. Clyde F. Adams and other members of the C. E. Memorial United Brethren Church, of Newark, Ohio, to prohibit the use and sale of beer and other alcoholic drinks in and around the camps of our armed forces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

3415. Also, petition of Mr. and Mrs. John Parker and other members of Advisory Council, No. 10, of Granville, Ohio, and vicinity, urging the time be changed back to eastern standard time for the convenience of the farmers; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures.

3416. By Mrs. NORTON: Petition of Multnomah Typographical Union, No. 58, Portland, Oreg., concerning working conditions at the Government Printing Office; to the Committee on Labor.

3417. Also, petition of Typographical Union No. 403, Tulsa, Okla., concerning labor relations in the Government Printing Office; to the Committee on Labor.

3418. Also, petition of Typographical Union No. 1, Indianapolis, Ind., pertaining to labor relations in the Government Printing Office; to the Committee on Labor.

3419. Also, petition of Typographical Union No. 10, Louisville, Ky., pertaining to labor relations in the Government Printing Office; to the Committee on Labor.

3420. Also, petition of Typographical Union No. 16, Chicago, Ill., pertaining to labor relations in the Government Printing Office; to the Committee on Labor.

3421. Also, petition of Typographical Union No. 128, South Bend, Ind., concerning labor

relations in the Government Printing Office; to the Committee on Labor.

3422. Also, petition of Typographical Union No. 80, Kansas City, Mo., concerning working conditions in the Government Printing Office; to the Committee on Labor.

3423. Also, petition of Typographical Union No. 430, Miami, Fla., concerning labor relations in the Government Printing Office; to the Committee on Labor.

3424. By Mr. STEARNS of New Hampshire: Petition of sundry citizens of Keene, N. H., urging opposition to the pending amendment to the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, restricting the use of the 18- and 19-year-old classes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

3425. Also, resolution of the commanders and adjutant of the Department of New Hampshire American Legion, urging opposition to the pending amendment to the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, restricting the use of the 18- and 19-year-old classes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

753.12





#### THE WAR AND LEADERSHIP—ADDRESS BY R. S. REYNOLDS

[Mr. BARKLEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the *RECORD* an address on the subject *The War and Leadership* delivered by R. S. Reynolds, president of the Reynolds Metal Co., to the Alabama State Chamber of Commerce at Birmingham, Ala., on October 15, 1942, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION—STATEMENT BY THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

[Mr. NORRIS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the *RECORD* a statement from the Department of Agriculture entitled "R. E. A. Systems in Sound Shape for War Effort," which appears in the Appendix.]

#### THE MANPOWER PROBLEM—STATEMENT BY GRENVILLE CLARK

[Mr. AUSTIN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the *RECORD* remarks of Grenville Clark for the Town Meeting of the Air, October 29, 1942, on the topic "How Must We Change Our Manpower Methods to Win the War?" which appears in the Appendix.]

#### DEFENSE OF THE CONGRESS—ARTICLE BY T. W. MERRYMAN

[Mr. GEORGE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the *RECORD* an editorial entitled "In Defense of the Congress of the United States," written by T. W. Merryman, president of the National Association of Master Plumbers, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### WARTIME CAR USE—STATEMENT BY RUSSELL E. SINGER

[Mr. BURTON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the *RECORD* a radio interview with Russell E. Singer, general manager of the American Automobile Association, on Wednesday, November 4, 1942, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### P. W. A. AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

[Mr. MAYBANK asked and obtained leave to have printed in the *RECORD* an editorial from the Washington Evening Star entitled "P. W. A. and National Defense" which appears in the Appendix.]

#### THE RECORD OF JOSEPH LEIB

[Mr. BRIDGES asked and obtained leave to have printed in the *RECORD* a statement relative to the record of Joseph Leib, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### CONDITIONS IN INDIA

[Mr. REYNOLDS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the *RECORD* an article, an editorial, and a letter relating to conditions in India, which appear in the Appendix.]

#### LESSON FROM THE ELECTION

[Mr. REYNOLDS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the *RECORD* an editorial entitled "A Lesson to Be Learned," written by Josephus Daniels, editor of the News and Observer of Raleigh, N. C., which appears in the Appendix.]

#### REDUCTION OF DRAFT AGE LIMIT—CON- FERENCE REPORT

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, I submit a conference report on House bill 7528, the bill to reduce the draft age limit, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will read the report.

The report was read as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R.

7528) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

"That so much of the first sentence of section 3 (a) of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, as precedes the first proviso is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 3. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this act, every male citizen of the United States, and every other male person residing in the United States, who is between the ages of eighteen and forty-five at the time fixed for his registration, shall be liable for training and service in the land or naval forces of the United States."

"SEC. 2. Section 5 (f) of such act, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(f) Any person eighteen or nineteen years of age who, while pursuing a course of instruction at a high school or similar institution of learning, is ordered to report for induction under this act during the last half of the academic year at such school or institution, shall, upon his request, have his induction under this act postponed until the end of such academic year."

"SEC. 3. Section 15 (a) of such act, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(a) The term "between the ages of eighteen and forty-five" shall refer to men who have attained the eighteenth anniversary of the day of their birth and who have not attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of their birth; and other terms designating different age groups shall be construed in a similar manner."

"SEC. 4. Section 5 of such act, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(i) Notwithstanding any other provisions of law, no person between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one shall be discharged from service in the land or naval forces of the United States while this act is in effect because such person entered such service without the consent of his parent or guardian.

"(j) No individual who has been convicted of any crime which may not be punished by death or by imprisonment for a term exceeding one year shall, by reason solely of such conviction, be relieved from liability for training and service under this act.

"(k) Every registrant found by a selective service local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2), to be necessary to and regularly engaged in an agricultural occupation or endeavor essential to the war effort, shall be deferred from training and service in the land and naval forces so long as he remains so engaged and until such time as a satisfactory replacement can be obtained: *Provided*, That should any such person leave such occupation or endeavor, except for induction into the land or naval forces under this act, his selective service local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2), shall reclassify such registrant in a class immediately available for military service, unless prior to leaving such occupation or endeavor he requests such local board to determine, and such local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2), determines, that it is in the best interest of the war effort for him to leave such occupation or endeavor for other work."

"SEC. 5. Section 3 (a) of such act, as amended, is amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof a colon and the following: *Provided further*,

That no man, without his consent, shall be inducted for training and service under this act after he has attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of his birth."

And the Senate agree to the same.

ROBT. R. REYNOLDS,  
ELBERT D. THOMAS,  
LISTER HILL,  
WARREN R. AUSTIN,  
CHAN GURNEY,

*Managers on the part of the Senate.*

A. J. MAY,  
R. E. THOMASON,  
DOW W. HARTER,  
W. G. ANDREWS,  
DEWEY SHORT,

*Managers on the part of the House.*

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. GURNEY obtained the floor.

Mr. GEORGE. Does the Senator from South Dakota intend to explain the conference report?

Mr. GURNEY. I intend to give an explanation at this time of the action of the conferees.

Mr. President, the conference report is in the nature of an amendment to the National Selective Training and Service Act of 1940. The conferees met Monday afternoon for about 3 hours, and again Tuesday morning for another 2 hours. I believe the conferees have given thorough consideration to every phase of the bill as it passed the House and as it passed the Senate. The report is filed with the unanimous consent and signatures of all the conferees.

The bill, as it passed the House, and the Senate amendment, sections 1 and 3, provided for extending the liability for training and service under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 to registrants of 18 and 19 years of age. The conference agreement makes no change in that respect. I may call to the attention of the Senate the fact that the conference report is printed, and there is a copy on the desk of each Senator.

Section 2 of the bill, as passed by the House, provided that, upon their request, certain registrants who were in attendance at high schools, colleges, or universities during the academic year 1942-43 might be deferred from training and service in the land and naval forces until the end of such academic year, but in no event later than July 1, 1943. The Senate amendment provided that registrants in attendance at high schools or similar institutions of learning might, upon their request, have their induction postponed until the end of the academic year if they were ordered to report for induction during the last half of the academic year. The conference agreement retains the Senate provision and makes it clear that it applies to persons who are 18 or 19 years of age when they are ordered to report for induction.

Section 4 of the bill as it passed the House, and of the Senate amendment, provided that no person between the ages of 18 and 21 should be discharged from service in the land or naval forces because he entered such service without the consent of his parent or guardian. The



conference agreement retains this provision.

Section 4 of the Senate amendment also contained a provision corresponding to section 6 of the House bill under which a conviction for certain crimes which were not felonies, or punishable by death or imprisonment for more than 1 year, was not to be used as a basis for relieving the person convicted from liability for training and service in the armed forces, or for rejecting him, if the local selective-service board determined that such person was morally fit for military service. The conference agreement provides that no person convicted of a crime not punishable by death or by imprisonment for more than 1 year should be relieved from such liability for training and service by reason solely of such conviction.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point the Army regulation affecting those who have been previously convicted by civil courts, and outlining their status should they apply or should the local selective service board order their induction at this time. This is desirable information to have, because I am sure every Member of Congress has at one time or another had brought to his attention some specific case in his own State of some person seeking to get into the armed services and not knowing the regulations under which he could enter.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from South Dakota?

There being no objection, the regulation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Change to paragraph 7b, Army Regulations 615-500:

b (1) Registrants who have previously been discharged from the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard with a form of discharge certificate other than honorable or who were discharged under the provisions of section VIII, Army Regulations 615-360 or the equivalent regulations in the other armed services are acceptable for induction only in meritorious cases specifically approved in each instance by The Adjutant General.

(2) (a) Registrants undergoing confinement as a result of one conviction for the heinous crimes of treason, murder, rape, kidnapping, arson, sodomy, pandering, any crime involving sex perversion, or for any illegal dealing in narcotics or other habit-forming drugs will neither be considered nor accepted for induction under any circumstances.

(b) Registrants convicted of any of the foregoing crimes, but who have been discharged, released on parole, conditional release, placed on probation or suspended sentence for at least 6 months may be accepted for induction in especially meritorious cases specifically approved in each instance by the commanding general of a service command or department prior to the registrant being forwarded to a recruiting and induction station. An essential prerequisite to approval is determination of the time the individual has lived in a civilian community subsequent to his release from confinement, primarily that in this period his conduct has been above reproach and that the provisions of (4) and (6) below will be met.

(3) (a) Except for the offenses in (2) above, registrants who have been sentenced to and are undergoing confinement for a period in excess of 1 year may be approved for induction in individual cases specifically approved by the commanding general of a service command or department prior to the

registrant being forwarded to a recruiting and induction station. As an essential prerequisite to approval evidence must be presented by the Selective Service System and the appropriate parole authorities that the individual is regarded as fit for life in a civilian community; that regardless of acceptability to appropriate parole authorities that the individual is regarded as fit for life in a civilian community; that regardless of acceptability to the Army he is to be placed on parole, conditional release, or discharged contingent only upon development of an adequate means of livelihood; that having been so released he will not be again confined other than for violation of the parole, etc., or commission of another offense; that the provisions of (4) and (6) below will be met and a recommendation as to the period, if any, the individual should be observed in his home community prior to presentation for induction.

(b) Except for first offenders, registrants sentenced and confined as indicated in (3) (a) above and who have been in a civilian community on parole, conditional release, probation, or suspended sentence for at least 90 days may be forwarded for induction at the discretion of the Selective Service System, provided their conduct during this period in the civilian community has been above reproach and the provisions of (4) and (6) below are met, and provided further that if the Selective Service System desires to forward a man in this category for induction prior to the 90-day period cited above a waiver may be requested from the commanding general of a service command or department. First offenders are equally subject to the foregoing stipulations except that their period in the community without a waiver from the commanding general of a service command or department shall be limited to 30 days.

(4) Regardless of the offense committed, registrants who are found to be in frequent difficulty with the law-enforcement authorities, who have displayed criminal tendencies or traits of character which would render them unfit or undesirable associates of enlisted men; or whose records indicate a long history of antisocial behavior; or who are otherwise of questionable reputation or moral character will not be accepted for induction. However, in instances regarded by the Selective Service System as exceptional, individual cases may be forwarded to the commanding general of a service command or department for decision prior to forwarding for induction.

(5) Registrants convicted of violation of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, will be accepted for induction at any time, provided the Attorney General of the United States has granted and subsequently suspended parole for the purpose of induction.

(6) In all instances, including any not specifically mentioned above, involving the induction of men on parole, conditional release, probation, or suspended sentence, it is mandatory that the parole, conditional release, probation, or suspended sentence be either terminated or suspended for the period of military service, either with or without credit for such service. Prior to being forwarded for induction evidence of such suspension or termination will be mailed to the recruiting and induction station concerned by the Selective Service System together with an official copy of the military waiver when the latter is required by these regulations.

Prior waivers are required for moral fitness only as prescribed in (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), and (6) above. In all other cases registrants will be forwarded to recruiting and induction stations on the judgment of the Selective Service System. However, a registrant will be rejected when the commanding officer of a recruiting and induction station determines that the waivers prescribed herein are

required and have not been furnished. A letter report of the cause for the rejection will be submitted to the commanding general of the service command or department who will give similar advice to the appropriate State director of selective service.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. Do the regulations of the Army provide that if a man has been convicted of a felony, regardless of how long he has been imprisoned and regardless of anything else, he cannot be inducted into the service?

Mr. GURNEY. The Army's basic thought in this matter—and the regulations so read—is that if the civil authorities feel that a previously convicted criminal has been discharged from the corrective institution, and is thought suitable, first by the warden, then by the parole board, and then by the Governor, to live among civilians, he is suitable for service with the armed forces. That is the basic thought and is covered by the regulation.

Mr. CONNALLY. I understand that, but suppose a man is free and walking around like everyone else.

Mr. GURNEY. Then it would be possible for him to enlist, or it would be possible for a local board to draft him, if his conviction was not for a major crime.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is the question I am trying to have answered. What is a major crime? Is any felony a major crime?

Mr. GURNEY. The regulation states definitely that no dealer in narcotics, such activity being a major crime, may be accepted. The Army does not want such a man among the soldiers. The regulation also lists kidnapping, and other offenses which we all know are major crimes. If the civil authorities feel that a man can resume his life, that he is a reformed person, and that it is all right for him to live among the people of his community, it is all right for him to serve in the Army.

Mr. CONNALLY. That policy has not heretofore been followed by the War Department. Has it not rejected all those who have been convicted of crimes?

Mr. GURNEY. Certainly there is a more liberal attitude on the part of the Army now than there has been, and it is so stated in the regulations.

Section 5 of the Senate amendment provided for the deferment from training and service in the land and naval forces of persons found by the selective service local boards to be regularly engaged in an agricultural occupation or endeavor essential to the war effort, and also provided for making any persons who left such an occupation or endeavor immediately available for military service unless, prior to leaving the selective service local board determined that it was in the best interest of the war effort for him to leave for other work. There was no corresponding provision in the bill as it passed the House. The conference agreement retains the Senate provision with clarifying changes, and makes such deferment applicable to men found by the local boards to be necessary to and reg-



ularly engaged in such agricultural occupations and endeavors.

I may say that the only change made by the conferees was to add four words, "to be necessary to."

Section 6 of the Senate amendment provided that no man should be inducted for training and service after he reached the age of 45. That was the amendment offered by the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER]. There was no corresponding provision in the House bill. The conference agreement retains the Senate provision with the qualification that induction of men of 45 shall not take place "without their consent."

Section 5 of the House bill contained a provision that no person who had been deferred from training and service should be inducted prior to induction of "all persons within the same State who have been placed in categories made subject to induction prior to the category in which such person has been placed." There was no corresponding provision in the Senate amendment. The conference agreement eliminates this provision of the House bill.

Section 7 of the Senate amendment provided that no person under 20 years of age who was inducted should be placed in actual combat duty beyond the territorial boundaries of the United States until after he had at least 1 year's military training following his induction. There was no corresponding provision in the House bill. The conference agreement eliminates the Senate provision.

Mr. President, I ask that the conference report be agreed to.

Mr. OVERTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. OVERTON. I did not exactly understand what the Senator said about the Ellender amendment.

Mr. GURNEY. No change was made in the Ellender amendment except that if a man passes 45 years of age while he is still a registrant, and has not yet been called, he can either get in or stay out, whichever he wishes.

Mr. OVERTON. I thank the Senator.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, the Senate-House Conference Committee has eliminated from the teen-age draft bill the Senate amendment providing that these youths be given 1 year's military training before being placed in foreign combat duty.

I voted for the teen-age draft bill with the amendment, and I shall also vote for it without the amendment, solely because our Commander in Chief has requested the passage of this bill as a war measure. I intend to support all war legislation requested by him during this crisis, because the people of the Nation have selected him as our Commander in Chief and, as such, upon his shoulders rests the undivided responsibility of conducting this war.

The amendment was added in the Senate by the proper functioning of our legislative machinery, and I supported the bill with the amendment. The amendment was later eliminated in the conference committee by the proper functioning of our legislative machinery,

and inasmuch as I believe in our orderly democratic legislative system I shall support the bill with the amendment eliminated. The parliamentary situation is such that there is now no way for us to vote on reinstating the amendment which was stricken out by the conference committee. We are forced into the helpless position of either accepting the bill without the amendment or not accepting the bill at all.

I am sorry this situation prevails, but I have done everything I possibly could do to have my amendment retained in the bill.

Mr. President, I honestly believed that my amendment improved the bill, and I still believe that the bill would have provided the citizens of our Nation with assurance of a more thoroughly trained and better Army if my amendment had been retained.

I wish to state that my main reason for supporting the 1 year's training amendment was not, as proclaimed by some of our critics to be, on account of heart-string sympathy for the mothers of the teen-age boys. My sympathy goes equally to the mothers of all the boys and men in the service regardless of age, because I know that a mother's love for her son seldom diminishes as he grows older. To her he is always her boy, regardless of his age.

One of my main reasons for supporting the 1 year's training amendment was to strengthen our military forces, because surely nobody will dispute the fact that an army of fully trained soldiers is more protection to our Nation than an army of partially trained boys. I not only believe that our teen-age boys should have 1 year's training before going into foreign combat duty, but I believe that our soldiers of all ages should have at least that much training when they are to fight enemies who have, in most cases, had more training than that, and much actual experience in war.

In arriving at the proper minimum length of time of training a soldier should have, I relied upon the abundant testimony of some of our high-ranking Army officers, which was given before the Military Affairs Committee this year, and especially the testimony given last year when the military officers were trying to secure the enactment of legislation which would extend the training period from 12 months to 18 months. The argument and testimony of many military officers then was that 12 months was the minimum, and that the Selective Service Act should be amended so that our boys would have 18 months' training. If they needed 18 months' training during peacetime, when they had no enemies to fight, surely it is more important now during the war-time that they have even more military training before they are thrown into foreign combat duty against hordes of highly trained and long-experienced fighters.

Based on that testimony of many of our high-ranking generals, many Senators, including myself, agreed with them, and decided to strengthen their hands by writing into the law of the land the guarantee that they would have soldiers fully trained in accordance with their ideas. We were not opposing the views of the

generals of our Army. We were in perfect agreement with them. We not only agreed with them, but we put it down in black and white in our amendment, so that any of their subordinate officers who might now, or in the future, differ with them, would still be bound to obey the law, and thus respect the wishes of the high-ranking generals, and of the Senators who shared the same ideas.

Our Nation is a government of laws, not edicts of individuals, or at least it is supposed to be, according to the way I understand our Constitution. Generals may come and generals may go, but our laws go on forever. According to our form of government, our people have come to depend more on the law than they do on the promises of individuals who may be here today and gone tomorrow. I am a strong believer in the idea that it is the duty of the Congress to write definite laws to accomplish definite purposes, and not simply shift important problems to various Government departments by loosely worded and indefinite legislation, in the hope that those upon whom the duties are imposed may be able to read the mind of Congress and properly carry out the will of the elected representatives of the people.

Mr. President, I have the feeling that the widespread discussion of this amendment has been beneficial to our national war effort, because those in charge of the training must now realize that they alone will carry the full responsibility of properly training our teen-age boys. If these boys should be sent into foreign combat duty with less than 12 months' training and meet serious reverses, certainly no blame can be placed on any of the 39 Senators who voted my amendment into the bill for that amendment, if it had been retained in the bill, would have made such training mandatory.

Mr. President, there is another phase of this matter about which I should like to make a few observations at this time. I have noticed that in the fight against the amendment carried on by some of the press, radio, and public officials, the argument has been quite extensively used that Members of Congress are not military experts and should, therefore, not exercise their own judgment, but, instead, should enact legislation dealing with military matters exactly as dictated by our military experts. That kind of argument on the surface carries some weight with some people, but when carefully studied and properly analyzed it does not dovetail with our form of government. The same argument is used when tax matters are before Congress. It is said that Members of Congress are not tax experts; therefore, we should not rely on our own ideas, but should instead enact tax legislation as dictated by the Treasury Department. The same applies to labor legislation. It is asked, "What do the Members of Congress know about labor problems?" Therefore, we should not use our own judgment but should enact labor legislation as dictated by the experts in the Department of Labor. The same thing is true of our highly important agricultural problems, and other important problems which come



before this body. So that argument, carried to its logical conclusion, would result in eliminating the need of any Congress at all. That is a philosophy of government to which I am unable to subscribe. I welcome sound, constructive criticism, but that kind is not sound. I believe most of the Members of the Senate resent that kind of argument, and I believe most of the good people of our Nation resent it. I do not know of any of the Members of Congress who claim to be infallible; neither do we admit that any other public officials are infallible. We are all human and, therefore, subject to error. But until the majority of the people of this Nation, by their votes, change our form of government, I intend to carry on in accordance with the terms of our present Constitution. Regardless of any criticism, ridicule, and abuse which may be hurled at Congress, I intend honestly and conscientiously to do everything within my power to help retain our American form of democracy so that it may still be functioning when our millions of brave, fighting soldiers have won this war and return home.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I want to make a few brief remarks about what I consider to be the real damper on our war effort. The drafting of our teen-age boys was made necessary largely because of a so-called man shortage. This so-called man shortage has been created by labor leader racketeers selling jobs for money. The more jobs they sell the more money they make. They have therefore put two men at most every bench and at every desk where one man could better do the job. Restricting the length of the work-week creates more jobs for these labor leader racketeers to sell for money. They also force slow-down practices in factories which create more jobs for them to sell for money. It is terrible to think of this horrible situation existing while our brave soldiers are fighting on distant battlefields, many of them dying, because of lack of sufficient war weapons.

The shortage of war weapons exists because our production line is not producing to its maximum capacity because of the racketeering practices being carried on by the labor leader racketeers. While I am a true friend of the honest men who toil, and I believe that they, too, abhor the practices forced upon them by their racketeering leaders, yet it is well known that I am opposed to the tactics of these labor leader racketeers. Ever since I came to Congress I have been endeavoring to obtain the enactment of legislation which would outlaw some of their nefarious racketeering. I have introduced bills to outlaw force and violence in labor disputes, to abolish the 40-hour work-week, and to abolish the closed shop. Until that kind of legislation is enacted we will continue to encounter grave problems adversely affecting our successful prosecution of the war.

Mr. President, it is my belief that the next grave danger facing us is serious food shortage, which is being brought on, in part, by this 40-hour week creating more high salaried jobs, which have at-

tracted men from farms in such large numbers that our farm production has fallen off at an alarming rate, and will continue to decrease unless some prompt action is taken along this line to correct the situation. In this great land of plenty it is difficult to contemplate a serious food shortage. Nevertheless, it is staring us in the face right now. Rationing of some food commodities is now in effect, and food articles on grocers' shelves are rapidly diminishing.

Mr. President, I hope Congress will soon enact legislation which will curb the nefarious practices of labor leader racketeers which have slowed down and are still slowing down our whole war effort.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I have a word of comment relative to that portion of the conference report on the pending legislation which deals with the deferment of agricultural labor. That section, as set forth in the report of the conferees which is on the desks of Senators, reads as follows:

(k) Every registrant found by a selective service local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2), to be necessary to and regularly engaged in an agricultural occupation or endeavor essential to the war effort, shall be deferred from training and service in the land and naval forces so long as he remains so engaged and until such time as a satisfactory replacement can be obtained: *Provided*, That should any such person leave such occupation or endeavor, except for induction into the land or naval forces under this act, his selective service local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2), shall reclassify such registrant in a class immediately available for military service, unless prior to leaving such occupation or endeavor he requests such local board to determine, and such local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2), determines that it is in the best interest of the war effort for him to leave such occupation or endeavor for other work.

Mr. President, in the first place, I submit that that provision of the bill is inadequate to deal with the manpower problem. In the second place, it is unfair to the agricultural workers who would be frozen into their jobs by the proposed legislation.

I am sure there is no disagreement among Senators as to the necessity of carrying on essential farm operations. There is no failure on the part of any Senator to recognize the problem. We all desire to provide an adequate supply of labor to produce farm commodities which are necessary to the prosecution of the war effort of this country and of those associated with us in the war.

In the first place, the approach which the proposed legislation makes fails to take cognizance of the nature and character of the manpower problem. I believe it to be a fact that the administrative machinery of the Government has too long neglected the problem of manpower. In my judgment there has been a grievous division of authority and responsibility among the agencies of the Government dealing with the problem. I am told that there are 28 agencies of the Government purporting to deal with the question of manpower. There is a section of the War Production Board which purports to deal with manpower. There

is a section of the Services of Supply in the Army purporting to deal with the same problem, independently of the War Production Board. There is the Manpower Commission, which has its own field and scope of operation, independent, in most activities, from the other agencies dealing with the subject.

The result is that the Federal Government has not comprehensively viewed the manpower problem and comprehensively dealt with it by setting up adequate and effective machinery to handle that problem. It can never be effectively dealt with until that is done. That is what ought to be done, rather than for the Congress to deal with a phase of the problem by legislative fiat. If the Congress is to lay down a policy with respect to manpower and the solution of the labor problem, surely Congress will not deal solely with agriculture, but with industry as well.

A subcommittee of the Senate Education and Labor Committee over which I have had the honor to preside has for weeks been hearing witnesses from almost every field of national endeavor on the acuteness of the manpower problem. We have heard those who told of industry's needs. We have heard representative members of draft boards who have come to tell about their problem, dealing with it with their limited authority and from their limited point of view. We have heard representatives of industry tell about their plight, and their inability to retain men in essential places in essential war industries.

There has been no machinery to enable them effectively to carry on the production of the most essential war goods and materials, whether they be engaged in tool making, the production of aircraft or tanks, the production of torpedo tubes for the Navy, or any other essential war activity which I might mention. They find the national manpower policy totally inadequate to meet the manpower needs of the Nation, a division of governmental responsibility and a multiplication of Federal agencies to deal with the problem, and a muddled philosophy behind the agencies which do exist.

The situation became so bad that a few days ago I believe it was almost assumed throughout the country—and perhaps also in the Congress—that some executive fiat was to be issued chaining every man to his job, or giving some man or agency the power to direct American citizens into involuntary servitude for the profit of their fellow citizens.

In this investigation we actually found, as was testified by the medical head of Mr. Kaiser's group hospital unit, that the medical association's representative in the State of Washington told the doctors in that hospital, which was giving medical care and attention to the employees of Mr. Kaiser's company engaged exclusively in war work, that if they attended the wives and children of the workers he would see to it that those doctors were taken into the Army through the machinery of the Selective Service.

Mr. President, some grievous things have been disclosed to the committee by witnesses from various parts of the coun-



try. In some of our Southern States, which already had a gross inadequacy of doctors—sometimes as few as one doctor to more than 4,000 people—a weighted quota was established by the American Medical Association. In South Carolina that quota was exceeded by voluntary enlistment, which was permitted, and by coercive practices, to the extent of 170 percent. In other States the quota was exceeded to the extent of more than 200 percent, until a part of the civilian population was deprived of medical care, to become the victim of any epidemic which might happen to come along.

In spite of the fact that tuberculosis is increasing as an incident of the war, there has been no increase in facilities; and although Dr. Parran testified that he had recommended the establishment of 290 hospitals to take care of the 5,000,000 migratory war workers coming as an additional burden to the several communities of this country, only 218 were approved, only 51 are under construction, and only 2 have been built.

So the record is that the manpower problem has been muddled administratively. Now we propose to muddle it legislatively. It has been dealt with in part when it could not be comprehensively dealt with in that manner; and now we propose to cure administrative deficiency by legislative inadequacy.

So what have we done, Mr. President? We have been asked to freeze agricultural workers into necessary jobs by Congressional enactment. Whose opinion is to govern? That of the national deferment boards, which have the whole picture, industrially and agriculturally, and from the point of view and perspective of transportation and service? No. Subject to a national agency which has the whole picture? No. We are asked to say that the local selective service board, which at best has only the perspective of a small area and a relatively small interest compared to the whole Nation, shall be called upon to determine whether a man is engaged in necessary agricultural activity, and whether or not he is irreplaceable.

Mr. President, from the viewpoint of the Nation, that is an inadequate approach to the manpower problem. The only way the problem can possibly be dealt with effectively is by having, in the first place, an effective coordination of all war activities under an essential authority so that it shall still be within a single source of power; and, secondly, a correlation and coordination of the whole civilian war effort.

On the contrary, the structure is so loosely knit, and there is so much lost motion in its operation, that we have overlapping of authority, conflict of power, inadequacy of point of view in certain agencies, and in many places a shortage of critical war materials which results in available labor and hungry machines standing idle.

Today, my distinguished friend from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL] condemned all labor. I think it may be fairly said that he did so without factual justification. It was testified before our committee by the vice president of the Steel Workers' Union that the average workweek of the

steel worker was only 37 hours, due to a shortage of material in that industry.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. O'DANIEL. I should like to correct the statement of the able Senator from Florida. The Senator from Texas did not condemn all labor. He was merely referring to a few labor leader racketeers. I have the utmost respect for the laboring people of this Nation. I come from that class of people, and I believe they are doing a commendable job. They are working to the extent to which they are privileged to work, and they would like to work much longer.

Mr. PEPPER. I thank the able Senator. I am sure he would not want his remarks to be understood by anyone as being a blanket condemnation of all men who belong to unions, or who are engaged in war work as laborers. Unfortunately, in all categories—in political and professional life, as well as in the realm of agriculture and industry—there are those who "soldier" on the job or take advantage of and pervert their powers.

However, Mr. President, what I was saying was that in many instances we have not controlled the flow of raw materials so as to give work to the labor which is available. In many instances we have not sufficiently utilized the manpower which we have throughout the country.

A few days ago a man testified before the committee that when the President visited a certain airplane factory in the South, some bombers were brought in to give the impression that they had been manufactured in that factory, and when he left the bombers were returned to the place from which they had been borrowed to make a showing. Affidavits were presented to the committee from workers in that factory. In one affidavit a man stated that he had been on the job for 50 days, but that he had not been at work more than 6 hours because there was inadequacy of planning and ineffective utilization of the willing labor already on the job.

Mr. President, there is no more crucial problem facing the country or the world than the problem of dealing with manpower. As I have said, a few days ago it was almost assumed in Washington that the next day, or the day thereafter, there would be a proposal to the Congress to pass some compulsory or coercive act, and give to some person or agency the power to put the finger of compulsion on any American citizen. Mr. President, at some time the war may make demands upon us which will require the enactment of authority to require compliance on the part of those who are delinquent and derelict in duty and patriotism; but the record certainly establishes that today the fault lies not in the unwillingness of the citizenry of America to work but in the lack of intelligent planning and use of their willing and voluntary effort.

In the matter of agriculture it has been testified before the committee that two-thirds of the farm workers of the country produce only one-third of the agricultural output of the Nation in dollar value and volume. So if we freeze

a workman in his job on the farm we may freeze him in a nonessential agricultural occupation to grow some commodity which we can do without. At the same time, we may be freezing him into a job in which, in the nature of things, he cannot contribute what he should be contributing to the national productive effort of agriculture. That shows the fallacy and error of freezing a man into the job he has, without regard to whether it is the place where he can best serve, or where he prefers to serve his country.

What about the individual, Mr. President? It is not necessary to tell Members of the Senate that agricultural labor is the lowest-paid group of our employees. Yet by this legislation they are chained to their jobs and denied the opportunity the industrial worker has to better himself by taking a better job. There may be in a given community a little factory paying an inadequate wage to its workers, but any one of its workers, hearing of a better job, can pick up and go to that employment without anybody restraining him from doing so. If, however, he happens to be a farm worker, instead of working in the little factory, the local selective service board will put him in the Army, if he dares to try to get a better job or more pay.

Mr. President, I wonder if the Congress desires to impose such a restraint and to deny equality of opportunity to the men and the women who work on the farms, particularly to the men who are eligible for selective service in this country. Are they, in the national interest for the duration of the war, to be condemned to an inadequate wage, when they do not generally have a War Labor Board to protect them, when they do not have a union to make their collective bargaining plea effective? We know that agricultural workers have not been effectively organized. A little worker on a little farm or a little worker on a big farm will come tripping up by himself, if he comes at all, to ask that he be allowed to better himself; but can the draft boards give him authority to do it and carry out the spirit of this legislation? No. There is not anything in the measure about his being allowed to better himself. We just "freeze" him and chain him to his job, although, in one part of the country or another, men on the farms today are working for less wage than any other respectable and honorable and essential part of the war effort. At least, Mr. President, if the worker is to be chained to his job on the farm, should there not be an obligation on somebody's part, the Economic Stabilization Director or some other appropriate agency, to see to it that he is fairly dealt with by his country which commandeers his service? No. All we do is to freeze him in the noncontributory position in which he may happen to be found.

Mind you, Mr. President, I said that two-thirds of the agricultural workers of America are so situated as to be able to contribute only one-third of the Nation's dollar value of agricultural produce. So we are, relatively speaking, freezing two-thirds of the manpower engaged upon the farms in the place where they are not serving to their maximum capacity. Sometimes it is due to the soil



upon which they work being poor; again it is due to the inadequacy of equipment because of lack of capital; sometimes it is due to bad management or it may be due to one of many causes, but the fact is that agricultural labor, in too many cases, is not now being given its maximum opportunity to serve its country in the production of essential agricultural commodities.

I realize that at this stage of the consideration of this measure the Senate is not going to be disposed to send it back to conference or change its attitude exhibited in the past, but I felt that some comment might be appropriate to the Senate and some suggestion might be made that we are simply "freezing" maladjustment into permanence when we adopt a provision of this sort. I am sure that we want to be fair to the country as a whole that requires adequacy of planning and effectiveness of administration in respect to this difficult subject; I am sure we want to be fair to every man; but the Senate, when it adopts this conference report today, will have frozen the first class of workers to their jobs. That is a serious thing, Mr. President. Remember we are not freezing the proprietors on their farms; we are freezing essentially the employees who work for profit for men engaged in private enterprise. If it is fair for the farmer, is it not fair for the factory? Would we be willing to adopt it now as a national policy?

In the last few days the Labor Management Committee of the War Manpower Commission has made a report to the President which has attracted national attention. It considers this problem to be soluble on a basis of voluntary cooperation by the workers. The President himself has indicated that it was premature to consider the compulsion of manpower. Day after day Mr. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor; Mr. Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations; Mr. Luhrsen, of the railway executives, the heads of many of the principal unions of the Railway Brotherhoods, the heads of most of the C. I. O. unions, the head of the machinist union, and the head of the electrical workers' union have come before our committee, and have pleaded for the privilege of cooperation and not to be made the victim of compulsion by a national manpower policy which misunderstood the nature and the difficulty of the problem.

Now the Congress, in the face of all those recommendations, in the face of the sentiment of the people of this country, who want more intelligent and efficient administration and less cover-up bungling by coercive legislation—the Congress, I say, is today about to "freeze" the first class of laborers to their jobs.

I wonder, Mr. President, if Senators would not rather the matter be further considered than that that most significant step be taken by the Congress at this time when all these efforts are underway to find a solution of this problem?

Here in the Senate itself the Committee on Education and Labor has been considering the problem and has had hearings for several weeks, and, by the Truman committee a report has today

been filed or will be filed. A subcommittee of the Truman committee, headed by the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE], is studying the manpower problem. The Military Affairs Committee has several bills pertaining to the problem before it, and it, too, has had several hearings. So at least two regular committees and one special committee of the Senate are considering this difficult problem and trying to find a solution.

Then here a week or more ago, a Senator rises on the floor and offers this agricultural deferment freezing amendment. It is adopted on the floor. It is slightly modified in conference. We adopt it, if we do what it is recommended we shall do here today on the floor, without any consideration whatever of the question of adequately solving this problem without any coercion upon any class of our people.

So, Mr. President, while I favor drafting boys 18 and 19 years of age, and I favor the other features of the conference report, I very strenuously disagree with this provision relative to freezing agricultural labor in a way that does not meet the needs of the Nation, in a way that is unfair and unjust and discriminatory to men who are the victims of this legislative mismanagement of the problem which already has been so sadly dealt with by our Nation, though at war.

Therefore, Mr. President, I move that the Senate disagree to the conference report, for the purpose of instructing the conferees further to consider the provision I have just read, which is paragraph (k) of section 4, set out on page 2 of the conference report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LA FOLLETTE in the chair). The Chair will state the first motion of the Senator is not in order, since the question is stated in the affirmative. The objective sought by the Senator can be achieved by a majority of the Senate voting in the negative.

As to the Senator's second motion, the Chair will state that the House already has adopted the report and the conferees of the House have been discharged. Therefore, the motion would not be in order.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. PEPPER. The proper motion, then, would be that the Senate disagree to the conference report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. No. The Senator's objective, if he desires a rejection of the report, would be attained should a majority of the Senate vote against the motion which is stated in the affirmative, namely, that the conference report be agreed to. If the report were rejected, it would then be in order to make a motion for a further conference and to instruct the conferees.

Mr. PEPPER. Then it would be appropriate for the Senate, if it should choose to do so, to designate conferees and direct them to participate in a further conference and request a conference on the part of the House of Representatives?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Such a motion would be in order after a motion to ask for a further conference were agreed to and before the conferees were appointed. A motion would then be in order to instruct the Senate conferees.

Mr. PEPPER. In view of the statement of the parliamentary situation by the Chair, I will not be in a position to make any affirmative motion. I wish to say, however, that, upon that sole ground alone, I shall vote against the adoption of the conference report. I hope the conference report will not be adopted and that the Senate immediately after its failure to adopt it, should it fail to adopt it, will then take the necessary steps to call a further conference with the managers on the part of the House and give instructions to the Senate conferees that this provision either be deleted or that it be further considered by the conferees.

#### ADDITIONAL REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING THE NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM—MANPOWER (PT. 11 OF REPT. NO. 480)

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President, with reference to the remarks just made by the able Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER], I think that this is an opportune time to render to the Senate a report prepared by the Committee to Investigate Defense Contracts. In submitting the report to the Senate, I have a few comments I desire to make before I place the report before this body.

Several weeks ago a subcommittee was designated by the committee to study the manpower problem. That subcommittee, finding that open hearings would not get the best information, held executive hearings in order that all information might be made available. At the conclusion of those executive hearings a full and detailed report, with supporting data, was rendered to the full committee. The full committee directed that information and supporting data of a strategic and confidential nature be stricken from the report to be rendered to the Senate, and that the remainder of the report be submitted.

I should like to point out a few high lights of the report before filing it.

In the first place, the War Manpower Commission was created by Executive order on April 18 of this year, with the Federal Security Administrator as Chairman. Its task, as set forth in the order, was to—

Formulate plans and programs and establish basic national policies to assure the most effective mobilization and maximum utilization of manpower in the prosecution of the war; and issue such policy and operating directives as may be necessary thereto.

The President and the Congress expected and believed that the War Manpower Commission would complete its basic studies within a few months and that on the basis thereof it would formulate, at least, tentatively, the policies which its studies indicated should be established and would make recommendations designed to effectuate such policies. That was 7 months ago. The studies are incomplete, and no basic national manpower policy or program has been formulated.



The public knows there is a manpower problem, for every time one tries to hire a man he discovers its existence. We are sometimes prone to criticize the public and nongovernmental agencies for the existence of that manpower problem.

The formulation of such a policy is basic, and until it is formulated and tried out, it will be impossible to determine what if any legislation is necessary to effectuate it. Consequently, although the investigation being made by the subcommittee on manpower is not complete, and will continue, the subcommittee on manpower has rendered its report. The subcommittee is convinced that once a definite and clear-cut manpower policy which makes sense is announced to the public, and the cooperation of management, labor, and agriculture asked in its execution, such voluntary cooperation will be forthcoming in full measure from the overwhelming majority of the public.

When and if such voluntary cooperation falls short of making such a program fully effective, then Congress can and should provide for such compulsory compliance as is necessary, and only in the areas where it is necessary. The real strength of any program will always rest on patriotic, voluntary cooperation in making it effective. But it is futile to appeal for that kind of cooperation until a program is formulated.

It is the conclusion of the Subcommittee on Manpower that a basic manpower policy cannot be developed without covering the manpower requirements of the armed services, as well as those for war production and essential civilian work. The War Manpower Commission has been handicapped because it has had no voice whatever in determining the military manpower requirements or the rate at which they shall be met.

In an all-out war, a world-wide war, such as the one in which we are now engaged, which is the first one of its kind in which we have ever participated, the Nation becomes an integrated industry. There are really only two efforts. One is the military effort, which includes the governmental agencies necessary to carry on the war. The other is the civilian effort, which furnishes the supplies for carrying on the war, and for the subsistence of the civilians. Everything else comes within the luxury class. The two programs, the civilian effort and the military effort, must be completely coordinated, and each must work with full information of the other.

There are three variables which must be adjusted to our over-all manpower resources, including potential resources, before an effective over-all policy can be developed. One is the number of men to be taken for the armed services. A second is the amount of war production, and the manpower required to produce it, needed both to equip and supply our own forces, and to meet our commitments to our Allies. The third variable is the volume of manpower required to supply essential civilian needs. The Subcommittee on Manpower believes that the third variable can and should be cut down as far as is necessary to win the war, and that there is still considerable conversion slack in this item.

But even if we begin by stripping our civilian economy to the bone, it is apparent that the other two factors, military manpower and military production, must be adjusted to fit our maximum potential manpower. Otherwise, we are in danger of recruiting a huge fighting force and then finding that we have cut down industry manpower so much that it cannot produce equipment and supplies needed by that fighting force.

This means, first, that our general staff must check its war strategy plans, insofar as manpower and production requirements are concerned, against our total manpower resources to make sure that an efficient balance is achieved; and second, that the official or agency responsible for manpower mobilization must have some voice in and knowledge of these war requirements in order to do an effective job. To do this we must determine whether we are going to fight an offensive or a defensive war, because the materials needed are different. So far as possible we should determine where and when and who we are going to fight and adjust our production accordingly. It is more important to have the right number of men in the right places equipped and the necessary transport and supplies to maintain them there than it is to have huge reservoirs of men and materials available for an attempt to meet the enemy after he has chosen the fighting ground and has gained the advantage of the initiative.

Such matters relate to the highest war strategy, and the strictest possible secrecy consistent with providing the men and materials should be maintained. We do not desire to know what such plans are. I am sure the Congress, and no Member of it, desires to know; I am sure the Nation does not want to know what they are. But it does desire assurance that such plans have in fact been formulated and that the size of the armed forces and the quantities of war materials have been coordinated with such plans. For instance, the war in the Pacific area would require different equipment from one in the north African area and one in the Asiatic area would require still different equipment.

We must avoid any attempt to determine our military requirements solely by the number of males of military age who can pass the physical fitness tests or our production of the important items of war material by the quantity of basic material available for use. The Subcommittee on Manpower has examined many of the figures on such matters which have been made public and some which have been furnished to it confidentially for the purpose of determining whether there are any fundamental adjustments which will have to be made.

The subcommittee has two main recommendations to make:

1. In order to assure a sound basic approach to the problem, the Subcommittee on Manpower recommends that military manpower and war production plans be balanced against our over-all manpower resources, that a single head be made responsible for the manpower program and that this director know and have a voice in final determination of military and war production manpower demands.

2. In order to assure that withdrawals of men from industry for the armed forces will be made in orderly fashion and will result in the least injury to essential production, the Subcommittee on Manpower recommends:

A. That all recruiting by the armed services be stopped immediately. Volunteering should be permitted, but only with the approval of Selective Service and local manpower committees. The Selective Service System and manpower agency should fix the date when a volunteer is called to active duty dependent on the length of time it will take to replace the volunteer at his work, in those instances where the volunteer's immediate severance from his work would disrupt production. The Subcommittee on Manpower has been told of numerous instances where unrestricted recruiting has seriously disrupted production. The withdrawal of several million men from industry in the next year can be accomplished without extreme damage to production only if the withdrawals are planned carefully and keyed to a training program for replacement workers. That, in turn, can be done only if one agency controls the withdrawals.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KILGORE. I yield.

Mr. BURTON. Am I to understand that the subcommittee itself and the full committee are drawing a sharp distinction between the recruiting campaigns and enlistments, and am I correct in understanding that the recommendation is that the recruiting campaigns be discontinued?

Mr. KILGORE. Yes.

Mr. BURTON. That individuals be permitted to enlist if they desire to enlist?

Mr. KILGORE. The Senator is correct, but that the time of anyone's withdrawal from industry, if it is an essential industry, be effected at the date when he can be replaced, not to take a keyman out of a factory, even under voluntary enlistment, until another man can be put in his place.

Mr. BURTON. It would put an end to high-pressure methods, and would provide for enlistments based on the needs of the individual and of the country?

Mr. KILGORE. And with the desires of the individual governed and covered by the needs of the war industry.

B. Selective Service and the United States Employment Service should be closely coordinated to carry out an effective over-all manpower policy. Both agencies should be under control of the manpower agency, nationally, regionally, and in local areas. Local manpower committees, including representatives of management, labor, and agriculture, should be set up to assist in the manpower program and to help solve problems by voluntary cooperation wherever possible. Wherever possible, they should be given, subject to appropriate appeals, the determining voice in how to apply locally the basic national manpower policies.

C. Wherever critical labor shortages develop in a particular industry, as is now the case in dairy and livestock farming and copper mining, the powers of selective service should be used to keep existing workers in these industries. This can be done by a directive to local boards to defer those essential to the industry with provision that such deferment is to be revoked immediately if the men leave the industry and seek employment elsewhere, or when replacements are made available. This procedure is now being utilized to meet the labor problem on dairy and livestock farms and could be used in other critical situations, both local and national.



3. In order to facilitate the bringing of four to seven million new workers into the labor force, most of whom must be women, the Subcommittee on Manpower recommends:

A. All industry training programs should be stepped up; unskilled men who are physically and otherwise eligible for military service should be excluded from such training—which will require action by the Congress to eliminate the limit on National Youth Administration training—and all such training programs should be supervised and controlled by the manpower agency.

B. Expansion of nursery schools and programs for care of school-age children after school hours should be expanded rapidly, so as to make it possible for mothers to take jobs in industry. The effect on her husband's dependency status under Selective Service of a wife working also should be investigated, and if it is found that this is preventing any substantial number of women from working, changes should be made. A public campaign should be conducted to encourage women to enter industry in large numbers.

C. An aggressive campaign, through local manpower committees, should be undertaken to make hiring policies of employers conform to manpower policies, and to eliminate hiring prejudices of all kinds, whether because of age, sex, or race. The Subcommittee on Manpower believes that the key to solution of our manpower problem lies in proper hiring policies rather than in coercive measures applied to the individual employee. Therefore, if voluntary measures to direct hiring into the proper channels fail, the Subcommittee on Manpower would urge legislation giving the manpower agency greater control over the individual employee.

D. A similar campaign, coordinated with that on hiring, should be undertaken to induce employers in nonessential industries, particularly trade and service enterprises, to reduce their total employment by reducing the services performed and to replace men with women wherever possible. This could be implemented, if necessary, by Selective Service regulations making deferment of men in such industries more difficult regardless of dependency status.

E. State and Federal regulations which interfere with the employment of handicapped persons or those receiving public assistance should be suspended for the duration. An example is the regulation which requires a complete reinvestigation of a person now receiving old-age assistance if he takes employment and later wants again to receive assistance. Another example is State insurance and safety laws which make it impossible or prohibitive in cost to an employer to employ handicapped persons. If necessary, the Federal Government should assume the extra costs involved in employing such persons for the duration. Many State laws and regulations which prevented obtaining maximum transportation on highways already have been suspended for the duration.

F. Study should be given to the possibility of ordering those industries and services which are least connected with the war effort to reduce their activities and thereby to release labor.

Mr. BALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KILGORE. I yield.

Mr. BALL. I am interested in paragraph (C), and I believe it can stand underlining. I read from it:

The Subcommittee on Manpower believes that the key to solution of our manpower problem lies in proper hiring policies rather

than in coercive measures applied to the individual employee.

It seems to me that too much of the approach, particularly in manpower, too much of our regulation of industry, has gotten down to the smallest possible unit. It seems obvious to me that if we are to try to handle the manpower problem by taking every individual American, 60,000,000 of them, by the scruff of the neck and putting them where some bureau decides they belong, we will create a manpower problem in Government itself which it will be impossible to solve. The number of employees who would be required to handle the job on that kind of basis simply are not available. If we are to do the job we must attack it on the broad basis of seeing that, through proper hiring policies, through campaigns to eliminate men in nonessential industries and for the replacement of men by women. We should do the job in that way, rather than by getting down to the individual citizens.

Mr. KILGORE. The Senator from Minnesota is absolutely correct, and I thank him. The really voluntary and democratic approach to the matter is through the hiring of employees, as the Senator has said.

The fourth recommendation of the Subcommittee on Manpower is that in order to increase the productivity of our present labor force to the utmost:

A. A vigorous campaign should be instituted against absenteeism in industry, which in some fields is cutting production as much as 10 percent. This campaign should be tied in with the two urged above and should include a strong publicity drive. If necessary in some industries, revocation of selective-service deferments in cases of chronic absenteeism could be used to implement the policy.

I happen to know that in the coal fields absenteeism is cutting production in most of the mines. It is straight absenteeism, not due to sickness, but due to laying off.

B. Conferences should be arranged with labor and management and local and State officials to obtain suspension or revision of any work rules, contract provisions, trade practices or usages, or statutory provisions which act as a curb on production. Examples are some of the extremely short hauls between division points on railroads which under present contracts constitute a full day's work for the train crew, the limitation of soft coal miners to 35 hours per week, and the restrictions on most effective utilization of labor in the construction field in building trades contracts, which by minute assignment of certain work to certain crafts sometimes requires the services of three or four men to do a job that one could do more quickly alone.

C. The workweek should be lengthened to at least 48 hours wherever practicable and any additional overtime wages which are paid should be required to be paid in War bonds cashable only at the end of the war and to be used during the war only to pay Federal taxes. Suspending the 40-hour week in non-war industries, with the proviso that employers be permitted to pay overtime to the extent paid in 1942, should be studied as a possible answer to severe labor shortages in our civilian industries.

D. Labor hoarding should be stopped. Because of the difficulty of obtaining labor and because in cost-plus-fixed-fee contracts the extra cost is borne by the Government and is

no bar to the practice, many war contractors have employed men weeks and even months before they had work for them to do.

Mr. President, I personally saw 1 plant with 17,000 men on the pay roll and 12,000 workers. If that is not labor hoarding I do not know how it could be described.

The practice has been especially prevalent in the construction field, where in some cases it savors of racketeering. This not only wastes manpower, but has an extremely bad effect on public morale, undermining confidence in the whole war effort. The Subcommittee on Manpower believes that the most practical way to prevent this is for the Defense Plant Corporation and the contracting officers in the services to refuse to allow as reimbursable costs wages paid to labor which has not been used effectively. We strongly urge such action immediately by Defense Plant Corporation, the War and Navy Departments, Maritime Commission, and other governmental agencies.

E. Insofar as is possible, essential civilian production should be concentrated in those localities where there is large unemployment but which are unsuited for war contracts. New York City is an outstanding example of this sort of problem—

New York City has a gigantic labor pool with nothing to do; many other localities are in the same shape, while others have been overloaded with war factories—

and the War Production Board has plenty of power, through its control of priorities, to make it effective at once.

F. War production expansion should be planned so as to utilize or convert existing plants to the maximum possible, and new construction should be cut to the limit. Every time a new war plant is built, while an existing civilian plant is closed down for lack of orders, the manpower problem is complicated because the new plant requires a shift of workers, creating endless problems of housing, schools, and utilities and requiring the wasteful use of scarce materials and labor in new construction.

G. Relief employment on Work Projects Administration and similar programs should be cut drastically or eliminated entirely. Any person refusing to accept or continue work on a job he is capable of performing should be ineligible to receive any kind of relief or work relief.

H. The full skill and abilities of each worker should be absorbed. Easy jobs should be reserved for elder men and women. Students on vacation should be employed on seasonal jobs, particularly in agriculture, rather than being given permanent jobs for a temporary time. In every instance effort should be made to put the most able workers in the hardest jobs, providing a maximum of jobs to be filled by older women.

Mr. President, at this time I ask unanimous consent to file the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the report will be received and printed.

#### REDUCTION OF DRAFT AGE LIMIT—CONFERENCE REPORT

The Senate resumed the consideration of the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 7528) to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.



Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, on many occasions heretofore I have addressed the Senate, but certainly never before under such circumstances as I speak today. This hour finds the United States and almost all the other nations of the earth locked in a battle to the death. This hour finds the Army and Navy of the United States under the greatest test in their history. It finds our vast industrial system pitted against the factories of our enemies in turning out instruments of war on an unprecedented scale. And because the first year of war has taken its greatest toll of our naval forces, this hour finds the United States building the mightiest naval armada the world has ever seen—an armada which will decide whether we and our children shall continue to be able to pursue the way of life on which this great country has been built. That is why I feel that this is a most critical hour.

During the past few months, it has been difficult for all of us, even for those of us who are close to those who are directing the conduct of the war, to think clearly of what has happened. But for the past 20 years, as United States Secretary of Labor, as a long-time member of the Naval Affairs Committee of the Senate, and as a Member of the United States Senate, I have had a personal interest in the development of our armed forces during peacetime, and in their performance in the present war. Within the past few days I have had particular reason to recall to mind our country's preparation for war—or rather the lack of it—since the time of the last war.

It is ironical that this year, 1942, should go down in history as one of the bloodiest and most tragic in the history of our country, for I recall that the year 1942 was looked forward to by all the leaders of a generation ago as a landmark of a far different sort. Nineteen hundred and forty-two was to be the year when the ideal of peace by universal trust and universal disarmament reached its final culmination—the year when naval armaments were finally to reach stabilization on the basis of fixed ratios, as determined by the Washington Naval Treaty.

In the light of terrible headlines that have screamed at us from the Nation's newspapers, I have had reason to think back to those peaceful days. I find it hard to recall how logical our dreams of a friendly family of nations seemed in those days. We have learned since then so much in the bitter school of experience.

I think it will help us to understand what has happened and what is now happening to recall briefly something of this vanished age. Only by understanding what has gone before can we see present battles in their true perspective, and guard against repeating our former mistakes when this bloody war is over.

Let me go back to one crisp morning in November 1921, when I attended a meeting of the great naval powers of the world in old Continental Hall here in Washington. The big room was filled with black-coated diplomats and admirals and Army officers who were gathered to discuss a problem which loomed large in the minds not alone of the American people but of the people of the world, the prob-

lem of ending the naval armament race which threatened eventually to destroy the peace hard won 3 years before. The time for that meeting was picked with an eye to its dramatic value. Fresh in my mind that morning—and surely in the minds of many other delegates gathered in the hall—were the impressive ceremonies of the day before, Armistice Day 1921. On that Armistice Day, in my official capacity as Secretary of Labor, I had joined the long parade of vehicles and people that thronged over the Highway Bridge over the Potomac to Arlington Cemetery, where the grave of America's Unknown Soldier was dedicated. On that day the memories of the tragedy of the war of 1914–18 were fresh in the mind of everyone who saw and heard that ceremony.

So, at the naval conference the next morning there was not a delegate present who did not have a deep desire to avoid a repetition of that tragedy. It was then that the then Secretary of State, the Honorable Charles Evans Hughes, rose and made some of the most startling proposals which were ever suggested. They involved a sharp cut in the size of the world's great navies, equalizing those of Great Britain and the United States, and stabilizing that of Japan. But there was no dissenting as he spoke. Secretary Hughes drew not only tears, but cheers when he spoke with passion and feeling of the day when the principles of peace would again rule the world.

I remember that scene as if it were yesterday. When the Hughes proposals were finally adopted, the people of Great Britain and the United States hailed the action sincerely and enthusiastically as the final solution to the problem of recurring war. It is safe to say, however, that Japan sowed at that conference the seeds of treachery which bore fruit 22 years later at Pearl Harbor, at Singapore, in the Dutch East Indies, and in Burma. Great Britain gave up forever her traditional position as possessor of the greatest navy in the world. We abandoned a navy building program which would have put us, in the course of time, in the lead among the world's great naval powers. True, Japan agreed to accept a navy limited to 60 percent of those of Great Britain and the United States. But she used that concession, which she never expected to live up to in the first place, to wring from Great Britain and the United States still other advantages in her favor. We agreed not to fortify the islands in her vicinity, and we signed with Japan the Nine Power Treaty, agreeing to respect the integrity of China. All of this tended simply to allay the suspicions of the world's great democracies and to keep them from sending military power into the Orient until Japan herself was sufficiently powerful to launch a campaign of aggression and terror.

As the result of the Washington Treaty, the United States voluntarily sunk a mighty navy. She scrapped more than 842,000 tons of naval vessels built and building, including 19 battleships already built and 11 other capital ships under construction. Thus for world

peace we gave up more than any other power.

The Washington Naval Treaty looked like a magnificent forward step in world peace at that time. The only trouble was that Japan's concessions were only in the form of words, while those of the United States were in the form of great ships of the line reduced to hunks of useless steel on the scrap heap.

New difficulties arose rapidly; so in 1927 we tried again with another conference at Geneva, Switzerland. The first conference had failed to set a limit on the construction of any except capital ships. The conference at Geneva sought a formula to apply to cruisers, destroyers, and submarines. But no agreement could be reached, and the conference failed.

However, that same year—1927—a bill was passed authorizing the construction of 10 cruisers. In 1929, 15 additional cruisers were authorized. The London Conference reduced the number of cruisers to 18. We again deferred to Japan and Great Britain.

The result of the London conference was a treaty which limited the tonnage of smaller ships to a 5–5–3 ratio for Great Britain, the United States, and Japan, respectively. How Japan must have laughed. Already she was building with headlong speed for her attack on China. While all the rest of the civilized world hailed the London naval treaty as the climax of an era of aggression, as a milestone in the history of civilization, Japan laughed up her voluminous sleeve, for she knew that this treaty was the grave-stone of all our hopes.

The United States, meanwhile, was pursuing the path of peace. Not only had we led in pressing low limits for our own and other navies, but we did not then even avail ourselves of the right to build within those limits. We wanted to show the world an example of a great nation willing to put her trust in good will rather than in the sword. Between 1922 and 1932 Great Britain built 112 warships. Japan constructed no less than 126 announced vessels, besides those she was building secretly. She also fortified her possessions in the Pacific. She was building stepping stones for offensive action against America and Great Britain. But during the same 10-year period the United States laid down keels for only 36 vessels. At the same time we even supplied the iron and steel scrap and the rolling mills and other machinery with which our enemy Japan was building, and furnished her the oil to store up for future use against us. While Japan was storing up oil for her use she was complaining about the United States storing oil in Hawaii. I saw this happening, but I could do nothing but look futilely on and hope for the best.

In January 1932 Senator Hale of Maine, then chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, introduced Senate bill 51, authorizing the building up of the Navy to the strength permitted by the Washington and London naval treaties. This bill passed the Senate on May 6, 1932, but did not become a law, as the House of Representatives failed to pass it.



While we helped our enemies to build, the Navy of the United States—the world's greatest nation—dropped to a poor third place among the world's maritime powers.

In late 1931 the present World War in which we are now engaged began. This war began the day Japan marched into Manchuria that September. That was the first chapter in the new story of world violence and aggression. As a result of the Manchuria incident, bills were introduced and passed on to both Chambers of Congress by their Naval Affairs Committees to bring the Navy to full treaty strength. But the United States still looked the other way; the bills failed to pass.

I may say in passing that the present chairman of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH], who succeeded Senator Hale as chairman, gave his wholehearted support to the program of naval expansion, and he piloted through the Senate the 20 Percent Expansion Act of 1938, the 11 Percent Expansion Act of 1940, the Two-Ocean Navy Act of 1940, and many other recent acts. Today the authorized strength of our Navy is about five times the treaty strength.

Returning to my theme, when Senate bill 51 failed to pass the House, at that particular time in Germany a fanatical Hitler seized power. In Asia Japan continued to absorb Manchuria, heedless of the world's futile criticisms, unsupported by action. Finally, in the United States we realized that we must act and act swiftly. And we acted. On June 16, 1933, the President was authorized to allot money for the construction of vessels within the terms of the London Naval Treaty. Moving swiftly, we apportioned \$238,000,000 for the construction of 23 ships, including 2 aircraft carriers, 4 cruisers, 20 destroyers, and 4 submarines. During the next year further steps were taken. The Vinson-Trammell Act of March 1934 provided for the construction of other new cruisers and sufficient auxiliary ships to bring the Navy to treaty strength. Moreover, it gave legal sanction to the policy of replacing overage ships when they became too obsolete to be effective.

But this was no time to rest content with what we had done. Our "friends" in Europe and Asia were at work in earnest now. This, mind you, Mr. President, was in 1934, when we thought our greatest dangers were economic perils from within. We were at peace with Germany, Italy, and Japan. They were our friends. Our Government leaned over backward to avoid offending them. Yet, secretly, cloaked by America's naive conception of international friendship—something which simply did not exist—these powers were bending every effort to prepare for a mighty war to bring us to defeat. Germany had already begun construction of pocket battleships of the *Deutschland* class.

The Italian Government announced the construction of new battleships. In December, Japan gave formal notice that she would no longer be bound by the London and Washington agreements. Three months afterward, Germany

openly repudiated the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles and served notice that she was beginning to construct submarines.

Did we see in those small beginnings the great fleets of undersea raiders which were to send hundreds of American merchant ships to the bottom, together with the Americans aboard, or the German naval power that was to strike at Norway, at Britain, and at our own convoys, or Japan's immense naval power that was to reach its long tentacles as far as Hawaii and the Aleutians in the eastern Pacific, and was to envelop the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Malaya, and Burma to the south? Perhaps we did not grasp these dreadful portents, but we did go hard at work on 24 vessels under the Vinson plan. At the same time the Army was authorized to establish air bases on the Aleutian Islands.

We made one more pitiful attempt to salvage something from the ruins of the Washington Treaty. Late in 1935 a new naval conference was called in London. It met, ironically enough, on December 7, a day which 6 years later was to bring to a disastrous close the hopes of the United States for peace by disarmament. But by December 1935 the peoples of Germany and Italy and Japan had placed their destiny in the hands of men drunk with lust for power.

The conference was a failure; and the aggressor nations continued their plunder of the world. Italy turned her military machine loose against the almost defenseless natives of Ethiopia. Germany reoccupied the Rhineland. Germany and Italy cut their teeth on the war in Spain. Japan waged war on China proper, and finally the so-called antimintern pact was signed, and by it was born the monstrous Axis which was to menace civilization itself.

In March 1938 Japanese flyers gave us a preview of what was in store for us by bombing and sinking the United States gunboat *Panay* in the Yangtze River. Japan said, "So sorry." A year later German militarism swept over Austria.

Some of us here within our secure borders began to realize that this was all one war. We began to realize that the United States might indeed be in danger, fantastic as such a thought might seem. So in May 1938 Congress again took action. It passed a second Vinson Act, authorizing a 20-percent increase in the United States Navy and a further increase in the naval air force by 3,000 planes. I was on the Senate Naval Affairs Committee at that time, and it was with great gratification that I saw our Navy begin to acquire muscles—fighter's muscles, capable of throwing knockout punches.

Munich came and went.  
Czechoslovakia fell.

Finally on September 1, 1939, all Europe burst into flames.

Abruptly America opened its eyes to the possibility of those flames sweeping even to its own inviolable shores. In 1939 Congress pushed forward at a greatly accelerated pace, the preparedness program on land, sea, and air. We backed, to a man, the President's forceful declaration committing the Nation to de-

fend, at any cost, the territory and institutions of the New World.

The first consideration for the Senate Naval Affairs Committee was to build a Navy commensurate with the demands which it was feared might be imposed upon it. So immediately after the war broke out in Europe Congress passed the Eleven Percent Expansion Act and the Seventy Percent Expansion Act. These were followed by five other authorizations providing for a two-ocean Navy and a modern fleet of 3,750,000 tons.

Since then, and supplementing this vast increase, Congress has passed further bills authorizing construction of more than 3,000,000 additional tons. Of the 60,000-plane program for 1942 and the 125,000-plane program for 1943, the Navy is receiving a substantial allotment. Legislation passed only recently provided an additional sum of almost \$4,000,000,000 for naval aviation. Thus Congress has insured a Navy of almost 7,000,000 tons—a 5-ocean Navy—a Navy that will have adequate ships and planes of every type to secure the overwhelming superiority on the sea and in the air, which must be achieved to bring about the final and utter downfall of our enemies.

Mr. President, ships alone do not make a Navy, for ships are useless without the bases that furnish them their fuel, their food, and the ammunition with which to fight. So important are bases that under certain circumstances a single base may be worth a hundred ships. The United States recognized this, and recognized its own lack of bases all too well. So in 1940, one of the greatest forward steps in the development of American sea power was taken when we traded to Great Britain 50 over-age flush-deck World War destroyers in return for a ring of mighty bases, stretching from Newfoundland in the north to British Guiana in the south. In the words of the President, it was an "epochal and far-reaching act of preparation for continental defense in the face of grave danger."

Those bases have already proved vital safeguards of our chain of supplies to our out-posts in Iceland and Ireland, and to our English and Russian allies. They may well prove to be the saviors of the Panama Canal and a major aid in eliminating the submarine menace which has threatened our coastal lifelines.

So far, I have talked mainly of the Navy because the Navy was the first consideration, our first line of defense. But at the same time the Navy was growing in strength, factories from one end of the country to the other were being built or converted to the production of planes, tanks, and guns for the waging of land warfare on a scale never before conceived in our history.

I have described the battle for American naval and military supremacy on land, on sea, and in the air as I have seen it fought and won in the halls of Congress during the past decade.

I have reason to remember that battle, for I followed every phase of it personally, for the Washington Disarmament Conference in 1921 to the most recent arms appropriation. My only hope



is that this intimate personal experience may help me better to judge the steps that must be taken in the future.

So far I have spoken of a Navy that existed largely as an instrument of national policy. It was conceived by most people to be a force that was to ride the waves, close to American shores, in one ocean or the other, and by the mere existence of its ships, planes, and guns, was to leave Hitler and Yamamoto shaking in their boots.

But what of that Navy in action? What of our ships and men on the high seas, facing murderous salvos from below the horizon, facing streaking torpedoes from hidden submarines, facing screaming bombs from the death-laden skies overhead? What of this Navy, created in the halls of Congress, when it finally came within gun range or plane range of the Germans and the Japanese? Let me take a few moments to trace the world-shaking events of the first year of the greatest war in which we have ever been engaged.

War actually began for the United States on September 4, 1941, when our destroyer *Greer*, carrying mail and supplies to Iceland, detected a German submarine lurking ahead in waters vital to American defense. The *Greer* forged ahead nevertheless, and when within range of the submarine saw two torpedoes streaking toward it. The *Greer* avoided the two torpedoes and counter-attacked with depth charges. From that incident forward the Navy was ordered to "shoot on sight."

On the inky night of October 16, the war was brought home in earnest to the Navy. The destroyer *Kearny*, answering a call from a convoy attacked by a pack of U-boats, was torpedoed without warning at close range. Eleven men lost their lives in the explosion, and the entire ship would have been lost had she not been one of the newest design, with compartmentation which kept her afloat until she could be repaired. Two weeks later to the day the most savage blow of all was struck. Steaming alone south and west of Iceland, the 21-year-old destroyer *Reuben James* was struck without warning by an enemy torpedo. She had none of the advantages that were built into the *Kearny*. Her entire forward half exploded and sank at once, taking 100 officers and men with it.

This, mind you, was when we were still at peace. No war had been declared between our Government and that of Germany. Yet Germany had struck treacherously and savagely; and the water-soaked bodies of scores of brave American sailors were the price paid for America's boast that war could be kept from her shores by simple faith in honor between nations. It seems incredible now that so many people in this great land could be numb to the fires of aggression that were licking at our shores. And yet people said it was 1917 all over again. Some destroyers were lost in the stormy Atlantic transporting goods to England. That was all. This was a little backyard squabble which we could win with our left hand.

Then it came.

December 7, 1941. On that day the United States of America was hurled by an act of perfidious treachery into the greatest war the world has ever seen—a war not on one ocean, or on two, but on the seven seas of the earth; a war not in one country or on one continent, but on all the continents of the globe; a war which has already cost the United States Navy more lives than all the previous wars in its history, and which has cost the United States Army more casualties—killed, wounded, or missing—than the total number of American soldiers killed in action in World War No. 1.

This was the reply of the peoples we had trusted. This was the price we paid for heeding their solemn entreaties to discuss peace. Only then did we of the United States—believers in human decency and the fraternity of man—believe that civilized people could use peace agreements to build for war. We were still talking peace in the light of amity and trust when the Japanese planes roared out of the darkness of night to rain death and destruction on American soil.

What vile act can any man commit than complete degradation of professed friendship? To this very hour the fiends are exhibiting the same inhuman treachery they displayed on December 7. Time and time again in the Solomon Islands they have displayed the white flag of truce, which has been recognized and honored by fighting men since the beginning of human warfare, and they have used that flag as a means of drawing American forces into death traps. Vermin capable of such fiendish desecration of human decency must be exterminated from the face of the earth.

Mr. President, after that first stunning blow, through the bleak and dragging weeks of December and January and even into February and March, the Navy was the target for endless storms of the most acrimonious criticism—criticism from the man in the street, from the Nation's press, and even from some Members of Congress itself. But I think we realize now that all that criticism was the result of a great and foolish error—the underestimation of Japan and the lack of realization of the gigantic scale of this global war.

Americans are unaccustomed to the bitter gall of defeat. It is no wonder that many were unnerved by the steady succession of bad news and failed to see the picture clearly. Let me tell you, though, Mr. President, that I personally did not rail at the Navy with fruitless gibes during those dark hours. Perhaps this was because my own son was seeing active service on the high seas; but I like to think it was because, as a member of long standing of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee, I knew what we were up against in a war with the Empire of Japan. I had seen them buy our rolling mills and scrap to make their steel; and every time a bill for our own naval expansion came up we had to consider the rumors of our potential enemy's secret building program. I knew that, magnificent as our Navy might be, we could not

defeat Japan in 2 weeks or 2 months, and perhaps not in 2 years.

I knew that because I could see that, with Pearl Harbor, we had been plunged into a war for which there was no precedent in all history. This was global war—a new concept. To land on the enemy's coasts, against murderous fire—the most difficult of all military operations—to fight on every continent and every island of the world, to win control of those lands and of the air above them—this was the Army's responsibility. To win complete control of every foot of every sea the world around, and to control every foot of the skies above those seas—this was the Navy's responsibility. But it was the Navy's responsibility, as well, to see that every man and every scrap of material destined to carry on the fight on land reached their destination safely, and to maintain constant streams of supplies to American outposts the world around. To build up new bases from trackless jungle, to design and rush the completion of new ships by the thousands, to recruit and train 30,000 pilots and hundreds of thousands of officers and seamen each year, and to protect every inch of the 16,000 miles of coastline of the United States and her possessions—these, too, were the Navy's responsibilities. This, indeed, was a task without precedent in the history of war.

But, it may be asked, What is the point of talking about responsibilities? The acid test, the only test, is in actual results. How have we come out in the actual engagements? Very well, let us count off those engagements. Let us mark them up on the scoreboard of history.

Pearl Harbor: A stunning, crushing blow which failed in its prime purpose, which was to cripple forever our Pacific sea power, but which nevertheless must be classed as a tragic defeat.

Macassar Straits: A surprise sortie, in which a daring force of United States destroyers cut into a huge Japanese convoy, sinking five transports and throwing the escorting warships into complete confusion before our forces dashed away unscathed.

The Gilbert and Marshall Islands raids: Surprise blows of reprisal for Pearl Harbor, brilliantly conceived and executed.

The Coral Sea: Although we lost the *Lexington*, this 5-day battle was the first major set-back of the Japanese in their march of aggression in the South Pacific. We sank or crippled no less than 20 Japanese ships—a victory that set the Japs back 2 months in their anticipated assault against Australia.

Midway: The most significant, the most glorious triumph of the war in the Pacific—4 Japanese carriers sunk, with at least 275 planes destroyed, together with their crews; 2 or 3 battleships damaged, one severely; 2 cruisers sunk, and 4 more damaged; 3, and possibly 4, destroyers sunk, a blow from which Japan will never fully recover. We did not realize the enormous importance of the Battle of Midway when the results were first announced, but we realize today that the Japanese Fleet which was stopped



was no mere raiding task force. It was a major invasion fleet whose destination was not the sandy little scrap of land that is Midway, but was Hawaii itself. The Battle of Midway can be compared only to the Battle of Salamis; which saved ancient Greece from an alien invasion; or, in our own history, it might be compared to the taking of Ticonderoga and the turning back of Britain's invasion fleet on Lake Champlain in the Revolutionary War. That engagement, while seemingly no tremendous victory in itself, not only saved our struggling Colonial government from immediate annihilation at the hands of a stronger British force but made possible the later triumph at Saratoga, which was the true and final decisive battle of the war.

The Solomons: The battle for the Solomons marked the beginning of our offensive in the Pacific. The cost to us in ships and men has been severe, but so long as the gallant marines and soldiers hold our positions there, and the naval vessels and Army bombers continue to make it possible for them to hold, the Battle of the Solomons must be marked on the scoreboard of history as an American success.

These have been the major fighting engagements at sea, and I ask the Senate to look at the score. Five spectacular successes to two set-backs—five victories as against two defeats. And this score, mind you, Mr. President, does not take into consideration the damage inflicted by those other two intrepid sea services, the submarines and the motor torpedo boats. Let us not forget to pay tribute to them. Working alone and against tremendous odds, they have added scores of sinkings to our toll.

On land, it is no secret that this first year of war has been a year of tragic and bloody defeats. But in those defeats there was glory, for to the tradition of America they added exploits of individual heroism that are unsurpassed. We lost Wake Island, but we gained an example of fearlessness that will leave men misty-eyed so long as they can remember. We lost Bataan, but we gained a spectacle of dogged last-ditch courage against fearful odds that will live in our hearts beside the Alamo.

In land warfare, this has been a year of preparation. It has been a year in which to complete our vast training camps, to pour forth arms and uniforms and equipment to supply our soldiers—a year in which to train officers and get our Selective Service machinery running smoothly, and build up nuclei for new kinds of fighting groups. It has been a year in which to turn freedom-loving civilians into fighting men, capable of meeting and defeating the enemy wherever he may be.

The results of this year's work will be seen in next year's headlines.

Every Member of the Senate must feel the tension of this moment. This is the turning point. This is the crucial and precious moment which will decide whether America is worthy to continue enjoying the freedom which she has always held dear. America's appointment with destiny is here. Will we meet it? The demands of war have reached out to

envelop all of us. There is probably not a family in America that has not been affected by the war in many ways during this first fateful year. But the time has now come when the demands of the war reach out to all Americans. The time has come when our youth—our lads of 18 and 19 years of age—must go forth to fight for the world they will live in. It is no longer enough for us to give up our pleasure driving, give up our five cups of coffee a day, our meat 7 days a week, our scrap for the steel mills, and our money for War bonds. Now we must give our sons. My boy is already serving his country on a warship on the high seas, as are the sons of countless thousands of other families throughout the land. The time has come when they must now be joined by their former schoolmates and companions in the one great fight against the powers of oppression.

I do not say these things without the most deliberate thought. I am one of those who opposed the peacetime Selective Service Act when it was first proposed. I think to this day that the difference of opinion on that first draft bill was justified because of the conditions in the country at that time. I knew then that our Government was burdened with the support of a great body of unemployed—able-bodied unemployed—from which, I believed, the Army would be able to recruit voluntarily a skeleton organization. Then when the exigencies of war or national defense made it necessary, it seemed to me that it would be possible to build a citizen army around this nucleus. I was not against the draft per se. I simply believed that we could approach the problem by a different means.

But I want to stress that, although I voted against the peacetime draft, I now say that it is absolutely essential for the security of our country and the winning of this war that all available young men between 18 and 20 years of age be inducted into the United States Army for training immediately, without delay.

Let me state why it is necessary. This is not a war of physical brawn, in which the winning or the losing depends upon the muscles of a warrior swinging a battle ax or broadsword. This is a war of machines; of speed and power and precision; of stamina and coordination. This is a war of machines, and it must be fought by youths who have grown up with machines, and who have lived with machines since their babyhood. It takes a young man to shoot straight and true in a tank speeding and bouncing over rough terrain at 40 miles an hour. It takes a young man to stand the terrific beating dealt out by a roaring motor torpedo boat. It takes a young man to win a modern aerial dog fight. In today's air warfare, a flyer's life depends on his ability to make decisions in one-seventy-fifth of a second, spitting hot lead into the plane in front of his sights, while he eludes the enemy plane on his tail, streaking through the air all the while at the speed of a bullet. This is no game for the men of 30, softened by years of desk work. And it is no game for the men of 23 or 25, who have too often left

the football field and basketball court behind for adding machines and cocktail lounges. No; modern war is a game for the youths who are keen of eye, quick in mind, and coordinated in every muscle and sinew of their bodies.

The Navy has known this for a long time. For the last 50 years, war at sea has been a war of machines, and the Navy has known that it must be fought by young men. The average age of the enlisted man in the Navy right now is under 20 years of age.

The time has come for all of us to realize that this must be the age for the soldiers, as well as the sailors, who will win this war.

The Army and the Navy of today are as different from those of 1918 as those of the First World War were from the rabbles of the Crusades. What we must realize is that the Army and the Navy of today are, in reality, great educational institutions. From the standpoint of number of classrooms involved, number of instructors at work, variety of training given, and number of students enrolled, the United States Army and the United States Navy are the largest institutions of education and training in the entire world. For this is a war of specialization. No longer is a man just a sailor, or just a soldier. He is a technician, an expert. He is a radioman, or a machinist, or a photographer, or an electrician, or a signalman, or a hospitalman. He is a navigator, or a weather forecaster, or a pilot, or an ordnance expert. He is a driver, or a mechanic, or a storekeeper, or a cook, or a metalsmith.

The Army and the Navy will give the young man an education in one of these or many other specialized fields before he is ever sent to a fighting front. They will help fit him as an individual into civilian as well as military life. And the adjustment back again from military into civilian life, with the return of peace, will be easier after this war than was true at the end of any war that has ever been waged.

More than that, the Army and the Navy will teach our boys discipline at a time when it will mean more to them than any other time in their lives. They will teach them cooperation with their fellow man, and will encourage them to display every innate quality of leadership they may possess. And they will build in them sound and sturdy bodies. Throughout their military careers they will be given the best food and quartered in the cleanest and most livable quarters that can be obtained.

Mind you, Mr. President, I know what I am talking about. I have seen what the Navy has done to my own son, Jim. And I know what he thinks of that service. Take the matter of food. The last time he came home from sea duty I said to him, "Well, son, how does the grub on your ship compare with the food here at home?" He replied, "To be honest, Dad, I don't get devil's food cake like mother used to make—we don't get very fancy stuff—but it's the kind of darned good food that sticks to your ribs."

When our boys go out to fight they will go with an Army or Navy that has already tasted victory. By the time our



boys ever get to a fighting front the tide will have turned. The battles of our first year have not gone well. We have been slow to put the enemy on the run. But we have sacrificed possible minor victories this first year for something far more essential to final, complete victory. We have built from the ground. We have prepared ourselves for any eventuality, and no United States force will be sent to face the enemy without a vast abundance of the finest equipment and the finest arms that American ingenuity and the resources of American industry can turn out. We have been slow, but we have built fighting forces against which no evil powers in all the world can long endure.

Mr. President, what of the peace that will follow the victory of the United Nations and the United States? The President has already made it clear that the criminal leaders of the aggressor nations will be made to answer for their inhuman crimes, and we may be sure that only the most practical considerations, guided by our memories of the bloodshed that was forced upon us, and not any false conceptions of idealism, will dictate our terms of peace. The brutality, the bestial cruelty that has been inflicted on the innocent populations of Poland, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, China—yes; and upon our own citizens who have been so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the enemy—will not encourage us to handle the Nazi and Nipponese war leaders with kid gloves.

I hope that the peace to follow this war will be an insured peace. It will be a lasting peace, because the peace-loving nations of the world will back their peace by force. I do not like the expression, "Policing the world," but I do know that we who believe in man's right to freedom and decency must make sure, by every means at hand, that innocent people who want only to live and work undisturbed shall never again feel the tyrant's iron heel or stinging lash.

This means that America must never again put her trust in disarmament, in any form. If my past 22 years in our Government have taught me any one thing, it is that there are always nations in the world so perfidious as to use a semblance of peace to prepare for hideous war. I am a firm believer in the old saying that if a man fools me once, it is his fault; but if he fools me twice, it is my fault. We were fooled once into scrapping our Navy and reducing our Army to the size of that of Switzerland; but after this war we are going to match America's true greatness and her position in the family of nations with a might on land and sea in keeping with that greatness, and that will insure the permanence of our position among the family of nations.

In the jubilation of the armistice that will some day come, let us pause to remember how difficult was this hour, and how we were brought to this dark hour; and let us make sure, on that future victorious day, that our present hard sacrifices are not made meaningless by the blunders of tomorrow.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I was very much interested in the remarks of the junior Senator from Florida [Mr.

PEPPER] as to the matter of deferment of men engaged in agricultural pursuits, and I should like to ask the distinguished Senator from South Dakota whether he would be kind enough to give his interpretation of paragraph (k), particularly with reference to whether or not, if the report shall be adopted, it will result in freezing farm labor.

Mr. GURNEY. In reply to the inquiry directed to me by the Senator from North Dakota, I wish to say that paragraph (k) has to do with the deferment of men engaged in essential agriculture and men necessary to essential agriculture. This is known in the Senate as the Tydings amendment. It was adopted on the floor of the Senate by a vote of about 67 to 6, and therefore the conferees on the part of the Senate and the House had no particular choice in the matter. It was a mandate from the Senate by an overwhelming vote to retain this provision in the bill.

After talking the matter over in conference, the House conferees thought well of the amendment, and the conferees of the House of Representatives also thought well of it, as was indicated in the large vote of acceptance in the House day before yesterday.

So far as I am aware, it is not supposed this provision will result in a freezing of farm labor. Paragraph (k) merely defers those necessary to and regularly engaged in essential agriculture, and under it they would be deferred only when a local board otherwise would induct them. As I understand, no evidence was given before the Committee on Military Affairs or the conferees to the effect that it would result in a freezing of agricultural labor. It merely provides for deferment of those who would otherwise be immediately inducted by the local boards of the Selective Service. Does that answer the question?

Mr. LANGER. It answers the question. As I understand, the local board is not to be final?

Mr. GURNEY. The local board is not to be final on this particular phase of selective service, or any other phase of it. There is always opportunity for a registrant to appeal to the State board, and then on up to the President, if he so wishes.

Mr. LANGER. If the report shall be adopted, that opportunity will still exist?

Mr. GURNEY. Yes; and it is so stated.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. I wish to ask specifically about this matter. As I understand the amendment, if a farm laborer is classified in 3-A by reason of having dependents, then the amendment would not apply to him, and he would be free to leave his service and go into industrial occupations if he wished to do so. Is that a correct interpretation of the subsection?

Mr. GURNEY. I am sure it is. I am sure that the sense of the amendment itself, and all the evidence before the committee, is to the effect that it would defer a man only if he were deferred solely because of being engaged in agricultural pursuits.

Mr. PEPPER. Will the Senator yield? Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. Does the Senator construe this amendment as adding any authority to the draft boards which they did not already possess?

Mr. GURNEY. I do not.

Mr. PEPPER. Then what is the good of it? If it does not give them any power or authority which they do not already have, what is the purpose of it?

Mr. GURNEY. That, I am sure, could be more thoroughly explained by the author of the amendment, which was adopted by the entire Senate, and at the time it was adopted I am sure the same authority existed to issue the directives which had been issued by the national headquarters of the selective service.

Mr. PEPPER. Then if it were left out, if the Senate were not to agree to the conference report with this language in it, and if, by subsequent conference action it were left out, so far as the able Senator in charge of the bill knows, no disservice would be done to agriculture?

Mr. GURNEY. The provision confirms regulations already issued by the selective service. It puts in the law authority for regulations already issued under direction of the President through the selective service.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. Does the Senator mean to say that prior to the directive of the War Manpower Commission, to which he has referred, there was no authority in the draft boards to make these deferments?

Mr. GURNEY. Oh yes, there was authority to do things like this, among other powers which have not been exercised by the selective-service headquarters. In other words, under the original Selective Service Act, the President, through his Administrator of selective service, was authorized to issue regulations, and under those powers deferment has already been ordered of those essential for the production of necessary food products.

Mr. PEPPER. Does the able Senator construe the directive of the War Manpower Commission as compulsory and authoritative and binding upon selective-service boards or local draft boards?

Mr. GURNEY. No, I do not. I believe that the directive from Washington gave the local board members something on which to hang a hat, for instance.

Mr. PEPPER. Does the able Senator regard the language of the bill dealing with this subject, that is, paragraph (k), as binding and authoritative upon the draft boards?

Mr. GURNEY. It is binding on the draft boards, but discretionary with the local draft boards with respect to their findings as to whether or not that plan is absolutely essential.

Mr. PEPPER. I believe the able Senator stated that the provision did not apply to 3-A men. Is there anything in the language to indicate that?

Mr. GURNEY. Will the Senator repeat his question?

Mr. PEPPER. I understood the able Senator, in reply to the question of the



able Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], to say that this provision did not, for example, forbid a 3-A man from bettering himself in some other industry. Is there anything in the text of the measure which justifies the Senator in making that statement?

Mr. GURNEY. I am sure there is. There is nothing in paragraph (k) of this amendment which freezes any agricultural laborers. It defers them only from immediate induction provided they otherwise would be subject to immediate call.

Mr. PEPPER. May I call the able Senator's attention to the following language in paragraph (k):

*Provided, That should any such person—*

"Such person" evidently refers to "every registrant found by a selective service local board \* \* \* to be necessary to and regularly engaged in an agricultural occupation." In other words, the type of selectee to which reference is made is the registrant, and that is the only qualification that I see in the first part of paragraph (k). It says—

Every registrant found by a selective service local board.

Three-A's are registrants, are they not?

Mr. GURNEY. It says "registrants," but every bit of evidence was to the effect that it affected only those who were immediately liable for induction.

Mr. PEPPER. I started to call the able Senator's attention to the following language in paragraph (k):

*Provided, That should any such person—*

That is any registrant mentioned in the first line of paragraph (k).

Mr. GURNEY. I may interrupt there to say that "such person" means one who has previously been deferred from immediate induction because of necessary agricultural occupation.

Mr. PEPPER. The Senator does not mean that this provision is limited only to those who have previously been deferred by the draft board, does he?

Mr. GURNEY. The Senator is talking now about the man who might leave a place where he has been employed, and because he had previously been employed in a necessary agricultural occupation, he has secured deferment from his local board. Therefore, I conclude that if he tried to change his status, and moved to another location, he would have to receive the approval of his local board which had previously given him deferment.

Mr. PEPPER. Very well. I read the language in paragraph (k):

*Provided, That should any such person leave such occupation or endeavor, except for induction into the land or naval forces under this act, his selective service local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2), shall reclassify such registrant in a class immediately available for military service, unless prior to leaving such occupation or endeavor he requests such local board to determine, and such local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2), determines, that it is in the best interest of the war effort for him to leave such occupation or endeavor for other work.*

I ask the able Senator from South Dakota if a worker in a factory is today

by statute subject to any such requirement or condition.

Mr. GURNEY. Is an industrial worker subject to immediate induction?

Mr. PEPPER. Yes; if he goes from one job to another.

Mr. GURNEY. If he has previously been deferred because of his present occupation, and he moves to another industry which is not essential in the war effort, his deferment will be taken away from him.

Mr. PEPPER. Is there any statutory provision to that effect?

Mr. GURNEY. No; that is by regulation.

Mr. PEPPER. So we are by statute putting a farm worker in a category in which we do not put the industrial worker?

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct.

Mr. PEPPER. The conclusion therefore is that with respect to selective service and in respect to deferment we are dealing legislatively differently with the industrial worker than with the agricultural worker? That conclusion is inescapable, is it not?

Mr. GURNEY. I will say to the Senator from Florida that we are herewith giving statutory deferment to the agricultural worker, the man necessary to and regularly engaged in essential agriculture and essential to the war effort.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, the Senator a moment before, I believe, said that we were not giving him statutory deferment because the discretion was still left in the draft board, but I assume that the Senator means to say that we are telling the draft board "You shall defer agricultural workers whom you find to be necessary," but we are not telling the draft board to defer industrial workers whom they may find to be necessary; we are leaving that entirely to their discretion?

Mr. GURNEY. Yes, as I see it.

Mr. PEPPER. That is what we are doing, is it not?

Mr. GURNEY. Yes.

Mr. PEPPER. Does the able Senator think that this is the way the Congress ought to legislate on the matter of occupational deferments?

Mr. GURNEY. The committee did not recommend it, but the Senate adopted it. The Senator will remember that I was one of those who voted against this amendment.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, this amendment was initiated on the floor, was it not, by the able Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS]? This deferment amendment was offered, not by the committee, as coming from the committee, but was offered on the floor by the able Senator from Maryland, was it not?

Mr. GURNEY. It was offered by the Senator from Maryland, and adopted with the support of the junior Senator from Florida.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I will say that at the time the amendment came up the able Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL] will recall that I went to him, and I think the Record will show that the Senator from Florida was not on the floor when the amendment

was agreed to. When I came on the floor and discovered it I went to the able Senator from Alabama and protested against the amendment, pointing out substantially what I have said today, and I think the able Senator from Alabama will attest that fact, if he recalls it.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Dakota yield to me?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. HILL. I will attest that fact. The Senator from Florida recalls, though, that the amendment was put in by the Senate. It was not reported by the Senate Military Affairs Committee, but was put in the bill by the Senate, by an overwhelming vote, and if my memory serves me correctly, it was put into it by a vote of 62 to 6. Not only was it put in by an overwhelming vote, but we had what used to be called in the House of Representatives, a field day. Member after Member rising on the floor and speaking for the amendment, and expressing his approbation of the amendment, and hoping that the amendment would be adopted. But I attest what the Senator from Florida has said.

Mr. PEPPER. I thank the able Senator from Alabama.

Mr. President, I wanted to ask the Senator from South Dakota another question.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, I shall be glad to yield the floor to the Senator from Florida if he desires.

Mr. PEPPER. No, Mr. President. I desired to make a word of comment, but I wanted to ask the able Senator about another matter. There has not been, then, except for the fact that this amendment was offered on the floor, an investigation of this subject by the Military Affairs Committee, or a particular study made of this subject of occupational deferment by the committee? In other words, the amendment is not the result of study made by the Military Affairs Committee?

Mr. GURNEY. No; it is not. It was offered and initiated on the floor of the Senate by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS].

Mr. PEPPER. I should like to say a word—

Mr. GURNEY. I may follow through on that, if the Senator will permit me. The committee did not offer this amendment or this idea, because they had considered it thoroughly in committee during the hearing, when the amendment was originally proposed, away back in September.

Mr. PEPPER. But the committee did not make a recommendation on the substance of this amendment to the Senate?

Mr. GURNEY. No; it did not.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida is recognized in his own right.

Mr. PEPPER. I shall not cover again the points I attempted to cover earlier today. I realize how anxious Congress is to give some relief to agriculture in respect to the existing shortage of agricultural labor. When this amendment was adopted by the Senate the other day, frankly, I had not given careful atten-



tion to the proposal, but after it was adopted, or about the time the Senate adopted it, I know that I did give some attention to it, and I thought it was a mistake for the Senate or for the Congress to legislate at this time in this way on the question of occupational deferment.

I think the able Senator from South Dakota has already shown by his response that if this language were left out of the bill we would not deprive agriculture of substantial relief which will come, no doubt, by the directive of the War Manpower Commission, which the able Senator in charge of the bill on the floor says has already been issued—that is, a directive by the War Manpower Commission to the local draft boards to respect necessary occupations in agriculture with respect to deferment.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. GURNEY. I should like to point out the correct status of the authority of any directive that the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission might issue at the moment. I do not believe he has any authority, either by statute or by Executive order of the President, to issue a directive to selective service nationally or direct to the local boards all over the country.

Mr. PEPPER. At least a directive of the War Manpower Commission indicates the determination of policy which has been arrived at by the War Manpower directive. I think the Senator's statement is true, and I agree with its veracity, which shows how inadequately we have dealt with the handling of this difficult question of manpower. The Manpower Commission has no more power than to give a directive, which may or may not be persuasive upon the local draft boards on the question of the proper utilization of our manpower.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator from Florida has made what I consider to be technically a rather well-founded objection, on the ground that by statute we undertake to defer one class of workers and not another class. In a very broad sense, perhaps we ought to give consideration to the whole subject, and not do anything about it until we have reached a conclusion satisfactory to us.

However, I should like to invite the Senator's attention to the fact that the clamor about the deferment of agricultural workers was almost Nation-wide. I believe the main facts are conceded. We were taking away from the farms those who are called upon to produce food not only for our Army and for the civilian population, but who, perhaps within a year or so, will be called upon to produce food even for our enemies, after we shall have conquered them—at least for millions of neutrals who do not now have, and within a year or two will not have, the facilities to produce the food necessary to avoid starvation.

While it seems to me that the Senator is perhaps technically correct, I believe

that the Senate, in adopting this amendment by such an overwhelming vote, was responding to the cry from the country that the way our deferment had been handled, even though it was conscientiously and legally handled, we were bringing the country into such a position that we should be short of food, when everyone knows that without adequate labor we cannot produce enough food to meet the demand which is soon coming. Therefore, we felt justified in remedying the situation so far as we could. We attempted to meet a problem which to us appeared to be gigantic in its scope, namely, the problem of seeing to it that there was sufficient essential help on the farms to produce the food necessary to feed our civilian population, as well as our Army, which we must keep at the front.

It seemed to me—and I am still of the same opinion—that we were making a great mistake in depleting our farms of their herds and of the men who are necessary to maintain production. Even though the solution which we adopted might not be as good a way to meet the problem as though we should make a long study of it and include deferment of other classes, with respect to which no clamor arose and no claim of great injury was being made, as was true in the case of agricultural labor, it seems perfectly plain to me that when the situation was brought to our attention and the amendment was offered on the floor of the Senate, it was our patriotic duty to put something of that kind into the law. We may not have fully succeeded. It seems to me that we have done a pretty good job.

Does not the Senator from Florida believe that even though we might admit that the subject needs further consideration in regard to deferments of other classes, yet with respect to this particular outstanding class we were justified in doing something as quickly as possible? It seems to me that we should have done it a year ago.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, the able Senator from Nebraska knows with what attentive and affectionate regard I listen to everything he says. Of course, there is much merit in what he says. As a lawyer, the Senator is familiar with the old adage that "hard cases make bad law."

The question in my mind, in balancing the interests of various groups, was whether this partial, inadequate, and in my opinion, unfair approach, would do more harm than would be compensated for by the immediate good which it would accomplish. I do not quarrel with other Senators for having reached a different conclusion. I only regret that on the vital question of the use of manpower we think it is necessary to write into legislation not something which is the result of study by any committee or executive agency, but a proposal which emanates from a Senator on the floor of the Senate, and which has had no more consideration than brief debate on the floor and certain consideration by the conferees before becoming the law of the land. I was afraid that the Congress, by becoming a

party to that method of handling the problem, would only contribute to the inadequacy with which the whole subject has so far been dealt by the Government.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. O'DANIEL. I do not recall whether the Senator from Florida was in the Chamber at the time the amendment offered by the Senator from Maryland was thoroughly discussed. If he had been present at that time I believe he would recall that the seriousness of the farm situation and the dangerous food shortage threatening the Nation were well known to many Senators at that time, as was apparent from the debate, and that the amendment was therefore considered highly essential.

Furthermore, General Hershey, Director of the Selective Service System, had either asked that this legislation be enacted, or had heartily recommended the passage of the bill at that time. As stated by the Senator from Maryland, General Hershey desired that sort of legislation at that time. I presume the subject was thoroughly considered by General Hershey, and I am also inclined to believe that it must have had the consideration, either individually or as a group, of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, because the chairman of that committee, while opposed to adding any amendments to the bill, heartily approved this particular amendment and, as I understand, voted for it, making the vote almost unanimous.

Mr. PEPPER. The able Senator has just heard the able Senator from South Dakota [Mr. GURNEY], who was in charge of the bill, say that the amendment was not reported by the committee with the recommendation of the committee, and that he voted against the amendment on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. President, I am not disagreeing with what the able Senator from Texas has suggested, namely, that there is a very serious shortage of manpower on farms; but I am not sure that the shortage is equally distributed over the agricultural areas. If there is to be deferment I am not sure that the men should necessarily be deferred where they are, and I am not sure that they should be "frozen" into their present jobs. I still insist that under the proposed amendment they would be so "frozen," because if they should leave their jobs they would be put into the Army by the Selective Service Board. I do not believe it is fair for farm workers to be "frozen" into their jobs without the Government, through some agency, seeing to it that the conditions under which they work comply with certain minimum requirements, as well as some minimum of sufficiency with regard to pay, hours of work, and conditions under which they serve.

Mr. President, in England men are deferred and "frozen" to their jobs in industry. The British have a lord presidents committee, which is a part of the war cabinet. Therefore, the determination as to the allocation of manpower is made by a subcommittee of the war cabinet itself, the final governmental



executive authority on the subject. They determine how many men shall be selected for the armed service, how many men shall be selected for industry, and how many men shall be selected for agricultural and other activities. In some cases they do "freeze" workers in their places, but, Mr. President, it was testified before our committee that before factory labor, for example, is frozen, the factory must pass inspection. It must pay a reasonable wage. It must employ its workers reasonable hours. It must comply with minimum conditions of work. The Government in turn sees to it that the man "frozen" to his job has some security and some protection in the job to which he is attached.

What I am saying is that the effect of this amendment would be to tell the draft boards of the country, "Keep the farm boys where they are regardless of whether they ought to be there; regardless of whether their employer is maintaining decent working conditions and giving them a fair wage; regardless of whether they are working fair hours, and regardless of whether the men can serve better somewhere else than where they are now serving."

Thus to enact legislation which has these fundamental inadequacies in it is a dear price to pay for an immediate emergency. If there is an emergency, instead of approving section (k) and "freezing" those inequities, and what Mr. Philip Murray called the present chaos in the use of manpower, I would rather see the President issue a directive to the director of the selective service system saying, "I will allow the appeal of every man in agriculture who appeals if you do not instruct the draft board to give him substantially this treatment."

I would rather see the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission issue a directive and let us see if Director General Hershey will not follow it, since he was appointed by the President to lay down for the present, at least, the manpower policy of the country. Has any evidence been shown to the Congress that General Hershey has refused to abide by a directive of Mr. Paul McNutt? Has anyone brought this matter to the attention of the President and said that an Executive order was mandatory? Such procedure would serve the immediacy of the problem, but it would not write on the statute books a discriminatory piece of legislation which convicts us of the same inadequacy in dealing with the subject under discussion as administrative agencies of the Government have been responsible for during the past 11 months the war has been in progress.

**THE PRESIDING OFFICER.** The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

**MR. TOBEY.** Mr. President, when the bill now under consideration was before the Senate I favored the amendment which called for 1 year of training of our 18- and 19-year-old youths before being sent overseas for combat service.

After lengthy consideration the conferees have deleted that provision. While I deeply regret it, nevertheless I shall support the conference report, because ever since Pearl Harbor and our

entrance into the war I have supported, and will continue to support, measures which those charged with the duty of carrying on the war say are essential to its successful prosecution.

The Nation is in the throes of a great conflict. It is a time when we each have one supreme duty, and that is to hold up the hands of our Commander in Chief, of General Marshall, and of those at the head of each branch of our armed forces in regard to vital measures which they tell us are essential to victory.

Inasmuch as these leaders have plainly told us that the inclusion of this provision would seriously handicap them in prosecuting the war, while regretting that the provision for 1 year of training is not in the bill in its final form, yet I feel it my duty to give our war leaders my support in this time of national peril, and shall vote for the adoption of the conference report.

**MR. TAFT.** Mr. President, after debate and a very decisive majority vote the Senate adopted an amendment which provided that there should be a year's training for boys under 20 years of age, and that either they should have 12 months of training or should be 20 years of age before being sent into combat service. That amendment has been abandoned by the conferees.

I do not agree at all with the statement of the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY] that we are bound to accept the opinion of the Army on a question of this kind. It seems obvious to me that if the Army says it must have seven and a half million men, it must have seven and a half million men, and I shall vote to give them seven and a half million men. However, it seems to me that whether they shall come from those who are 18, 19, 20, or 21 years of age, is a question on which we have a perfect right to pass judgment; and the Senate has passed judgment. I should like to ask the distinguished Senator from South Dakota [Mr. GURNEY] what efforts were made by the Senate conferees to convince the House conferees that the amendment should be inserted in the bill?

**MR. GURNEY.** Of course, the House conferees were fully advised of the action of the Senate. The conferees met one afternoon for about 3 hours and the next morning for about 2 hours. The result was as I have already reported to the Senate.

**MR. TAFT.** Did the Senate conferees attempt to reach any compromise with the House conferees? I believe it is clear that not only was there a large majority in favor of the amendment including boys up to 20 years of age, but that if we had voted in the Senate on the amendment including only those up to 19 years of age we should have had an even more overwhelming majority. Six or seven additional Senators would have voted to postpone any combat service until a boy was 19 years of age. In my opinion that age is more important than the age of 20, because it is the 18-year-old boys who are in the questionable class on the question of draft. I wonder if any effort was made to compromise by proposing that both Houses accept the amendment as originally offered by the Senator from

Nebraska by changing the provision so as to make it apply, instead of to those under 20 years of age, to those under 19.

**MR. GURNEY.** Mr. President, all those ideas and compromise plans were thoroughly discussed. The conferees on the part of the House were in no frame of mind to accept the Senate amendment, and I presume they feel vindicated by the overwhelming vote of acceptance which the House gave their judgment on the floor day before yesterday. I will say to the Senator from Ohio that every one of the Senate conferees went into the whole matter thoroughly, not for merely 5 minutes or 10 minutes or 1 hour or 2 hours, but for 5 or 6 hours where there were only 10 men around the table.

**MR. TAFT.** Am I to understand, then, that the Senate conferees argued strenuously in favor of the Senate amendment with some modification of it?

**MR. GURNEY.** I am sure the Senator from Ohio could so conclude and feel that he had reached a correct conclusion.

**MR. TAFT.** May I ask the Senator from South Dakota whether, before agreeing to the House provision, the conferees were able to obtain from the Army any definite statements of principle on which they were going to try to give as much training as possible to boys under 20 years of age or treat them any differently from the older men?

**MR. GURNEY.** We had a complete statement from the several Army men who came before us, at our request, that they would follow through the line of training as outlined originally by the Chief of Staff, General Marshall, and that the inductees would receive every bit of training that was necessary for them to have before they went into combat service.

**MR. TAFT.** Does the Senator interpret that to mean that the great majority of them will have 12 months' training?

**MR. GURNEY.** The very great majority of those who go into front-line combat will have 12 months' training, as they have had in the past. I might state to the Senator that they have not only had 12 months' training in the past but the great majority of them have had much more than that. When it comes to the Services of Supply, mechanics, truck drivers, and other allied branches essential to the Army, there is no necessity of men in those lines having 12 months' training.

**MR. TAFT.** The amendment adopted by the Senate applied only to combat service; it did not apply to the Services of Supply and similar service?

**MR. GURNEY.** That is correct.

**MR. TAFT.** Can the Senator advise me as to the status of 18-year-old boys with respect to becoming officers? Was any assurance given that they would be accorded the same general treatment as is accorded older men? May they go to officers' training camps and become officers the same as the older men, so far as the law and regulations are concerned?

**MR. GURNEY.** Definitely, the short answer to that is, yes. The experience of the past few years has been that the Army did not take into consideration age at all in giving aptitude tests, mental



tests, physical tests to become eligible for officers' training; and, to my own personal knowledge, many 18 and 19-year-olds have become officers. Of course, I will admit that a greater percentage become officers after they are 21, as they have had more experience in life, and possibly a higher degree of college education. Such men have a better chance of becoming officers than those who have not had such experience and schooling.

Mr. TAFT. I thank the distinguished Senator from South Dakota. I should like to add a further word. The other day, when I spoke on this bill, I made the statement that the 18-year-old boys did not have the opportunity of becoming officers, and that that was unfair to them. I was called up by the War Department and was told that there is no regulation of law which prevents such advancement for younger men. However, I think the principle of what I said is still true. A boy of 18 drafted into the Army has very little opportunity of advancement. He must be recommended for an officers' training camp over a great many older men in his regiment who have been there for some time. So I think the substance of what I said at that time was true, in spite of the protest of the War Department. Trained younger men will not have the opportunity for as effective service as if they were drafted when they were somewhat older or if they had had a few years' military training.

Mr. O'DANIEL and Mr. DANAHER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Ohio yield; and, if so, to whom?

Mr. TAFT. I yield first to the Senator from Texas, who rose first.

Mr. O'DANIEL. The Senator from Ohio has called attention to the strong sentiment in favor of the 1-year training amendment as expressed by the vote in the Senate. I should like also to call attention to the fact that the RECORD shows that, in addition to the 39 Members who voted for the amendment, 14 other Members absent at that time were recorded as being favorable to the amendment, which shows a very strong sentiment in the Senate in favor of the amendment which was adopted by the Senate and which was rejected by the conferees.

Mr. TAFT. I thank the Senator. I might say that I think our conferees should have insisted on the amendment as modified to cover boys 19 years of age. I think the House would have accepted it, and I believe that it would have practically eliminated the inconvenience which the Army claims is involved in the amendment of wider scope. Such an amendment would have established in this country exactly the rule which the English have found to be proper after 3 years of warfare in protecting the 18-year-old boys whom they chose to draft.

I now yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, there is one point the Senator from Ohio made a few moments ago which it seems to me should be stressed with greater emphasis than has so far been made apparent; that is, that the amendment actually applies in its limitation only to putting 18- and

19-year-old boy into combat service. It is no answer simply to say that these boys might become truck drivers or they might become part of an air force ground crew, or might be in a mechanic service unit or something of that kind. It was to preclude their being put into combat service that the amendment was carried, was it not?

Mr. TAFT. Yes.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Ohio yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. GURNEY. It is a fine point, but I should like to call it to the attention of both the Senator from Ohio and the Senator from Connecticut. The amendment adopted by the Senate not only contained the words "actual combat duty," but was further qualified by the words "beyond the territorial boundaries of continental United States." Are we to have a judge follow the troops around, say, in England or Africa, and say that a certain man 10 miles behind the line is not in combat duty? He might not be in such duty today, but tomorrow an airplane might come over and he would be right in the front line and in combat duty.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, if the Senator from Ohio will yield to me, of course, all our air-raid wardens and our auxiliary police walking up and down the streets of Washington come within that category. We might be bombed some night, and that is why we have black-out curtains all over the city. That, of course, is not an answer; it begs the whole question that was involved as a matter of principle when we were arguing the proposition on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. GURNEY. I may say to the Senator from Connecticut I am sure that to have an efficient Army we would not want to charge our Chief of Staff with the duty of taking along with him Members of Congress or others to tell him after he has his troops over there that certain individuals must remain 30 or 31 miles behind the line.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Ohio yield further?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. DANAHER. Of course, it is a singular thing that, let me say while the Senator from South Dakota is here and in view of his observation, that the Army, which is said to have known these needs, did not sponsor this legislation. I recall distinctly on the floor of the Senate that the Senator from South Dakota said that this was his idea. I remember the Senator from Michigan queried him on the point when the matter was before us a month ago. Of course, if the Army had really wanted these boys, it has had no reticence up to now in bringing forward legislation it chooses to sponsor. This idea, as the Senator from South Dakota has said, was his own.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. GURNEY. I should like to correct the Senator's impression. It was my idea, and as to the legislation no one urged me. Certainly I had observed in

many Army camps the need of it; and certainly the Army Chief of Staff would not overnight urge this legislation if he had not previously seen the need of it.

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Ohio yield further?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. DANAHER. I should like to have the Senator from Ohio retain the floor because I wish to ask him a question, but while we are on this point, I do not know anything about the state of mind of the Chief of Staff of late, but I hold in my hand the hearings containing his testimony and I know that in 1941 he was here telling us that men ought to have a minimum of 18 months' training before they would be qualified. Then he told us he was willing to take 15 months and he settled for 12 months in order to get a bill on the subject. That was his testimony.

In this connection let me say to the Senator from Ohio that in a letter addressed by me to Hon. Henry L. Stimson, under date of October 26, I quoted an excerpt from a letter which I had received from the parents of a New Haven, Conn., boy. The excerpt reads as follows:

Parents of boys in Connecticut would like to know why boys here sent to Fort Devens are sent abroad in 6 weeks. It seems tragic and without any training. Thousands must be in the service longer.

Mr. Stimson's administrative assistant wrote me under date of November 3, as follows:

DEAR SENATOR DANAHER: This acknowledges receipt of your letter of October 26, 1942, addressed to the Secretary of War—

I omit a small portion—

Regarding the assignment of military personnel to overseas stations without sufficient training.

The duration of military training given to military personnel depends upon the experience and qualifications of the enlisted man and the duty to which he will be assigned. The time required to train some men to perform their military assignments might be much shorter because of their civilian training than it would be for others. All units and individuals leaving the continental United States are not destined for areas immediately—

I emphasize the word "immediately"; the writer of the letter does not do so, but I do—

Immediately threatened by severe combat, but many are sent to security garrisons offering special opportunities for further training.

The War Department recognizes the anxiety of parents for the welfare of their sons in the service and you may assure your constituent that every possible effort is being made to provide adequately for the training as well as for the health, comfort, and contentment of the military personnel wherever they may be stationed.

Sincerely yours,

I ask the Senator from Ohio if he had in mind in his earlier queries to the Senator from South Dakota the possibility that the conferees might easily have said that "in our judgment, 18- and 19-year-old boys ought not to be sent into combat service until they shall have had a minimum of a given number of months' training," even though they omitted the



provision of the amendment which the Senator from South Dakota has since stressed which would have prohibited their being sent beyond the continental limits of the United States?

Mr. TAFT. It seems to me that some modification could have been secured by our conferees that would have carried out the substance of the idea in which, I think all of us here are interested. I am anxious to take at full value the protestations of the Army that they are going to train these boys.

They are permitted to train them, and if they fail to train them properly before they go abroad, if they send them abroad when they should not go abroad, I feel that the responsibility is today completely on the officials of the United States Army. I wanted to make that point in this series of questions.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, I had hoped that we might have an opportunity to register again in the Senate our desire to write into the law a provision for the guaranteed training of those who will be the youngest soldiers in the American forces.

We have gone a long way in the last few months, all the way from staying out of war until we are in all the wars of the world, on 40 fronts. Suddenly we need seven and a half million men, and in order to get them we must take 18- and 19-year-old boys. I am sure it seemed to all of us only fair that these boys when taken should be guaranteed adequate training.

I understand full well what it means to say we must not tie the hands of the military leaders, and surely none of us would want to tie their hands in any degree, but in a representative republic, in which the people have nothing to say to the Army except through their representatives, we might at least assure the hearts of the parents of America that their children will at least be trained adequately before they are sent to distant points of the world.

We shall vote in a moment, and when we vote we will say to the Army, "It is your responsibility." We have no other choice. According to the parliamentary rules, we must either vote for all the report or none of it. I shall vote for all of it, but I shall do so with the thought in my heart and mind that I have registered here the expression that it is the will of the people of America that these young men be trained before they are dispatched to the far corners of the earth to lay down their lives in this all-out war all over the world.

I want whatever I say now to be notice to the generals and the admirals, to the Commander in Chief, and to every one else, that this is a representative republic, so reemphasized recently, and much that we will do will be in the name of supporting the Commander in Chief, and that we will all do, of course. Much will be done under the guise of supporting the head of the armed forces, and that we will do, of course, but in doing so we are doing it to save a representative republic.

We, in this Chamber, represent the people of America, and it is our responsibility to assure them that untrained

youths shall not be sacrificed all over the globe. There is no doubt these young men will make the greatest soldiers in the world. I know something about it. I served with such young men, I know the courage and the daring of young men, but thank God in the unit in which I had the privilege of serving we were all trained, and I hope these boys will be trained. I am sure that must be the will of every Senator, and I hope those on the Committee on Military Affairs, and the conferees, who did or did not make such a gallant fight to sustain the amendment of the Senate, will say to the admirals and to the generals, when they come, "Certainly it was the will of the Senate that you train these men before you send them to face their death under various climatic and physical conditions, and in conflict with the steel of the old world," much of which we sent them. These boys have a right to be trained before they face that steel and those trained armies.

If I had any other way to proceed than by voting against drafting them, I would utilize it, but I have no other way, so I want my expression to hold, so far as I am privileged to represent the people of my State, that I think now we should all reemphasize privately wherever we can that it is our will that these young men be trained adequately so that they can defend adequately their young lives and the whole future of America.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, the Senate is confronted at this time with a condition which is often met in every legislature consisting of two branches. We have before us a conference report, and we are required to consider it and act on it. We are confronted with the situation that, in order to get what we believe to be good, we must take what we believe to be bad, and in order to prevent what, in our judgment, is evil, we have to vote even for the evil in order to get something which we believe to be right.

The bill as it passed the Senate contained two vital amendments, both of which received large votes in the Senate. One provided for the training of 18- and 19-year-old soldiers before they were put into combat service, and the other provided for a very important proposition, that we retain on the farms of America a sufficient number of experienced men to produce the food necessary to sustain our Army in the field, as well as for other purposes. One of the amendments has been agreed to, the other has been rejected.

I feel more deeply about the rejection of the amendment relating to the training of 18- and 19-year-old soldiers when I listen to the reasons given by military men as to why the amendment should not be agreed to. We have been taught over a series of years that the very minimum of training necessary takes 1 year. We all believe that to be so. We have been so informed by our military leaders. After listening to thousands of letters, and the prayers which came from the mothers of these boys, scattered all over the United States, we voted to bring about that result. These mothers knew, as we knew, that our military leaders had often said, "Our soldiers must have

a minimum of one year's training." That seemed reasonable. Our recent experiences have taught us, in my opinion, that the period of training should be made longer. The soldiers now on the battlefields in all the various parts of the world are meeting conditions which have never before been met by soldiers anywhere. They have to combat the most unprincipled program which has ever confronted any civilized people. They should have at least the minimum training I have mentioned.

I agree with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], who propounded some questions to the Senator from South Dakota, and I think the indications are that the Senate conferees did not make the effort they should have made before they surrendered on the amendment, which had received a large vote in the Senate. It seems to me that instead of an absolute rejection it should come before us in the conference report in some form of a compromise. It seems to me that out of all the controversy there should have been something left in the bill in answer to our votes and to the prayers of millions of mothers scattered all over the country.

These mothers have a right, under the circumstances, at least to be suspicious of the rejection of the amendment, because the same men in the military service who are now objecting to it, so-called experts, had been telling us, and telling the country, and telling the mothers, that 1 year's training was the minimum necessary for anyone of any age.

Mr. President, the argument now made against that is, "We do not intend to send these boys into combat across the seas. We are going to give them training, but we do not want any strings attached to their induction; we do not want any restraints placed in our way."

The answer to that comes back—it ought to come back from the Senate, but it comes back from the mothers of America—"If that is the way you feel, if that is what you are going to do, why not put it in the law?" It is no answer, Mr. President, to say that it does not require a year's training to teach a man to drive an automobile. Such a statement is begging the question, and I would have more respect for the sincerity of these men if they had not made such an argument, which to me seems to be foolish.

If the Senate amendment were agreed to, it would apply to combat service across the seas only. It would not apply in case of invasion of our country. The boys could be used here for combat service in case of invasion of the United States. We must have some Army here. The amendment has no application to such a situation.

Mr. President, I myself cannot help but feel a suspicion, of which I should like to clear my mind. I do not want to find fault with the conferees. I know the difficulty of their situation; it may be they have done everything they possibly could; but it seems to me that the Senate amendment, which was adopted on a ye-and-nay vote in the Senate, after full debate, without limitation of debate should not be thrown out the window entirely. If 1 year of training is too much, let us have 9 months, or 6 months. If



Senators do not wish the provision to apply to 19-year-old boys, why not make it apply to 18-year-old boys? There are a thousand ways in which a compromise might have been agreed to. It seems to me the conferees on the part of the House would have conceded something along that line if they had been met with a stubborn unanimous resistance from the conferees on the part of the Senate. In that case it seems to me our conferees would not have been turned down empty handed.

Mr. President, as I said in the beginning, we are confronted with the proposition of having to vote against one amendment, in order to obtain another amendment which we believe to be right. In order to keep evil out we have to reject some good. There is no alternative.

We are face to face with that responsibility. If, for instance, some Senators should say, "We will reject this conference report," and vote against it on the ground that this one amendment has been entirely thrown out, and if the result of the vote were that the conference report was agreed to, which it probably would be—and I do not think anyone doubts it—then the Senators who voted against the report, and who must go before the people in the future with that action on their record, would be faced with the charge that they had voted against this farm amendment, and, technically, the critic would be correct, at least to a very great extent, in condemning such action.

On the other hand, if the report were rejected, of course, a different conclusion or presumption would arise, because we would immediately have another conference report come back to the Senate. Under the circumstances it seems to me we are justified, when we consider everything, in accepting the conference report, much as I dislike to do so. I know if we do not it will be charged that we are delaying action by military experts in carrying on the war, which none of us wants to do, God knows; and, probably with the certainty that the conference report will be agreed to anyway, we ought not to go any further than to express, if we care to do so, our convictions on the subject.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President. I heartily agree with most of what the Senator from Nebraska has just said. I cannot agree, however, with the idea of voting for the conference report by reason of the fact that it contains the exemption with respect to farm labor. I agree with the distinguished senior Senator from Nebraska that the conferees on the part of the Senate did not put up the kind of fight they should have made in trying to obtain some compromise in the event they could not get all the Senate voted for. I do not think any showing has been made by anyone that 18- and 19-year-old boys are needed at this time. If a showing had been made that it was absolutely necessary to have them, then I would be willing to vote for the report. I am not going to vote for the report when in one breath the Army officials say it is necessary to give a year or 18 months training to a selectee, and in the next breath want to send the

18- and 19-year-old boys into combat service without that sort of training if they see fit to do so. We know that men are being sent to foreign shores today with practically no training.

Mr. President, I have received letters from some of the leading doctors of the country, some of them in my own home State, saying there is no question that the nervous systems of boys 18 and 19 years old do not stand up as well as those of men over 20 years of age.

So far as I am concerned, regardless of whether or not a little sop is given to the farmers of the country in this bill, I am not going to have it on my conscience that we turned these 18- and 19-year-old boys over to the Army officials, and said, "You can take them and send them into combat service any place in the world."

England does not do that. Canada does not do it. I do not know of any of our Allies who are doing it.

Mr. President, the question has been asked on the floor of the Senate: Are we doing our part in this war? We are furnishing food, we are furnishing money. I am not criticizing England. I do not go so far as Mr. Willkie does in his criticism of her. He was one who shouted that we had to do everything we could to help England. Some there were who shouted we must help England because we were dependent upon the British Navy. How silly that must seem at the present time to anyone with common sense. Oh, yes; we must have the British Navy to protect the United States of America from destruction. Winston Churchill said:

Give us the tools and we will do the rest.

We gave them money, we gave them tools, we gave them ships, and then we gave them our Army and our Navy, and now they say, "Give us the kids, give us the boys. Take them out of the high schools. Take them out of the colleges; give us your teen-age boys. Give them to us, and let us send them to the four corners of the world."

Mr. President, that may be done by those who follow blindly anything asked of them by the administration. But the time will come when the people of the United States will say, "We do not want any dictatorship here and we do not want the Congress of the United States to abdicate." The people are already saying it. That was one of the reasons for the results of the last election. Make no mistake about that. The election did not result as it did because of the fact that only the well-to-do turned out to vote. What nonsense! It was not because the soldiers did not vote. It was because the people of this country were opposed to having the whole civil population of the country regimented by a lot of bureaucrats in Washington who do not know the problems of the people in the hinterland. The people voted as they did because they did not want any administration, Republican or Democratic, to have all these dictatorial powers.

Mr. President, the other day I picked up the *Journal* published by the Teamsters Union, Dan Tobin's organiza-

tion. What was said in it? I quote from an article by Lester M. Hunt:

There will be men who say that we have become a dictatorship—that we have embraced the very philosophy we have gone to war to defeat. Well, how else can we win this war? The only way to defeat a hostile army is with a stronger army. Militaristic methods must be adopted to defeat militaristic powers. We must put our civil liberties in escrow.

We are going to be forced to live under a dictatorship for a time. But it will be a dictatorship to preserve the democratic system we have always enjoyed. It will be administered for the protection of those who submit to it rather than for the profit of those who direct it.

Mr. President, think of a labor leader saying that. Think of him saying that in order to win the war against dictatorship we must set up a dictatorship in this country. Think of a labor leader saying that we must do away with our civil rights. Thank God this man does not speak for the rank and file of labor.

I do not care if every labor leader in the United States of America says we must do away with the Constitution and the Bill of Rights; I shall not be a party to such a movement. The people of this country are perfectly willing to make any sacrifice necessary to be made in order to win the war. I care not whether they are farmers or what they are, but they are not willing to turn over to the military authorities or to the administration dictatorial powers, unless it is shown to be absolutely necessary, and no such showing as that has been made or could be made. The only ones who are suggesting it and asking for it are some persons here in the departments who want to have control for their own selfish purposes.

Read this article in the *Teamsters' Journal* and then tell me if it is not almost the exact language used by Mr. Hitler to the people of Germany at the time he assumed dictatorial powers. I say shame on any labor man or labor leader who tries to tell the people of this country that we should do away with the freedom of speech, that we should do away with the right of trial by jury, that we should do away with the Bill of Rights simply because we are in a war. I say shame on any labor leader who says we have to set up a dictatorship in this country in order to preserve democracy.

If the Congress wishes to have the respect which it demands, it is time for it to exercise the power given to it under the Constitution, and not abdicate and turn over all its powers to the bureaucrats in Washington. So long as I am in the Senate I shall never vote to abandon the powers of Congress, and if the people of my State want somebody who will do so, they had better elect some one else to fill my place. I will not vote to turn over to the military authorities the right to take these children—for that is all many of them are—send them to the four corners of the world, and put them into combat service, simply because of the fact that there is written into this bill a provision that the local boards may exempt farmers.

I believe that the committee representing the Senate at the conference,



most of the Members of which were opposed in the first instance to such a course, did not stand up and fight as they should have fought to obtain a compromise or to carry out the wishes of the Senate.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, recently we have been impressed with the fact that in construing acts of Congress in the administration of our laws the courts and the bureaus of the Government go to the discussions of the legislation in the Congress by Members of Congress to ascertain the real purpose, intent, and implication of the law. That was brought out forcibly in our recent controversy about the right of our bureaucratic government to fix the ceiling prices of agricultural products. That being true, I wish to make a matter of record the construction of section 2 of the bill, which provides as follows:

SEC. 2. Section 5 (f) of such act, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(f) Any person 18 or 19 years of age who, while pursuing a course of instruction at a high school or similar institution of learning, is ordered to report for induction under this act during the last half of the academic year at such school or institution, shall, upon his request, have his induction under this act postponed until the end of such academic year."

I wish to find out, if I can, from the members of the conference committee—preferably the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. GURNEY], the author of the legislation—just what this provision means, how far-reaching it is, and how we want it interpreted by the Selective Service Board, so that the people of the country may know who is to be exempt from induction for the remainder of the academic year when boys are summoned to the service of their country.

We all know, in a general way, what a high school is. In a general way we know something about the curriculum of a high school and the grades embraced in it. I should interpret the language "or similar institutions of learning" to eliminate any consideration of boys who are in their last year at a college or university, and who are about to obtain their degrees. They could not enjoy the exemption provided for, because no one would contend that a college or university is a "similar institution of learning" to a high school.

In my State we have in force the consolidated school system, by which students in rural sections are brought to central points. Some of those schools teach up to the tenth grade, and some as high as the twelfth grade. In the towns, not only of my State, but of other States, the high schools include the grades from the tenth to the twelfth. The consolidated schools begin with the lower grades and go up to the tenth or twelfth grade. I am wondering whether a consolidated school which teaches from the eighth to the twelfth grade, and includes the same course as that of a high school, would be construed to be a "similar institution of learning."

Furthermore, I wish to know the reason for the discrimination against boys who, because of lack of opportunity, lack of wealthy parents, or because of the

death of the member of the family upon whom the family depended for a living, have been delayed in getting into high school. Are they to be denied the privilege of finishing an academic year of their education when they have entered primary schools and are trying to prepare themselves to enter high schools? Why the discrimination? I think a boy who is in the intermediate or primary school, working for a high-school education, is entitled to as much consideration in his effort to obtain an education for the battle of life as is the boy who happens to be fortunate enough to have completed his course and enrolled in a high school. I do not think it is quite fair to a boy who is in college and who, by finishing one semester, or 1 year, could obtain his degree from the college or university, to take him out of the university or college and rush him off to the Army when we allow high-school boys to finish 1 year—not necessarily the last year, but any one of the 4 years of the high-school course. I think there is a discrimination. We seem to be saying to the unfortunate boy who has not yet entered high school, "You Dumb Dora, we are going to take you out and put you in the Army, and yet we are going to let the high-school boy who has a 4-year course, be deferred until he finishes whatever year he may be in before he is called into the service of his country." I think that is discrimination. It is not fair, just, or righteous. It is so unrighteous that it is almost criminal.

I, for one, believe that this war will last from 5 to 10 years. The Japanese have said that they are prepared to fight for 20 years. It goes without saying that when boys of 18 and 19 years of age are inducted into service, their educational careers are over and they will go through life handicapped without the educational training to which they are justly entitled.

It will be remembered that during the debate on the bill I stated that I had no objection to the induction of boys into the Army provided they were kept in school until they were 20 years old and given basic military training while finishing their scholastic courses. I still believe that would be the fair, just, equitable, and patriotic thing to have provided for in this legislation. There is no reason why a boy should not receive his basic military training while pursuing his course in school. The boys in Annapolis and West Point receive academic training while they are taking their military training, as do the boys who have taken R. O. T. C. training in high schools and colleges. They are taking their academic training and at the same time receiving basic military training to fit them to be officers in the military forces after finishing school. There is no reason why teen-age boys should not be given an opportunity to continue their education up to the age of 20 and receive academic training and military training at the same time. If such a program were pursued, the boys would be better equipped at the age of 20 not only to fight this war, but to discharge the duties of good citizenship when the war is over.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am in hearty accord with much of what the Senator has said. If I correctly understood the Senator, he started to ask the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. GURNEY] what is meant by the words "or similar institution of learning." I wonder if he will allow the Senator at this point to state what a "similar institution of learning" means. Does it mean the smaller colleges, or what does it mean?

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield. My purpose in taking the floor was to get some expression from the Senator on this subject.

Mr. GURNEY. I am always glad to answer questions whenever I can. The able Senators from Tennessee and Mississippi must know that by now.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me, I desire to enlarge somewhat upon my question.

A number of persons from the smaller colleges of the country are wondering whether those words apply to such institutions. They apply particularly to high schools. There can be no question about that. I do not know whether they apply to smaller colleges. I believe the term is sufficiently broad to apply to smaller colleges, and I am wondering if that is what was intended by the inclusion of those words. Certainly they have some meaning.

Mr. GURNEY. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. GURNEY. The section to which reference has been made has to do with deferment for high school instruction. It applies to those attending schools in grades from the ninth through the twelfth, or similar institutions of learning which have a curriculum covering courses of training from the ninth through the twelfth grade in the public schools of America. The words "similar institution of learning" mean preparatory schools of all kinds, military schools, parochial schools, schools sponsored by other religious institutions, private schools, and academies. In general, I should say that they refer to completion of the high-school course. The words "high school or similar institution of learning" mean that the students are given the right to complete the school course in those institutions where students are prepared to go into colleges. I should say definitely that students in small colleges which offer regular college work above what is commonly known as the twelfth grade would not secure deferment under this section.

Mr. McKELLAR. Suppose a small college included grades from the ninth to the twelfth, besides additional work. Would the fact that it included three high-school grades be sufficient to make it a similar institution of learning?

Mr. GURNEY. My answer to that would be, certainly, if a college gives high-school work, a student in such an institution who had not theretofore completed his high-school work, would receive the same treatment as a high-school student attending a public high school.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am very happy to have that statement by the able Senator.



I recall that not long ago the able Senator from Michigan [Mr. Brown], who had charge of a bill, gave his interpretation of the bill. His interpretation was held to be of such strength as to be second only to an interpretation by the Supreme Court. I am very happy to have that broad—and I think entirely proper—interpretation by the distinguished Senator in charge of the bill. I entirely agree with it.

Mr. GURNEY. I thank the Senator for the compliment.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. Before yielding to the Senator from Kentucky, I should like to ask the Senator from South Dakota a further question. Am I to understand that boys pursuing ninth- and tenth-grade work in a consolidated school, which teaches the ninth and tenth grades but does not go beyond those grades on up to the eleventh and twelfth grades—which would make a complete high-school curriculum—would be entitled to exemption as provided under the bill?

Mr. GURNEY. There is no question about it. They would come under the provisions of this section.

Mr. BILBO. That is very fine. I should like to ask a second question. In a junior college, where the first and second years are within the high-school bracket of the highest grades, yet there are taught two more grades which are the equivalent of the first and second years in the average college, would all students in such a junior college be entitled to the exemption provided by the bill?

Mr. GURNEY. If they were in classes which are comparable with the eleventh and twelfth grades in high school they would be accorded similar treatment.

Mr. BILBO. Very well. Some schools teach as far as the tenth grade and some as far as the twelfth grade. The Senator is basing his statement upon the fact that a high school, as recognized by the law, is a school that has the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades?

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct.

Mr. BILBO. I want to say that I feel the Senator from South Dakota has been very gracious in trying to give us his views and has been very fair all the way through.

Mr. GURNEY. I thank the Senator.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, if the Senator from Mississippi will yield, I should like to ask the Senator from South Dakota to clear up another point. While colleges doing high-school work up to the twelfth grade would be permitted to have deferred students within those grades, the right of deferment would not apply to students in the same colleges beyond the twelfth grade who are supposed to be doing college work.

Mr. GURNEY. Of course, it would not apply, because they would be doing work that would be above that of high school.

Mr. BARKLEY. The fact that part of their student body would be entitled to the deferment would not carry over into the whole student body unless they were in the specified grades.

Mr. GURNEY. The Senator is correct and his interpretation agrees with mine entirely.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, let me ask the Senator another question before he takes his seat. Am I to understand that under the gracious deferment provided for in the conference report for high-school students or students in similar institutions of the Nation no student under the ninth grade in the other schools of the Nation, whether consolidated schools, public schools, or private schools, would be entitled to have deferment?

Mr. GURNEY. That is the correct interpretation, as I see it. It only defers those in high school. No consideration is given to students in grades below the ninth grade.

Mr. BILBO. If I may be pardoned a slang expression, the conference committee had a weakness only for high-school students.

Mr. GURNEY. I am quite sure that it is entirely to the contrary, because the evidence is preponderant that very few 18- and 19-year-old boys are still in school and still taking work of the eighth grade or below.

Mr. BILBO. I am glad the Senator made that point, because I am complaining at the discrimination against not tens of thousands but hundreds of thousands of students throughout the Nation who are in grades below the grades of high school and who are seeking to prepare themselves in order to enter the high schools. It is not only true of white people in this country, but in my State, where Negroes constitute half the population, there are 18- and 19- and 20-year-old Negroes who have not yet gone far enough in their educational preparation to enter the first, or ninth, grade of high school. It is not proposed to give them any consideration whatever, but to yank them into the Army, although the bill favors the boy who happens to be in the ninth, tenth, eleventh, or twelfth grade.

Mr. President, I have repeatedly voiced my opposition to this proposed legislation. I agree with some of my colleagues who insist that there has not as yet been made any showing that there is any pressing, imperative need for the teenage boys in the prosecution of this war. General McNarney of the Army before the Subcommittee on Military Affairs said plainly that there was adequate manpower within the military ages of 21 to 25 to build the Army up to 7,500,000 by December 1943. At that time I complained that the Army through their strict regulations as to the qualifications of the men they were inducting were eliminating those who had not passed beyond the fourth grade in the schools of our country. That would exclude the Alvin Yorks, of Tennessee, and Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest, of military fame in the Civil War, neither one of whom had gone beyond the fourth grade, and one of whom could not write his name, yet became a great military hero. The Army have eliminated that class from the draft because they wanted boys and men who had passed the fourth grade in academic educational training. The finest physical specimens living in the country will be found in those sections, in the hamlets, in the mines, in the farms and in the woods of the Nation who have spent their lives in the open, men who have not gone beyond the fourth grade,

but who are strong, who are hard, who are determined, who are physically perfect, and would make the ideal soldier, because they could speak the English language and could understand an order when given to them in the Army.

They could convey a "message to Garcia," if necessary, because they know that much about the English language. They could shoot; they could fight. Yet, through some whim, the Army have eliminated this great mass of manpower in the present war because they have not passed beyond the fourth grade in the schools of our country. I think it is a perfect piece of nonsense.

On the other hand, the Army has consistently rejected the induction of tens of thousands, yes, hundreds of thousands, of strong, able-bodied men who are infected with venereal diseases such as syphilis. That has resulted in leaving in many sections of the country great numbers of able-bodied men who are able to take the training, be treated for the disease, be cured, and render service to the country. In other words, the Army's position has placed a premium upon the possession of the dread disease, syphilis, in the induction of men into the service, and it has gotten to such a point in my State that the young Negro who does not want to go into the Army, and has a natural inclination to stay away from battle, has gone out and sought contacts in order that he might contract the disease so as to be exempted from Army service. In many cases, when the selective service board makes a draft, the Army medical officers make the physical examination, not the local doctor. The examination is made at Army camps. Forty men may be sent to the Army from a county, 20 whites and 20 blacks, but practically all the Negroes are returned to the community and are exempted, while the white man goes on and fights the battle because he has not contracted this dread disease.

As I have said once before on this floor, the records in my State show, as attested by the State board of health, that out of a million Negroes there are 250,000 cases of venereal disease. That gives an idea of how prevalent this trouble is. It is a disease which can be treated and the men can be isolated in the camps of the country. The Government has ample money with which to build adequate facilities to isolate and treat them and train them at the same time. No one need tell me that men afflicted with this disease cannot be trained; they can be. I know one doctor in Mississippi in Oktibbeha County who every Monday morning gives "a shot" to 125 Negro men. They stay out of the sawmill 1 day and the other 6 days go to the sawmill and work at the hardest task in the world. Such diseases have nothing to do with the training of men. Until the Army officials, the generals, absorb this great reservoir of manpower, made up of men who have not passed beyond the fourth grade in school, but who are over 20 years of age, who are physically fit, and who will make good fighters, ideal fighters, and until the Army absorbs the great class of men who are being exempt from the Army because of their own fault and their own acts and such an exemption should not be dignified by notice from



the Army, I shall insist it is wrong to go to the teen-age boys of 18 and 19 and take them out of the schools and colleges of the Nation and put them into the Army, especially when the Army will not agree to give them at least a year's training, although they could be inducted and allowed to stay in school and be given military training at the same time, and there would be no loss in their preparation to help fight this war after they reach the age of 21.

I have tried to help perfect the bill, and get as many favorable things in it as I could, but I shall continue, so long as I represent, in part, the people of my State, to vote against such legislation as that now pending under such circumstances as I have stated.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, we have about reached the end of the debate. So far as this body is concerned, we have reached the time when we have to go upon record one way or the other.

Of course, I am familiar with what has been going on here. The Senate is familiar with it. My colleagues know how much chance we have in presenting this amendment to the Senate again; but I should be wanting in courage, I should be wanting in manhood, if I did not stand here and fight again for the amendment as we presented it a week or so ago.

We have all felt great interest in this matter; we have felt that it is most important to the fathers and the mothers of this land. We have now reached a stage in the fight when we have to say whether we shall put the mark of acquiescence upon an amendment which was presented to the Senate and adopted by a vote of 39 to 31, or whether we shall put upon it the mark of our negation.

Why should we back and fill concerning the amendment? What could be the reason, what is there about the amendment that should cause men who are sentient, and bold, and who have no fear of any kind or character to feel that they must hide and bother themselves and hunt a tree behind which to retire, or do some other thing of peculiar character? What is there about the amendment that causes that sort of thing? I am unable to see anything.

I see the amendment merely as a provision which was adopted by the Senate, for which our conferees were in honor bound to fight, and to bring back something which would be like that which we gave them. It was up to them to bring back to us something of that kind. But they did not do it; and why? Echo answers—why? I shall not pretend to say why. They did not do it, and now, in the last moments of this day, we are presented a reason for making the motion again.

Various objections have been advanced by the Secretary of War. He is a very warlike man, mind you. He is a man who, if ever a question arose, would determine it according to his warlike proclivities. He would not fear at all. But he alone cannot determine this question. Do not forget that we have an equal right of determination. Some may not think so. Some may think that is a mistake, and that we should

be of a kind that would not in any way do other than what the military might demand of us, that we should hold ourselves in readiness to take our medicine at all times. I am not ready to take mine. If others are ready to take theirs, well and good; I quarrel with no one, but I say if they are the sort of men I believe in, they will not tolerate backing and filling upon this amendment in the fashion that has characterized action thus far.

Many objections are made concerning this matter. I have here many letters about it. By the way, do you realize, Mr. President, that there are only two places on earth where there is opposition to this amendment, and they are—I dare say it—the Congress of the United States and the Parliament of Great Britain. In the Congress of the United States we find bitter opposition to it, so bitter that a yea-and-nay vote would not be given to the man demanding it in the House of Representatives. There is bitter opposition to it, in the hope that its opponents will be able to bury us with an avalanche of votes in the Senate.

Let them bury us. What difference does it make? When a man has reached my age, one more vote does not make any difference; he will stand up to the rack and take his medicine, and vote as he pleases without regard to any of the things with which we are familiar in this debate.

The debate which has been proceeding here has been predicated upon certain objections to the drafting of 18-year-old men. I wish to read a very careful report.

I believe that our present military leaders are trying to do a good job.

We all admit that.

They are now being tried in the fire of war. That some of them will not stand the test is inevitable. I hope the incompetent may be discovered before their erroneous judgment leads us into courses of action which will cause us disaster. The safety of us all depends upon competent leadership. I support our leaders. I rely upon them. I accept their judgments generally. But I shall not take their judgments as infallible and I shall reject their conclusions when ordinary experience proves them wrong.

I have read with interest the newspaper statements to the effect that Army officers, testifying before the committees of the Congress, stated that these 18- and 19-year-old youths make the best soldiers.

I may say frankly that I do not believe that statement—

Nor do I believe it. The very essence of anatomy convinces one to the contrary.

The testifying Army officers seem to contend that these youths are the physical cream of the country and that they are better fitted for war physically than older men. The field of sports offers a good test of a man's physical stamina. In major league baseball, which is a young man's sport, there are few teen-age youngsters used.

How well we all know that.

The best ballplayers are those in their twenties. In football, the college team is certainly superior to the teen-age high-school team. The best players on the college teams are the juniors and seniors, the very best often 23 and 24 years old, while the professional teams, made up of men above college age, are even better than the younger college

teams. In crew, which is one of the most strenuous of all exercises, the frosh who are mainly 18- and 19-year-olds can't stand up against the varsity. In track, the college man is greatly superior to the high-school man, and in the greatest track meet of all—the Olympic games—many of the winners are older men, above college age. Virtually no teen-age youth places in the Olympic meets. Surveying then the field of sports which we know, it is apparent that teen-age youth is inferior physically to older men. That is not to be wondered at. The boys in their teens are not fully developed.

Can you not see that, Mr. President? Can you not realize it? When you meet a boy 16 or 17 years of age and take hold of his shoulders and caress him—we all love clean young men—can you not realize that those men are not equal to the older men in the world of sports, or in any other activity requiring strength and stamina?

As to judgment, I suppose no one, not even the testifying Army officers, would contend that teen-age youth has as much judgment as the older man.

It is a pity that we have to take this up ourselves, that we have to determine it ourselves. We have to determine the virility and the strength of the young men as against the older ones. That information should have been furnished us, it should have been given to the Committee on Military Affairs, it should have been stated here; but there has been no statement of it in this body during any of the time we have been considering this question.

I read further:

Today in combat judgment is necessary; the privates and noncommissioned officers act more independently than ever before. Upon their judgment often depends the success of a mission and the safety of themselves and the men about them.

Probably there is no difference in courage between the mature man and the teen-age youth. The teen-age youth may be and probably is more reckless—more rash. That in war can be a real handicap. Today it is essential that every particle of cover be used in order that one may survive and one rash move can endanger not only the life of the individual but also the lives of the men about him.

If 50 tanks manned by teen-age youths were put out to combat 50 tanks manned by men in their twenties and thirties, I think there would be no question as to the outcome of the combat. In judgment, skill, and in physical fitness the older man has the edge, and the statements of the testifying Army officers to the contrary belie our common experience.

From what experience with teen-age youths in combat did the Army officers draw their conclusions? Apparently it could not have been in Russia, for we are advised that our military men are not permitted to examine the Russian Army at close quarters, and the pictures we see of the fighting Russians are pictures of men in their twenties and thirties, fully developed and hard. It could scarcely have been in Germany because we have been repeatedly told by our military experts that the German teen-age youths used on the Russian front were inferior soldiers. It could not have been in Britain, for the British Army is not fighting there. The British, although hard pressed for manpower, only drafted their 18-year-olds after the present bill went through the House, and then, apparently, not because they thought the draft of British 18-year-olds either necessary or desirable but only to keep



step with the United States. What experience there has been on the African desert has involved a small number of troops. Even if teen-age youths have been used there in any considerable number (which I doubt), and even if they were used successfully, the whole African venture is on such small scale and under such peculiar conditions that any limited experience there cannot warrant any sweeping conclusion.

However, the bill to draft the 18- and 19-year-olds appears certain of passage. There is a movement now on to strike out the 1-year training period. As nearly as I can understand the position of the Army leaders on this, as stated in the papers, it is:

1. That many of these boys will be used in the service and supply forces and for that duty they do not require a year's training.

It seems to me I have heard that today, Mr. President.

If these teen-age youths are the best soldiers in the world, as these same Army officers have alleged, what monstrous folly to place them in the service and supply branches which certainly can be filled better with older men, men who are steadier and have had more mechanical and business experience. To put the cream of fighting men into service and supply is just nonsense.

Next, we are told that these boys, after 4 months' training, can be used as replacements for divisions depleted in action. It may be that months' training is better than none, but certainly these boys with 4 months' training are not going to be well prepared to destroy the enemy or to protect themselves.

Mr. President, I suspend the reading of the letter at that point because of lack of time, and I do not want to bore the Senate.

Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur said, concerning this measure, that it was a national disgrace. Dr. Wilbur is president of Stanford University, a medical man, a great educator, and an eminent citizen. He designates the proposed legislation as a national disgrace.

Mr. President, I have received letters from persons all over the United States, some of which are like the one I read, which attack the whole scheme from beginning to end, without rancor and without nastiness. Without exception they all tell us the same thing, that we are going to have a terrible time if the bill is enacted into law. I have before me letters from all over the country, from all kinds of people, and if Senators wish to see them they may see them. These letters have come to me unsolicited. They are letters which strike at the very heart of this difficulty.

Mr. President, I say again, that there is only one place in this country where the amendment can be defeated and destroyed, and that is in the United States Congress. Senators may be as proud as Lucifer of the particular body to which they belong. Mr. President, I venture the assertion that if we were to take a body of individuals of the same number and general character of those who compose this body, and if a vote were taken among its membership, it would be found that its members are overwhelmingly in favor of the amendment. I do not make this statement at random. That is shown by letters which have come to me from all sorts of people. The people of the Nation want this particular result; they want this particular amendment.

Mr. President, it is now 25 minutes to 5. I shall not detain the Senate longer than up to 21 minutes to 5. It will not do the Senate any harm to give me its attention for the remaining 4 minutes, so I shall continue.

I ask Members of the Senate to devote these 4 minutes to careful consideration of this particular question, and I believe there will be no confusion in their minds if in the action they are about to take they will vote just as they please and just as they desire. If my colleagues will think of the lads who would be the beneficiaries of the amendment which the Senate adopted it will not take them long to decide how to vote. If they will think of youth, and youth's prerogatives, youth's wish and desire to live, they will give our youth the benefit of the doubt at least and vote to retain the Senate amendment. If they will vote to protect our youth as youth should be protected, there will be no trouble at all.

Mr. President, if this matter is taken back to conference in the right spirit the Senate amendment can be made a part of the law. If it is not taken back in the right spirit, of course it will not be made a part of the law, and of course those who are so anxious that youth should wear a uniform, and proceed to engage in bloody combat, perhaps, will give youth the kind of uniform they desire. But if Senators will take this matter unto themselves, determine the question for themselves, and determine it as they think it ought to be determined, there will be no difficulty.

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, I voted against the teen-age draft bill at the time of its original passage through the Senate. Since that time I have not seen any reason for changing the belief I entertained at that time against the drafting of these youngsters. I have been deeply impressed with a story, which I believe to be quite authentic, coming back with Americans who returned from Japan on the *Gripsholm*, which left Japan, I believe, on July 16 or 17 of this year. Allegedly Americans returned from Japan with the story that up to that time, even though Japan had been at war for something like 6 or 7 or 8 years, not one Japanese schoolboy had been taken out of school, high school, or college.

Mr. President, for the life of me I cannot understand why we should ask of our youngsters what other nations are as yet failing to require of theirs.

I shall vote to return the conference report to the conferees, in the hope that at least we can have the safeguard of requiring 1 year of military training for boys under 20.

I rose to address myself very briefly to another phase of the controversy which is pending. Each morning for many months my desk has been burdened with letters from my farming constituents which reveal the utterly impossible position in which the individual farmer is being placed and left. More recently the letters are revealing the number of farmers who are disposing of their stock and of their farm interests, and moving into town for want of farm help. In connection with the pending measure we

sought to stay that tide of farm help away from the farms. We wrote in the so-called Tydings amendment. I am delighted that our conferees have maintained the Senate's position with regard to that amendment.

But I am led to wonder in connection with it about the manner in which that particular phase of the law is going to be administered. The law will provide, if we finally adopt the report:

Every registrant found by a selective service local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2), to be necessary to and regularly engaged in an agricultural occupation or endeavor essential to the war effort, shall be deferred from training and service in the land and naval forces.

Mr. President, I do not suppose that anyone in this emergency is performing a more thankless task than members of local draft boards. My sympathies are with them all the way, and I rather resent the instances wherein draft boards have been reflected upon because of their failure to defer farm boys who were considered essential to the continuation of farm production. The local draft boards quite properly resent the insinuations which have been cast upon them. The local boards have been quite helpful, and in turn they are justified in turning to us in Washington and saying, "Do not blame us for what we are not doing. Get busy and write the kind of law that will prevent the continuing drafting of farm boys." They insist that the call upon them as members of the local boards is to furnish a certain number of men. I could recite endless communities in my State, as other Senators could in their States, where local boards have no one to draw upon at all if they do not draw upon the farm population.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NYE. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I may say to the Senator from North Dakota that I have received a great number of letters from persons in my State in reference to this matter. What the Senator is speaking of may, perhaps, be the most important matter contained in the bill. It occurs to me from reading the language and studying it carefully that this will be a rule of conduct which will aid tremendously agriculture in our country. Does not the Senator from North Dakota agree that the rule which is here established in subsection (k) of section 4, will be effective for the purpose of deferring agricultural labor?

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, the Senator from Tennessee speaks my mind very accurately on that score, and I am glad to see it there in the law, where it will be of much aid to the local draft boards which have been exceedingly embarrassed for want of this kind of law. With it, I do not see that we need longer be gravely concerned about what the construction of the draft boards is to be as to what is necessary farm help. The law tells them pretty definitely what they must do with essential farm hands.

Mr. McKELLAR. I entirely agree with the Senator; and I agree with the statement which he has made as to the fairness and efficacy of our draft boards



throughout the country. In my State they are composed of the very best men available, and they have given a great deal of satisfaction. As the Senator knows, it is very difficult satisfactorily to fill the position of a member of a local draft board. I believe that the passage of subsection (k) of section 4 would go a very long way toward settling our agricultural problems.

Mr. NYE. I thank the Senator for the expression of thoughts which I so largely share.

I now come back to the problem which is presented to my mind, as to the manner in which the law would operate. Under the Selective Service Act the States are required to supply a certain number of men when the Military Establishment calls for men. Assume, now, an extreme case of a State which has no men in it except those who are engaged in agricultural pursuits. Certainly there are many communities which are as strictly confined. I know of local boards which no longer have on their lists men other than farm hands. I should like to inquire of the Senator from South Dakota what the attitude of the Selective Service authorities is to be when the local boards and the State boards are unable to supply the number of men whom they are under call to supply? With this provision in the law, which virtually exempts the farm hands, what is to happen to the so-called quota system?

Mr. GURNEY. The information on that subject from the Selective Service headquarters in Washington is more in the nature of an explanation of how they have handled the quota requirements in the past year, or since the original Selective Service Act became law. They have spread the quotas in accordance with the number of classified I-A men available in each State. During periods of need for agricultural workers the quotas are adjusted. As an example, the quota was set for the State of Washington, and it was found impossible to meet it because of conditions in that State. The quota was lowered, with the idea of making good the shortage a little later.

Mr. NYE. In that particular instance, respecting the State of Washington, who made the representation to the Selective Service Board which brought about the release or excuse from filling the quota?

Mr. GURNEY. I presume, the chairmen of the local boards.

Mr. NYE. Or the State board?

Mr. GURNEY. Through the State board, and then on into Washington.

Mr. NYE. Then there is nothing in the law which prevents the selective-service authorities from transferring quotas, so to speak, from one State to another, or excusing a State from filling the entire quota originally asked for.

Mr. GURNEY. I cannot quite accept that statement. I will say that there is nothing in the law which prevents the Administrator of Selective Service from saying to a State, "You will be short this month, but next month, or during the next 3 or 4 months, you can make good the shortage."

Mr. NYE. Is that what was done in the State of Washington?

Mr. GURNEY. As I remember, that was what was done in that particular case. The State of Washington was permitted to harvest its perishable fruit crops and to pick up the quota in succeeding months.

Mr. NYE. Whatever might be the excuse this month, next month would find the State still under obligation to fulfill its obligation under the quota system.

Mr. GURNEY. In accordance with the direct relation to the number of I-A men available in each State.

Mr. NYE. Then it follows that with paragraph (k) of section 4 of the pending legislation in effect, the excusing of farm hands who are deemed essential to farm production would still leave each and every State, however largely agricultural it might be, under the requirement of furnishing its full quota.

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct; but I must say to the Senator that it would not change the existing situation, because the National Selective Service headquarters has already told the local boards that they should defer necessary farmers in essential agricultural industries. That order has been in effect for many weeks.

Mr. NYE. But they have not at the same time told the States that they would be excused from filling in full the quotas asked for under the various calls which are issued for men.

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct.

Mr. NYE. Does it not follow, if that rule is to be pursued, that in some States where the population is so largely agricultural, men will be called who would not be called if they were in other States?

Mr. GURNEY. Men in some other occupations.

Mr. NYE. Men in other occupations; men with larger dependency; and men with greater obligations.

Mr. GURNEY. That is correct. Men in a State which is not essentially agricultural are being deferred because they work in airplane plants. All airplane workers are being deferred because they are in an essential industry. Therefore a greater load undoubtedly falls on farmers who are engaged in raising lettuce, artichokes, or products of that kind.

Mr. NYE. Does the Senator find that the authorities are giving any consideration at all to the possible necessity of altering the quota system?

Mr. GURNEY. Quotas are placed on each State by national headquarters in accordance with the number of men available for immediate military duty.

Mr. NYE. That is correct.

Mr. GURNEY. When the Army's order comes in for men, the State must go to the bin to fill the order. It must obtain the men from those who are already processed and available. An effort is made from month to month to even up the quotas so that the number of men coming from each State into the Army is not greater in direct ratio to population than in some other State. In the long run that course has been found to be very successful.

Mr. NYE. Very well. Take a State which is as strictly agricultural as are some of our States. It will have great

difficulty in filling its quotas if farm hands are to be deferred in keeping with paragraph (k) of section 4.

Mr. GURNEY. Undoubtedly the local boards will comb closer those who are in other occupations in such States as the Senator's State and my State.

Mr. NYE. Let me suggest to the Senator that in some such States there are already local boards with no one except farm hands left on their rolls of registrants.

Mr. GURNEY. Then they cannot furnish any.

Mr. NYE. In that event what would happen?

Mr. GURNEY. The quota would be spread over the entire State. If the situation should become such that the State could not furnish the men, national headquarters would spread the quota elsewhere.

Mr. NYE. The Senator has finally answered my question.

Mr. GURNEY. I thought I had answered it before.

Mr. NYE. The Senator's final assertion is the complete answer. I appreciate the Senator's patience.

Mr. GURNEY. Heretofore, because of deferment of men engaged in essential airplane industries or in steel mills, quotas have been reduced, and the load has been taken on by other States which did not have such industrial deferments.

Mr. NYE. I understand. I thank the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

#### LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I wish to make a brief statement for the information of the Senate.

It had been my purpose today, following the consideration and disposition of the conference report, to move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1716, House bill 1024, to amend an Act to prevent pernicious political activities, which was reported from the Committee on the Judiciary by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS]. However, the debate on the conference report has extended much longer than I had anticipated, and therefore I shall not make that motion today. I wish to state, however, that I shall make it tomorrow.

It is my understanding that a point of order will be made by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. DOXEY] against the report of the committee. The point of order will be presented to the Chair for his decision. I feel that Senators ought to know that the point of order will be raised tomorrow. As I understand, from a parliamentary standpoint the point of order cannot properly be made until a motion is made to take up the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LA FOLLETTE in the chair). In the opinion of the present occupant of the chair, the Senator is correct.

Mr. BARKLEY. So, in order that the point may be made, the motion will be made to proceed to consider the bill. Be-

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[PUBLIC LAW 772—77TH CONGRESS]

[CHAPTER 638—2D SESSION]

[H. R. 7528]

AN ACT

To amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by providing for the extension of liability.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That so much of the first sentence of section 3 (a) of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, as precedes the first proviso is hereby amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 3. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this Act, every male citizen of the United States, and every other male person residing in the United States, who is between the ages of eighteen and forty-five at the time fixed for his registration, shall be liable for training and service in the land or naval forces of the United States."

SEC. 2. Section 5 (f) of such Act, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(f) Any person eighteen or nineteen years of age who, while pursuing a course of instruction at a high school or similar institution of learning, is ordered to report for induction under this Act during the last half of the academic year at such school or institution, shall, upon his request, have his induction under this Act postponed until the end of such academic year."

SEC. 3. Section 15 (a) of such Act, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(a) The term 'between the ages of eighteen and forty-five' shall refer to men who have attained the eighteenth anniversary of the day of their birth and who have not attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of their birth; and other terms designating different age groups shall be construed in a similar manner."

SEC. 4. Section 5 of such Act, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(i) Notwithstanding any other provisions of law, no person between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one shall be discharged from service in the land or naval forces of the United States while this Act is in effect because such person entered such service without the consent of his parent or guardian.

"(j) No individual who has been convicted of any crime which may not be punished by death or by imprisonment for a term exceeding one year shall, by reason solely of such conviction, be relieved from liability for training and service under this Act.

"(k) Every registrant found by a selective service local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2), to be necessary to and regularly engaged in an agricultural occupation or endeavor essential to the war effort, shall be deferred from training and service in the land and naval forces so long as he remains so engaged and until such time as a satisfactory replacement can be



obtained: *Provided*, That should any such person leave such occupation or endeavor, except for induction into the land or naval forces under this Act, his selective service local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2), shall reclassify such registrant in a class immediately available for military service, unless prior to leaving such occupation or endeavor he requests such local board to determine, and such local board, subject to appeal in accordance with section 10 (a) (2), determines, that it is in the best interest of the war effort for him to leave such occupation or endeavor for other work."

SEC. 5. Section 3 (a) of such Act, as amended, is amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof a colon and the following: "*Provided further*, That no man, without his consent, shall be inducted for training and service under this Act after he has attained the forty-fifth anniversary of the day of his birth."

Approved, November 13, 1942.

